

**A Grammar of Murui (Bue):
A Witotoan language of Northwest Amazonia**

by

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The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval Number H5033.

Katarzyna I. Wojtylak

bie aiyue rafue

jaka Murui

komini ie

Abstract

This is the first detailed description of Murui (Bue variety), a Witotoan language spoken by about 2,000 people in the Colombian and Peruvian parts of the Amazon basin. Following the Basic Linguistic Theory, the reference grammar presents analyses of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Murui language. Collected during several fieldtrips to the Murui communities located between the Putumayo and Caquetá rivers in Colombia, the linguistic data consists mainly of an extensive corpus of texts. In addition to the language description and analysis, the grammar also draws attention to the typological features of Murui and sheds new light on the linguistic variation among the Witotoan languages. It is a valuable resource for further research on the linguistic affiliation of the Witotoan language family in South America.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| A | subject of transitive verb |
| ABL | ablative |
| AGT | agentive |
| AN | animate |
| ANA | anaphoric |
| ANDTV | andative |
| APPR | apprehensive |
| ARG | argumentative |
| AT | postposition ‘at’ |
| ATT | attributive |
| AUDIT | auditory |
| C | consonant |
| CA | common argument |
| CAV | cavity (classifier) |
| CAUS | causative |
| CERT | certainty |
| CLF | classifier |
| CLF:REP | classifier-repeater |
| Cl:Comp | complement clause |
| COND ₁ | conditional <i>-ia</i> |
| COND ₂ | conditional <i>nia</i> |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| COLL | collective |
| COMPL | completive |
| CONN | connective |
| CTH | close to hearer |
| CTS | close to speaker |
| CUST | customary |
| D | possessed |
| DES | desiderative |
| DR | ‘derivational’ |
| DIS | distal |
| DU | dual |
| DUR | durative |
| E | event nominalizer |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| ENDEAR | endearment term |
| F | feminine |
| FSH | far from speaker and hearer |
| FOC | focus |
| FUT | future |
| G | general (classifier) |
| GEN | genitive |
| GR | group |

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| HAB | habitual |
| HORT | hortative |
| HUM | human referent |
| IMP | imperative |
| IMM | immediate |
| INCP | inceptive |
| INF | infinitive |
| INHER | inherent |
| INS | instrumental |
| INTERJ | interjection |
| KIN | kinship (plural) |
| LK | linker |
| LOC | locative |
| LOCAL ₁ | locative <i>koni</i> |
| LOCAL ₂ | locative <i>oni</i> |
| M | masculine |
| MC | main clause |
| N | noun |
| N.S/A | non S/A subject |
| NEG | negative |
| NEUT | neutral (classifier) |
| NMLZ | nominalization |
| NP | noun phrase |
| NSP | non-specific |
| O | object of transitive verb |
| OVERLAP | overlap |
| PASS | passive |
| PL | plural |
| PLACE | place |
| PP | plural participants |
| PR | 'pronominal' |
| PRED | predicate |
| PRIV | privative |
| PROH | prohibitive |
| PST | past |
| Q ₁ | question word <i>bu-</i> |
| Q ₂ | question word <i>ni-</i> |
| QUANT | quantifier <i>-ga</i> |
| R | possessor |
| RC | relative clause |
| RECIP | reciprocal |
| RED | reduplicated verb |
| REFL | reflexive |
| REM | remote |
| REP | reported |
| S | subject of intransitive verb |
| SEQ | sequential |
| SG | singular |
| SIMIL | similative |
| SMLF | semelfactive |

| | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| SP | specific |
| Sp | Spanish |
| TEMP | temporal |
| TH | thematic |
| TOP | topical |
| UNCERT | uncertainty |
| V | vowel, verb |
| VENTV | ventive |
| VCS | verbless clause subject |
| VCC | verbless clause complement |

In the text, vernacular data is given in italics. Examples are numbered according to the Chapter they are in (e.g. example '(1.5)' refers to Chapter 1, example 5). Examples have three lines. The first line is orthographic and breaks up each word into morphemes. The second line shows morpheme-level glosses. SMALL CAPS are used for grammatical glosses. Proper names are reproduced throughout the glossing. The final line provides a free translation into English. The free translations are as idiomatic as possible; brackets complement contextual meaning of the free translations. If an example is to be found in the text in the Appendix, it is marked with 'TextNumber.SentenceNumber', as in (T3.3).

Orthographic conventions

Graphemes representing Murui phonemes adopted in this work are given below:

| Grapheme | Phoneme |
|-----------------|----------------|
| /t/ | [t] |
| /k/ | [k] |
| /b/ | [b] |
| /d/ | [d] |
| /g/ | [g] |
| /m/ | [m] |
| /n/ | [n] |
| /ñ/ | [ɲ] |
| /f/ | [ɸ] |
| /v/ | [β] |
| /s/ | [θ] |
| /j/ | [h] |
| /ch/ | [tʃ] |
| /y/ | [dʒ] |
| /r/ | [r] |
| /i/ | [i] |
| /ĩ/ | [ĩ] |
| /u/ | [u] |
| /e/ | [ɛ] |
| /a/ | [a] |
| /o/ | [ɔ] |

The graphemes follow the already established writing conventions for Murui, M̄ika, M̄inika, and N̄ipode. In this work, the majority of the phonetic symbols follow the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The ones that do not are:

| Grapheme | Phoneme |
|-----------------|----------------|
| /j/ | for [h] |
| /ch/ | for [tʃ] |
| /y/ | for [dʒ] |
| /ñ/ | for [ɲ] |

Moreover, graphemes /ĩ/, /e/, and /o/ are used to represent the phonemes [u], [ɛ], and [ɔ].

1 The Murui language and its speakers

Murui, also known in literature as *Búe*, *Uitoto*, *Witoto*, and *Huitoto*, belongs to the the Witotoan language family, one of the smaller linguistic families in Amazonia, that consists of two other languages spoken in the area, Ocaina (still spoken by about 90 people) and Nonuya (a moribund language). Murui is spoken by about 2,000 people that traditionally inhabited the region of the Amazon basin between the middle sections of the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers in Colombia and their tributaries, the Igara-Paraná and Cara-Paraná rivers. Today, smaller Murui tribes live also ‘outside’ the Caquetá-Putumayo region. There is a mixed community of Murui-Minika people located in the Resguardo Indígena Tikuna-Uitoto (known as ‘Kilómetro 11’) close to Leticia (Colombia). Some also inhabit areas along the Ampí-Yacú and Napo rivers in Peru (see e.g. Petersen de Piñeros (2000: 219)). Although the villages El Encanto, Tercera India, San Rafael, and San José in Colombia are the biggest agglomeration centres of the Murui people, some Murui clans also reside in La Chorrera (Igara-Paraná), Puerto Leguízamo (Putumayo), in the ‘reservas’ Los Monos, Kuemani and Monochoa (mid-Caquetá). Various Murui families are also scattered throughout Colombia and Peru, with many families living in cities, such as Bogotá and Leticia (Colombia) and Iquitos (Peru) (see §1.3 on the Murui people, culture and historical background, and §1.5 on current sociolinguistic situation).

Murui, together with Míka, Mínika, and Nípode, constitute a single language forming a dialect continuum, known in literature as ‘Witoto’. Although all dialects of ‘Witoto’ are mutually intelligible, Murui and Míka are much more similar than other language variants (see §1.4). Murui, Míka, Mínika, and Nípode people recognise their common ancestry but consider themselves to be separate social groups speaking different languages. That is why, in this work I will refer to Murui as a language in the political sense although linguistically



Map 1.1 Approximate locations of the Murui (underlined), Mika, Minika, and Nipode groups in Colombia and Peru ('Witoto' indicates mixed villages) (author's map)

it is clearly one of four ‘Witoto’ dialects.

The ‘Witoto’ people form part of a larger group known today as the *People of the Centre* (Spanish *Gente del Centro*) (Echeverri, 1997). Eight ethnolinguistic groups are recognized as belonging to this cultural area: the Witoto, Nonuya, Ocaina, Bora, Miraña, Muinane, Resígaro, and Andoke (§1.2). All these peoples share in common many cultural characteristics, including the custom of the ritual ingestion of pounded coca leaves and tobacco in a liquid form.

Up to date, there is no comprehensive detailed grammar of any of the ‘Witoto’ languages; in recent years only a few detailed studies have focused on a number of aspects of the few ‘Witoto’ varieties (see §1.6). This study offers the first detailed description of one of the ‘Witoto’ languages, Murui. Following the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012), the reference grammar presents analyses of Murui phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse organization.

1.1 Linguistic profile of Murui

Murui has a relatively simple system of six vowels and sixteen consonants. The consonantal phonemes include six stops (*p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, and *g*), four fricatives (*f*, *v*, *h*, and *z*) two affricates (*ch* and *y*), three nasals (*n*, *ɲ*, and *m*), and a flap (*r*). The voiceless bilabial stop *p* in Murui is a marginally occurring phoneme in Murui (still preserved in other ‘Witoto’ dialects). The vowel inventory is typical of other languages from northern South America. All the vowels - *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, and *ɨ* - have long counterparts that are restricted to the word-initial position only. The high central unrounded vowel *ɨ* is an areal feature common to all languages spoken in the Caquetá-Putumayo region as well as in many to the north (most Tucanoan and Carib languages) (Aikhenvald, 2012: 109). Unlike other Witotoan languages, Murui is neither

tonal, nor does it have a complex accent system.¹ Morphophonological processes in the language involve, among others: assimilation, voicing, vowel lengthening, and partial reduplication. The syllable structure is of the (C)V type. Murui phonology is the focus of Chapter 2.

In terms of language structure, Murui is nominative-accusative with head marking (on the verb) and some elements of dependent marking (case). The language is largely agglutinating with some fusion and suffixing. Murui has no prefixes, which distinguishes it from other Witotoan languages (Witotoan languages differ in terms of the number of prefixes on the verb) (Fagua Rincón & Seifart, 2010; Wojtylak, 2016d). Constituent order within a clause is frequently determined by pragmatic factors but there is a tendency for it to be predicate final (SV/AOV).

Murui has three open lexical word classes: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. There are eleven closed word classes that include adverbs, quantifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative words, number words, connectives, adpositions, interjections and particles, and a few underived adjectives. Murui word classes share numerous properties – for instance, many of the members of the open and closed word classes can be used as heads of intransitive predicates. For instance, in (1.1), the head of the predicate is the verb *ibade* ‘buy’; in (1.2) it is the noun *uzuma* ‘grandfather’; in (1.3) is headed by the question word *buu* ‘who’. Murui open and closed word classes, as well as word-changing derivations is the topic of Chapter 3.

¹ With regards to the lack of tonal distinction, all Witoto dialects are similar to Nonuya but are unlike Ocaina and other languages of the *People of the Centre* cultural area. Note however that only Murui and Mika have fixed accent position (word-initial). Minika and Nipode appear to have different patterns of accent placement. This has lead other researchers to hypothesize that it could possibly be indicative of tonal contrasts in Minika (Ávila, 2016; Seifart & Fagua Rincón, 2009).

- (1.5) **bi-ko**_{VCS} **kue-ie**_{VCC} **kue-ko**_{VCS} **mare-ko**_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:COVER 1sg-GEN 1sg-CLF:COVER good-CLF:COVER
 ‘This (house) is mine. My (house) is good (house).’

The Murui multiple classifier system is semi-open due to the occurrence of repeaters which can be defined as partially repeated nouns that do not classify nouns but occur in the classifier slot (for non-human referents), as in (1.6) which is ‘repeated’ from Spanish *computadora* for ‘computer’.

- (1.6) **baa!** **oo-dora**_S **i-ñe-d-e=ta**_{PRED}
 INTERJ 2sg-CLF.REP:COMPUTER exist-NEG-LK-3=REP
 ‘There! Your (computer) is gone!’

Murui repeaters are similar to repeaters in other neighbouring languages (Aikhenvald, 2000: 222). The main functions of Murui classifiers are derivations of nominal stems, formations of nominal modifiers, word-class changing nominalizations and reference-tracking mechanism (Wojtylak, 2016a, forthcoming-e). See Chapter 4 on Murui noun structure and classifiers, and Chapter 5 on number.

Murui possessive construction involves the Possessor (R) which can be a noun, a full NP or an independent pronoun, and the Possessed (D) which is frequently a noun and functions always as a head. There is no marking on the R and the D; the R and the D are simply juxtaposed within the NP with the Possessor-Possessed constituent order, as in (1.7).

- (1.7) [Lucio_R yoe-fai_D]_{NP}
 Lucio metal-CLF:SHORT.THICKER
 ‘Lucio’s machete’

Marking of the genitive *-ie* is conditioned by the ‘nominal hierarchy’ where *-ie* occurs with personal pronouns in 1st and 2nd person, e.g. *kue-ie* (1sg-GEN) ‘mine’, and the connective *ie* which occurs with 3rd person *Lucio ie* (Lucio CONN) ‘Lucio’s’. Murui lacks a verb ‘have’ as well as a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Expressions of possession and number are discussed in Chapter 5.

Grammatical relations are expressed through differential case marking where the

marking of core arguments is related to topicality, definiteness, and affectedness. Under special pragmatic conditions, topical subject S/A, topical non-S/A subject, and O (recipient/addressee) arguments can be either unmarked or marked with case. Differential marking of the O NP arguments is illustrated by (1.8-9). Grammatical relations and case marking in Murui are the topics of Chapter 6.

(1.8) *nokae*_O *fino-di-o?*_{PRED}
 canoe make-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you make a canoe?’ (not specific)

(1.9) *nokae-na*_O *fino-di-o?*_{PRED}
 canoe-N.S/A.TOP make-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you make the canoe?’ (specific)

Murui has a rich system of verbal morphology, that is mostly aspectual, only one (future) tense marker. Example (1.10) shows numerous verbal categories expressed on the verb *joko(de)* ‘wash’, that include aspectual, directional, modal, and evidential markers.

(1.10) *joko-ri-zai-aka-ñe-i-ti-kue=di*
 wash-DUR-ANDTV-DES-NEG-FUT-LK-1sg=CERT
 ‘I WILL not want to go washing.’

Murui has one evidential, the reported =*ta*. Witotoan languages differ with respect to expression of evidential meanings, but they do appear to share at least one evidentiality value - the reported evidential. In that respect, the Witotoan languages are similar to other languages spoken in the Caquetá-Putumayo region, such as Boran (Wojtylak, forthcoming-d). Languages located to the north have usually a more ‘elaborated’ systems of evidentials (Aikhenvald, forthcoming; Carlin, forthcoming; Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, forthcoming). Murui predicate structure and the expression of non-spatial (TAME) and non-spatial (andative and ventive markers) settings on the verb is discussed in Chapter 7.

Murui has one type of morphological valency-reducing mechanisms - passive *-ka* and *-ga*, and two types of valency-increasing mechanisms - causative *-ta* and double causative *-tata*. Murui passive construction puts the underlying O argument into S function and places

underlying A argument in a peripheral function. Frequently, the O argument is not expressed. Reflexive and reciprocal meanings are periphrastic expressions that involve derived NPs and the possessed noun *abi* ‘body’. The reciprocal meanings are expressed with the bound form *koni-* ‘between, location’. A prototypical Murui causative derivation applies to an S argument and places it in s derived O function. The causative carries the possibility of being applied twice (double causative). It applies to both underlying intransitive and transitive clauses forming derived extended transitives. Murui has also a special affix *-da* that describes actions or processes which indicate some type of a bodily movement of the (animate and inanimate) A/S arguments, but are not necessarily valency-changing. Valency-changing mechanisms are discussed in Chapter 8.

Murui adjectives belong to the open word class, and share various properties with verbs (a limited set of verbal affixes), e.g. *jano-re-d-e* (small-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it) is small’. Murui adjectives can also take classifiers to form nominal modifiers. As such, they take no verbal marking, e.g. *ebi-fue* (nice-CLF:STORY) ‘amusing story’. Additionally, Murui has a small closed word class that consists of a few ‘underived’ adjectives (including *mare* ‘good’, *aare* ‘long’, *aiyo-* ‘big’, *jaka-* ‘old’, and *komo-* ‘new’) that have different morphosyntactic properties than those that belong to the open word class. Comparative constructions are mono-clausal, where the parameter of comparative construction (usually an adjective) is followed by a standard and standard marker of comparison (often *baaifemo* ‘there, ahead of’). In (1.11), what is being compared is *naiñaiño* ‘she’. Standard of comparison is what *naiñaiño* is compared against, *kue* ‘I/me’. The property that is compared is the adjective root *jano-* ‘small’, that can be further modified with the PARAMETER MARK *eo* ‘very’. The marker of the grammatical function of the STANDARD is *baaifemo*.

- (1.11) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARKER
 nai-ñaiño_{VS} (eo) jano-ñaiño_{VCC} [kue baai-fe-mo]
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very small-CLF:PR.F 1sg THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘She is smaller than I am (lit. she - very small (female), ahead of me).’

The semantics of the standard S-MARK distinguish superiority and inferiority (Wojtylak, forthcoming-b). Murui also has a similitive category which expresses the notion of ‘Y like/as X in terms of object’s size’ with nouns, as in (1.12).

- (1.12) ua nokae-ze **bai**-re-d-e_{PRED} kue-mona_{OBLIQUE}
 really canoe-SIMIL be.visible-ATT-LK-3 1sg-ABL
 ‘As for me, it looks like a canoe.’

Murui adjectives, comparative constructions, expression of equality, and similitive marker are topic of Chapter 9.

Negation of Murui predicates is expressed in two different ways. There are two negative markers: the standard negative marker *-ñe*, and the negative attributive *-ni* for ‘lack of attribution (ability, property, possession)’. Example (1.13) shows the verb *fate* ‘hit’ negated with the negative marker *-ñe*; in (1.14) the adjective *kaima*- ‘tasty’ is negated with the negative attributive *-ni*.

- (1.13) [bai-mie_A yiki-ai_O kue-na_O fata-ta-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 that.FSH -CLF:PR.M fish-PL 1sg-N.S/A.TOP kill-CAUS-NEG-LK-3
 ‘He did not make me kill the fish.’

- (1.14) [bi-e yiki-ai]_S eo kaima-ni-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G fish-pl very tasty-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘This fish is not very tasty (lit. not having the property of being very tasty).’

The (negative) attributive markers have somewhat different meanings in different environments. With verbs they denote ‘(lack of) ability’, with adjectives ‘(lack of) property’, and with nouns ‘(lack of) possession’. Murui lacks independent grammatical words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’. The particle *jii* ‘agrees’ with the verb’s polarity. Some question words which can function as indefinites; their positive and negative readings depend on the predicate’s polarity. Negation is discussed in Chapter 10.

Murui distinguishes between content, polar, tag, alternative, and rhetorical questions. All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic to them (i.e. different intonation patterns, presence of a tag and special kind of morphological elisions). All interrogative words are derived from two free forms: *buu* ‘who’ and *nii* ‘which, where’. To derive further interrogative words (e.g. ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘when’, etc.), *buu* and *nii* take classifiers. Question words can also function as indefinite words (their positive or negative reading depends on the polarity of the verb), as in (1.15).

- (1.15) *buu-na_o* *ki_o-di-kue_{PRED}*
 Q1-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-1sg
 ‘I saw somebody.’

The distinction between the declarative and interrogative clause is marked by different intonation patterns and a few morphological differences. Murui canonical and non-canonical imperatives are usually formally marked (either the presence of the imperative suffix *-no* or its lack) and have special paralinguistic features such as intonation, frequently accompanied by distinct facial expressions. Murui has canonical imperatives (that is those which are directed to 2nd person) and non-canonical imperative forms for first person (hortative). There is no jussive (third person). Imperatives can be marked with a special aspectual marker *-kai* which follows the imperative suffix and indicates urgency and expectation of an immediate response. Compare the examples below:

- (1.16) *gui-ño* (eat-IMP) ‘eat!’

- (1.17) *gui-ño-kai* (eat-IMP-RAPID) ‘eat quickly!’

Additionally, there are a number of imperative strategies, which involve among others future event nominalizations, e.g. *maka-ye* (walk-FUT.NMLZ) ‘go walking (lit. future action of walking)’. Murui questions and commands are discussed in Chapter 11.

Murui has an array of clause linking devices, those which involve main clauses (consequence, addition, and alternative clauses) and dependent clauses (temporal,

conditional, consequence, and addition). These, together with complementation and relativization, sentence and clause types, are focussed on in Chapter 12.

Murui discourse is full of various types of repetition, many of which are used for bridging (head-tail linkage). An example of a bridging construction is given in (1.18).

Bridging clauses are in boldface, reference clauses are underlined:

- (1.18) kome_s jai nai-e du-t-e_{PRE} jm...
 person already ANA.SP-CLF:G chew.coca-LK-3 INTERJ
 ‘One (lit. person) is already chewing it.’
- du-a-no-na** [kome kome-ki]_s faka-d-e_{PRE}
 chew.coca-E.NMZL-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP person heart-CLF:ROUND think-LK-3
 ‘After chewing (it), one meditates (lit. thinks).’

Other types of repetition, phrasal and clausal repetitions, have mostly aspectual meanings such as that of indicating emphasis and prolonged duration. This, as well as genre types (narratives, conversations and songs, see also Appendix), focus and pause marking particles are discussed in Chapter 13.

This grammar is based on Murui as spoken in Tercera India, Amazonas, Colombia, mainly by members of the Ereiaí clan. The data was collected during original fieldwork between 2013 and 2016 (see also §1.7).

1.2 The People of the Centre cultural area

All the ‘Witoto’ groups (Murui, Mika, Mínika, and Nípode) form part of a larger cultural area known in Colombia and Peru as the *People of the Centre*, perhaps more widely referred to as ‘the Caquetá-Putumayo region’ (Echeverri, 1997; Seifart, Fagua Rincón, Gasché, & Echeverri, 2009). Eight ethnolinguistic groups from three language families and a linguistic isolate are recognized as belonging to this cultural area: the Witotoan groups (Nonuya, Ocaina, and Witoto), the Boran groups (Bora, Miraña (a dialect of Bora), and Muinane), one North Arawak group (Resígaro), and the Andoque, speakers of a linguistic isolate (see

Diagram 1.1).² All these groups traditionally inhabited the Caquetá-Putumayo region. The approximate locations of the groups belonging to the *People of the Centre* cultural area, are illustrated on Map 1.1.

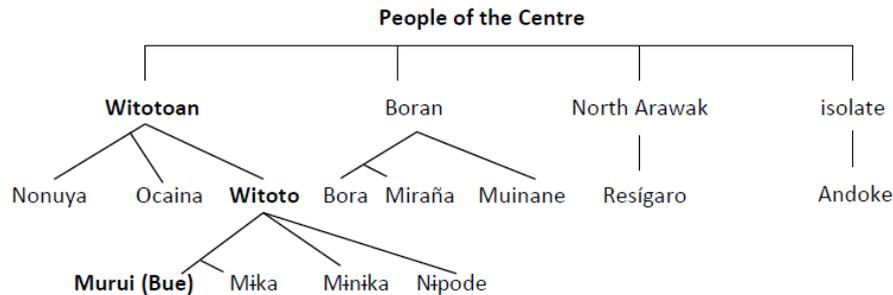


Diagram 1.1 Composition of the *People of the Centre* cultural area

Geographically, the *People of the Centre* cultural area is roughly located between by the two rivers, Caquetá and Putumayo, and does not extend beyond the Upper Amazon to the south and Apaporis to the north.³ Traditionally, *People of the Centre* were located in close proximity to other groups from the region between the Upper Amazon and Apaporis rivers. This area hosted the following groups (see also Map 1.2 this section):

- i) to the north and north-east: Carib-speakers (Carijona, the only Carib group in this part of the Amazon)⁴,

² In the initial research (Echeverri, 1997), the Resígáro people were not included into the *People of the Centre* cultural area (possibly because of its close ties with the Bora groups, see Seifart (2011). Later studies and research projects do include Resígáro within the *People of the Centre* cultural area (Seifart et al., 2009: 19).

³ In Brazil, the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers are referred to as ‘Japurá’ and ‘Içá’ rivers respectively.

⁴ Whiffen (1915: 58-59) notes that the Carijona (‘Karehone’) inhabited the areas to the north of the ‘Witoto’ territories (lower parts of the Yari river). He also makes reference to the ‘Wumaua’ people who inhabited the areas between Yari and Upper Apaporis rivers (see Map 1.3). The ‘Wauma’ people appear to be a Carib group also known as ‘Umawa’ or the ‘frog people’ (as the Kubeo used to called them) (Thiago Chacon p.c.).

ii) to the west: West Tucanoan groups⁵ (Maijiki (known as ‘Orejon’) and Siona⁶, Sekoya⁷ to the south-west, and the Koreguaje to the north-west),

iii) to the south: the Peba (extinct) and Yagua people (of the Peba-Yagua language family), the Yurí people (linguistic isolate, extinct, possibly related to Ticuna⁸), as well as some Zaparoan groups further to the west (Arabela, and the extinct Aushiri)⁹,

iv) to the east: East Tucanoan groups (Menimehe, extinct¹⁰; Tanimuca (known also as ‘Ofaina’), Yuhuna), and, further to the east, the Kueretu group (West Tucanoan) as well as the Bara, Tucano and Makuna (East Tucanoan) to east and north-east. The Cabiyari¹¹ and Yucuna groups, located to the north-east (between the Caquetá and Upper Apaporis rivers), were the only Arawak-speaking group is located in close proximity to the *People of the Centre* cultural area.

⁵ Following the classification of the Tucanoan language family by Chacon (2014: 282).

⁶ The Siona people (Colombian Siona; see Bruil (2014: 11) for the distinction between Ecuadorian and Colombian Siona) are referred to as ‘Piohe’ in Whiffen (1915: 58-59).

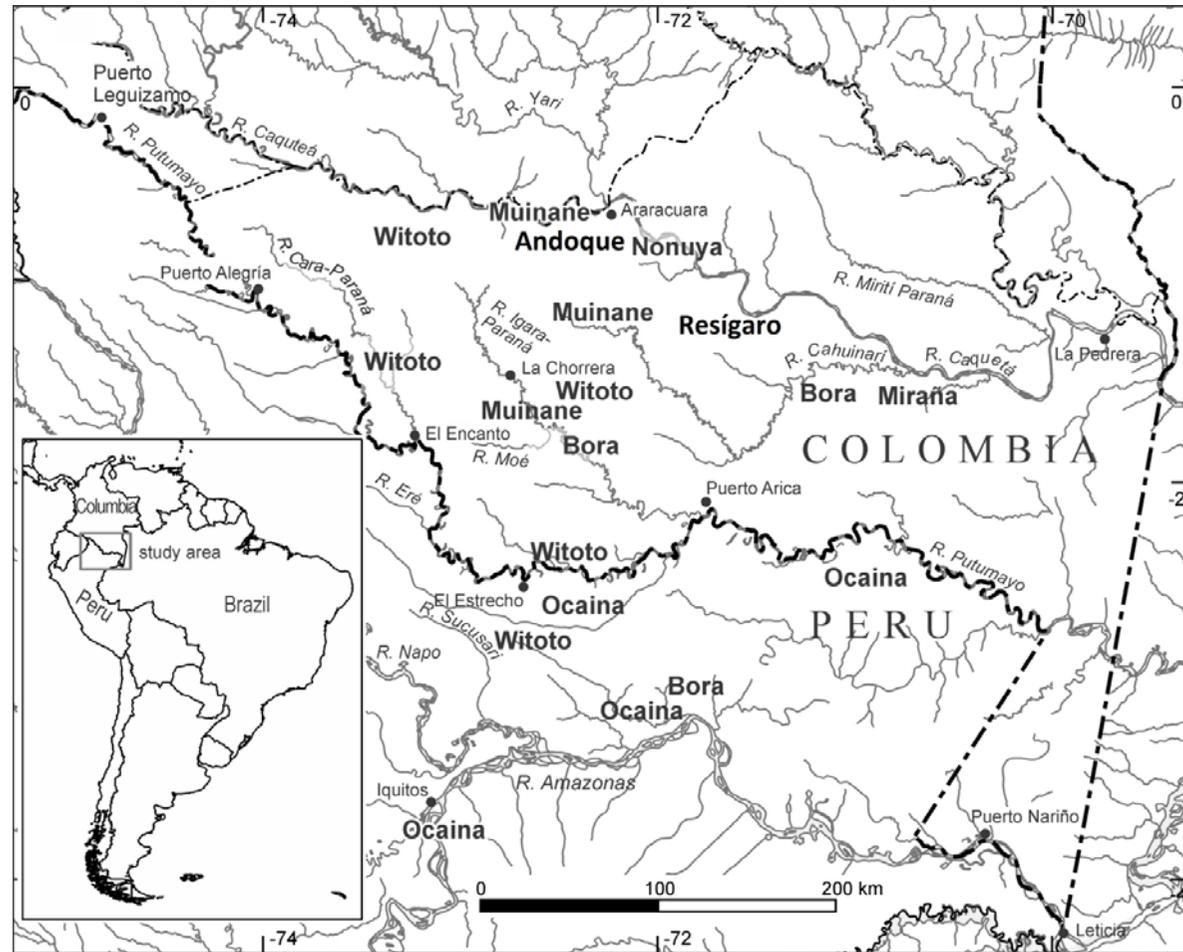
⁷ The Sekoya group is listed as ‘Angustero’ in Whiffen (1915: 58-59). Loukotka (1968: 180) lists ‘Angotero’, ‘Ancuterre’ and ‘Pioje’ as one language, located on the Napo, Tarapoto and Aguarico rivers, in Loreto, Peru.

⁸ See also De Carvalho (2009); Echeverri and Seifart (2014); Goulard and Rodríguez Montes (2013); Rivet (1912).

⁹ Referred to as ‘Awashiri’ and ‘Zaparo’ in Whiffen (1915: 58-59). Wise (1999: 308-309) lists two Zaparoan languages spoken in that region (between the Napo and Curaray rivers), the ‘Aushiri (Auxira)’ and ‘Arabela (Chiripuno)’.

¹⁰ Loukotka (1968: 181) lists Menimehe, together with ‘Tanimuca/Opaina’, ‘Yahuna/Jaúna’ and ‘Dätuana’, as languages of ‘the Yahuna group’.

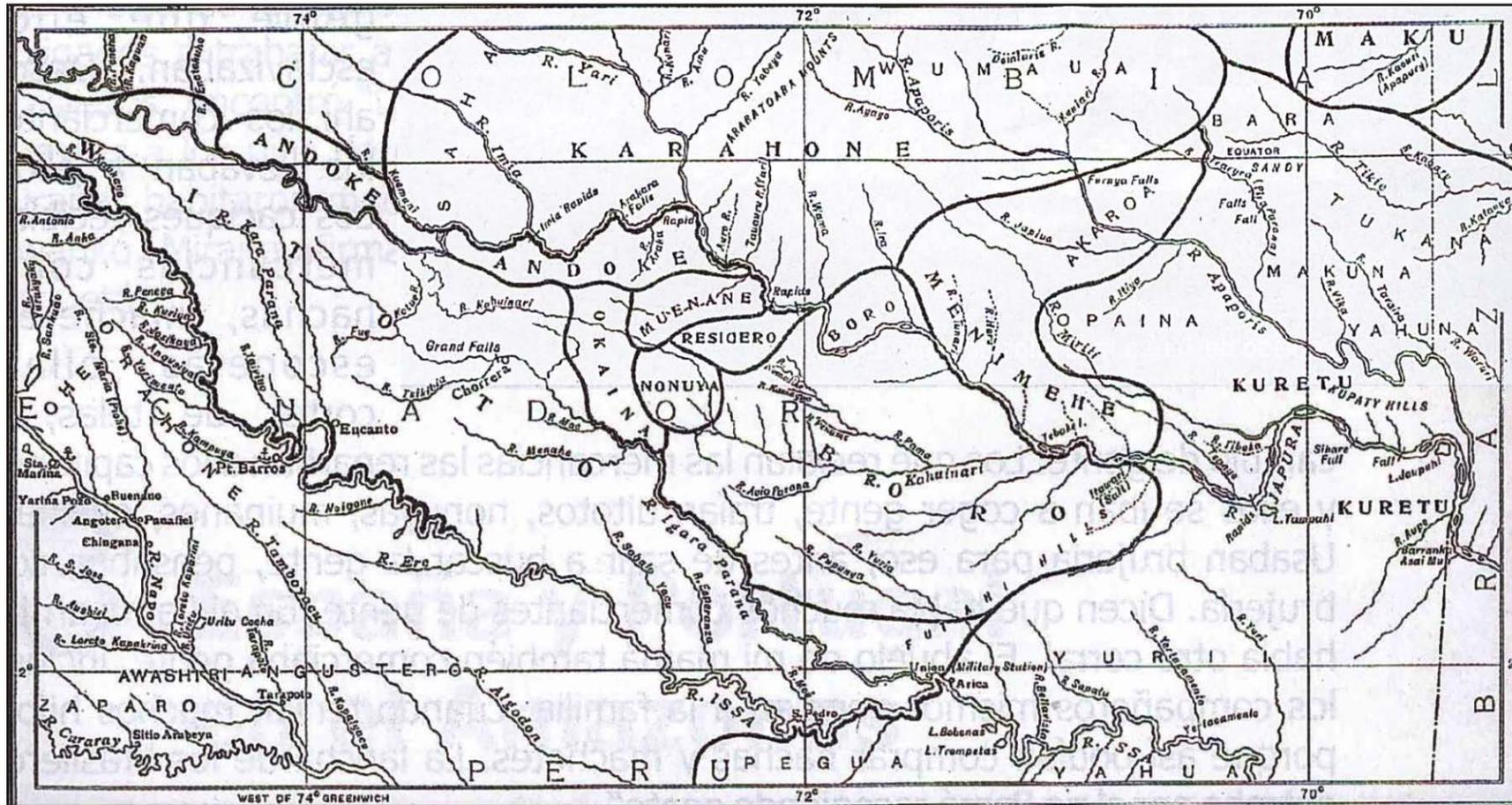
¹¹ Whiffen (1915: 58-59) refers to ‘Cabiyari’ as ‘Akaroa’ (Loukotka 1968: 134).



Map 1.2 Approximate locations of the groups of the *People of the Centre* cultural area (author's map)

In the past, the *People of the Centre* cultural area might have been somewhat broader and encompass some of the aforementioned ethnic groups, especially those which are extinct today. For instance, Whiffen (1915) mentions that the Menimehe people (East Tucanoan) were known as pottery traders in the Caquetá-Putumayo region (Eriksen 2011: 207). The lack of descriptions makes it difficult to decide how strong the relationship was between the Menimehe and other groups of *the People of the Centre* cultural area.

The denomination of the *People of the Centre* cultural area (known in Colombia and Peru as *Gente del Centro*) makes a reference to people's common mythical origin, the 'Hole of Awakening', or 'Hole of Humanity' (see T1 in the Appendix) located on the Igara-Paraná river (in the version told by the 'Witoto' people). According to the myth of origin, people, in an ape-like form, were enclosed in a hole in the ground, called *Komimafo* in 'Witoto'. Upon leaving the hole, a wasp (often interpreted as a jaguar), cut off their tails and they become proper people (see also Farabee (1922: 145) and 'The Myth of Origin of the Murui people' in Text 1, Appendix). Many groups in Northwest Amazonia, e.g. the Kubeo (East Tucanoan), attribute their origins in a similar fashion. Figure 1.1 shows a map, drawn by the Minika and Murui people, that illustrates their common origin and direction of their expansion in the region between the Caquetá, Igara-Paraná and Putumayo rivers (the drawing is further accompanied by additional Bora names).



Map 1.3 Groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region in 1908. The 'Witoto' territory is marked to the north of the Putumayo ('Issa' on the map) and Caquetá (as 'Japura') rivers, roughly the Cara-Paraná ('Kara Parana') and Igara-Paraná rivers ('Igara Parana') rivers (Whiffen, 1915: 58-59)

ritual activities that relate to the consumption of pounded coca and liquid tobacco (which is licked by men, and not inhaled like among groups to the north, or smoked as among the groups to the west, east, and south). Each group in the region were specialized in the production and trading of specific goods. For instance, the ‘Witoto’ were known to have expertise in tobacco and hammocks; the Bora in mats and woven products (Eriksen, 2011: 207) (see also §1.3.3).

The *People of the Centre* regularly celebrate traditional festivals together. During shared festivals, “(...) repertoires of hundreds of songs that are sung in a predetermined order exist for each language. Important myths, e.g. about shared cultural heroes, exist in each of the languages” (Seifart, 2011: 7-8) (see also §1.3.9). The *People of the Centre* must have been in close relationship with other ethnic groups in the area, some of which were hostile. For instance, the Secoya (West Tucanoan) consider the ‘Witoto’ their traditional enemies, but they seem to have borrowed from the ‘Witoto’ people the manioc squeezer (*tipiti*, a Tupinamba loan into Portuguese, see Cunha (1998: 293) for reference) together with bitter manioc (Jürg Gasché, p.c.). Wheeler (1970: 14) mentions that the name of the Siona people (West Tucanoan) ‘(...) seems to have been given by the Witotos (inhabitants of the lower Putumayo). In their language the term means ‘perfume people’, which fits the practice of the Siona men in applying native perfumes to the decorative palm fibres attached to their upper arms.’¹² The traditional celebration *Riai Rua* among the ‘Witoto’ comes from the Carijona people located north Caquetá who are of Cariban descent. *Riai Rua* feasts were celebrated to commemorate the ‘Witoto’ victory of the invasion of lands at the Yará river by the Carijona (Gasché and Echeverri, p.c.). The Bora people have also ‘borrowed’ many traditional celebrations from other ethnolinguistic groups from the region.

¹² In Murui, the terms *zaferede* and *zafia* mean ‘to flower’.

The languages of the Boran and the Witotoan families are spoken in close proximity and have been in close contact for a very long time. The diffusion in the Caqueta-Putumayo river Basin area among various unrelated languages is seen in terms of language structure rather than lexicon. For instance, Resígaro in close contact with the Bora people, was under ‘heavy structural and morphological influence’ from the Bora but borrowed relatively few lexical items (Aikhenvald, 2001; Seifart, 2011: 182-190). Resígaro has extensively ‘acquired’ additional classifiers into its system of nominal classification. Unfortunately, since there is little adequate data on the other languages of the *People of the Centre* cultural area, it is fairly impossible to decide whether some apparent similarities are a consequence of intense areal diffusion or shared origin (Aikhenvald, 2002: 8).

It is apparent that at some point in the past there must have been some contact between the *People of the Centre* and peoples beyond the Caquetá-Putumayo region. Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1867: 297) mentions that the Tariana (North Arawak from Vaupés) were in contact with Boran peoples (see also Aikhenvald (forthcoming) for further references). Furthermore, von Martius gives two word lists of languages spoken in the area, Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya and Miranha-Oira-Açu-Tapuya. His Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya (1867, 277) does share some similarities with other Witotan languages but the exact affiliation is yet unknown. The Miranha-Oirá-Açu-Tapuya word list (1867, 279), seems to be a Boran language.¹³ Steward (1948: 750 in Eriksen 2011, 194) mentions socio-cultural

¹³ Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya (MCT) word list (von Martius, 1867: 277) shares also some similarities with Witotoan languages, e.g. MCT *amühi* ‘arbor (tree)’ resembles the forms *amena* in Witoto and *anona* in Ocaina for ‘tree’; *kui* ‘ego (I)’ in MCT is somewhat similar to *kue* in ‘Witoto’ and *ke* in Ocaina for first person singular.

interactions between speakers of the Arawak, Boran, and Witotoan groups, that would have resulted in ‘bringing Arawak cultural traits such as the sacred bark trumpets and the habit of ritual blowing to ‘Witoto’ shamans’.¹⁴ Following Eriksen (2011: 194), ‘(...) studies on lexical borrowing from Arawak into ‘Witoto’ (e.g. terms for coca, drum, rattle, and an hallucinogenic substance) suggest that Arawak-speakers exerted profound cultural influence over the ‘Witoto’ (Epps, 2009a: 595), and the close relationship between these groups is illustrated by linguistic distribution maps showing pockets of Arawaks such as Yucuna, Resigaró, and Uainuma (extinct) in immediate contact with the Witoto’. Steward (1948:749 in Eriksen 2011: 194) has also pointed out what might have been a Tupian influence on the Witotoan peoples ‘through Tupian raiding and trading expeditions up the Amazon and Putumayo rivers, which brought those speakers into contact.’ To date, we have little information about contact of *People of the Centre* with ‘outside’ groups.

The Caquetá-Putumayo area was hit by the excesses of rubber exploitation at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the early 1900’s, numerous indigenous groups lived in the upper Amazon region. The entire population of the *People of the Centre* might have been as many as 46,000 (Fagua Rincón, 2015: 137; Whiffen, 1915) (see also Table 1.1).¹⁵ With the

The Miranha-Oira-Açu-Tapuya (MOAT) (von Martius 1867, 279) resembles a Boran language (possibly a variety of Bora), e.g. MOAT *ümaana* ‘arbor (tree)’ is *umehe* in Bora; MOAT *nöchba* ‘sol (sun)’ is *nuhba* in Bora (for ‘sun’ and ‘moon’) (von Martius 1867: 277, 279).

¹⁴ It is important to note here that nowadays the Yurupari flutes are unknown among the Witotoan peoples. To my knowledge, none of the existing ethnographies on Witoto mention the use of sacred flutes, see e.g. Chávez, Leach, Shanks, and Young (1976). However, this does not mean that ‘Witoto’ shamans were not familiar with sacred flutes (Eriksen, 2011).

¹⁵ Whiffen (1915: 59) adds: ‘(...) these figures must be taken as very approximate, and are probably overestimated in some cases (...)’.

high demand for rubber, Amazonia turned into a forced labour camp. As the direct result of disease, forced labour, torture, murder, and displacements, by the end of the 1930's, the population of the *People of the Centre* was drastically reduced (see §1.3 on the Murui groups during the Casa Arana period). The current estimates of the population size of the *People of the Centre* is about 10,200 people (see Table 1.1 on past and current estimates taken from Wojtylak 2016).¹⁶ For more on the *People of the Centre* cultural area, see also (Echeverri, 1992, 2015; Echeverri Juan, 2015); Gasché (2009b, 2009c); Seifart (2013); Seifart and Fagua Rincón (2009); (Seifart et al., 2009; Seifart & von Hildebrand, 2009).

Table 1.1 Ethnic population and speakers of the People of the Centre

| Language family | Language (language variety) | Approx. ethnic population in 1908 (Whiffen 1915) | Approx. current ethnic population | Approx. current number of speakers (semi-speakers) | Location |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Witotoan | Witoto (Murui) | 15,000 | 2,800 | 2,000 | Colombia, Peru |
| | Witoto (Mika) | | 200 | 100 | Colombia |
| | Witoto (Minika) | | 2,400 | 1,500 | Colombia |
| | Witoto (Nipode) | | 650 | 250 | Colombia, Peru |
| | Nonuya | 1,000 | 90 | 0 (6) | Colombia |
| | Ocaina | 2,000 | 300 | 50 | Colombia, Peru |
| Boran | Bora | 15,000 | 2,560 | 700 | Colombia, Peru, Brazil |
| | Bora (Miraña) | | 400 | 400 | Colombia |
| | Muinane | | 2,000 | 260 | 90 |
| Arawak isolate | Resígaro | 1,000 | 37 | 2 | Peru |
| | Andoque | 10,000 | 520 | 370 | Colombia |
| Totals | | 46,000 | 10,217 | 5,462 | |

I will now turn to the cultural context of the Murui groups. Historical background is the focus in §1.3.2, followed by social organization (§1.3.3), marriage customs and kinship (§1.3.4), beliefs and rituals (§1.3.5), description of the ‘Witoto’ calendar (§1.3.6), taboos (§1.3.7),

¹⁶ See comparative data in Fagua Rincón (2015: 137) who gives 11,604 as an estimate of the population of the *People of the Centre* and 4,634 as the number of speakers. For references on numbers of ethnic population and speakers see Crevels (2007); Echeverri (1992, 2014); Fagua Rincón (2015); Griffiths, Coleman, and Morales (2001); OIMA (2008); Romero Cruz (2015); Seifart (2005); Thiesen and Weber (2012); Vengoechea (2012).

hunting avoidance speech style (§1.3.8), song genres and festivals (§1.3.9), Murui signal drum communication (§1.3.10), and the practise of naming (§1.3.11). Linguistic affiliation of Murui, as a Witotoan language, is given in section §1.4. This is followed by a description of the current sociolinguistic situation in §1.5. The last two sections offer the basis for this study, discussing work on the Murui language to date (§1.6), as well as the speakers, materials, and locations of the speakers' communities (§1.7).

1.3 Who are the 'Murui' people, and why are they referred to as 'Witoto'

This sections thus will focus on Murui traditional way of life, based among other sources, on field notes, elders' narrations, ethnographic descriptions (Farabee, 1922; Tessmann, 1930; Whiffen, 1915), anthropological studies (Becerra & Silva, 1997; Benjamín, 1982; Briñez Pérez, 2002; B. Burtch, 1975b; Echeverri, 1997; Gasché, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1982; Griffiths, 2002; D. Minor, 1973; E. Minor & Minor, 1980), as well as other works (AZICATCH, 2008; Burgos, 1994; Córdoba, 2006; Echeverri & Candre, 2008; Martínez, 2006, 2010; Ocampo, 1980; OIMA, 2008; Rojas, 1986; Tagliani, 1992; Urbina, 1986, 1992; Urbina, Corredor de, López, & Román, 2000). Throughout the sections §1.3.2-1.3.9, I refer to Murui, Míka, Mínika, and Nípodé under one term, the 'Witoto' people, as culturally, they form a unified group, with similar customs and practises.

1.3.1 Denomination

Over the years, there have been a number 'hypotheses' about the possible origin of the name 'witoto'. It was suggested that the term has its origin in the 'Witoto' word 'uidodo' meaning 'mosquito'. This was mentioned already in 1905 by Rocha (1905: 205); see also Petersen de Piñeros (2000: 219). Nowadays, it is generally accepted that the term 'witoto' is almost

certainly an exonym for the ‘Witoto’ people by the Carijona. Their moribund Cariban language used to be spoken to the north of the traditional territories of the ‘Witoto’, between the Caquetá and Vaupés rivers.¹⁷ The Carijona are believed to be relative newcomers in the Caquetá-Putumayo area, originating in the Guianas (Sergio Meira p.c. in Eriksen 2011: 196). The ‘Witoto’ and the Tucano people considered the Carijona ‘aggressive invaders’ and tribal enemies (Meira, 2000). To this day, the ‘Witoto’ song repertoire has numerous Carijona songs that refer to ‘a great tribal war’ between the ‘Witoto’ and the Carijona peoples (see §1.3.9). In Carijona, the terms *witoto* and *karijona* both mean ‘human’.¹⁸ Traditionally, the term might have been related to ‘perceived characteristics’ of the ‘Witoto’ people, that motivated such a pejorative denotation. For instance, for the Carijona, one of the most representative features of the Murui is their ‘cunning’ (David Guerrero, p.c.). In the course of time, the term ‘*witoto*’ was further adopted by rubber-traders and missionaries to designate this specific indigenous group (Echeverri, 1997: 49). Although initially, the ‘Witoto’ people decided to retain this denomination (modifying its spelling to ‘Uitoto’),¹⁹ nowadays various

¹⁷ The current population of the Carijona people is less than 100, with possibly as many as 10 speakers on the Vaupés river (Robayo Moreno, 2000: 171), and between 20 and 40 in total. In the past, it was much larger. For the mid-19th century, Schindler (1977) estimated between 4,000-10,000 Carijona living in the area between the Yarí river and the headwaters of the Apaporis (Meira, 2000: 20).

¹⁸ Lucia Carijona, a consultant of David Guerrero (a linguist working on Carijona), confirms that ‘*witoto*’ means ‘person’ but in a pejorative sense. According to work on ‘Proto-Taranoan’ by (Meira, 2000), the word ‘*witoto*’ is attested in Carijona, Tiriyo, and Akuriyo meaning ‘person, people’ but also extending the meanings to ‘name of an ethnic group, enemy, negro, European, slave’ (depending on the word list). Additionally, Carlin (2006) mentions that in Trio (same as Tiriyo), the word *witoto* means ‘human being’. With the simulative marker *-me*, “(...) *witoto-me* ‘a human being’ has the meaning of ‘manifestly but not inherently a human being’, as for example when a spirit manifests itself as a human being.”

¹⁹ The spelling ‘Uitoto’ is consistent with the alphabet which has been adopted to write the language (this was decided in a meeting of bilingual school teachers in Aracuara in 1990) (Echeverri, 1997: 49).

‘Witoto’ groups are appealing to the Colombian government to have their distinct identity recognized. The Murui people refuse to be called ‘Witoto’ (K. T. Lupinski, (Editor, Director) & Wojtylak, 2017; OIMA, 2008).²⁰ As the Murui Elders put it:

Kai mei beno Muruidikai. Ie baie jamai birui ua Constitución anado bite, antropologo aki taaiño yua, maiyomona aki ‘Uitotona’ kai joonega aki. Ie ia baiñede. Kai mamekiñedeza, koni kai mameki Murui!

‘We here are the Murui people. Nowadays, there is a constitution (but) the anthropologists lied. They called us ‘Uitoto’. But this does not fit (us). This is not our name. Our name is Murui!’

All the ‘Witoto’ groups refer to themselves by a number of general terms, such as *komini* (meaning ‘people, human beings’; as opposed to *riai* ‘cannibals, flesh eaters, white man, Carijona people’)²¹ and ‘Children of Tobacco, Coca and Sweet Yucca’ (called *Hijos de Tabaco, la Coca y la Yuca dulce* in Spanish).

1.3.2 Historical background

It was the 19th century explorers of the upper Amazon region who brought attention to the ‘Witoto’ tribes, and a large part of the information about them comes from that period. The Amazonian region between the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers remained largely unexplored until the 1860s. A German botanist and explorer, Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1867:

²⁰ Currently, OIMA (Organización Indígena Murui del Amazonas) has become CIMPUM (Asociación del Cabildo Autoridades Tradicionales de Consejo Mayor del Pueblo Murui), known by the Colombian government under REGISTRO N-00121 DEL 29 de septiembre DEL 2014 DEL MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR dirección ETNIA (NIT 838000.191.DV-9).

²¹ ‘Not only is the expression *riai* associated with the Carijona (Carib) but also, in the mythology, wit the the people from heaven, the servants of *Juziñamui*. His name means ‘the insatiable fighter.’ As a fighter, *Juziñamui* is also a cannibal’ (Echeverri, 1997: 106).

297), might have been one of the first to record ‘Witoto’ words. In his short word list of what he calls ‘Oregones’, he includes various lexical items that resemble a Witotoan language (possibly a dialect of ‘Witoto’).²² (Note that ‘Orejones’ of von Martius appear to be different from the West Tucanoan language Maijiki, spoken near the Colombian-Peruvian border in the Loreto state, which has been frequently referred to as ‘Orejon’). In his description from 1883, Crevaux (1883: 369) presents one of the first accounts of the existence of the ‘Witoto’ groups.²³ During the time of the Rubber Boom in the Amazon, the descriptions of the ‘Witoto’ mostly concerned their living conditions and, mainly, their tragic fate. Joaquín Rocha, a Colombian traveller who in 1903 was researching the rubber industry in the area, gives some accounts on the ‘Witoto’ people south of the Caquetá river. The ethnographical description of Whiffen (1915) who travelled in the area in 1908 is an exception as it provides us with the first detailed testimony on the ‘Witoto’ culture while refraining from unveiling the atrocities of the Amazonian Rubber Boom. Other works of ethnographic character from that period that mention the ‘Witoto’ people are by Farabee (1922), Tessmann (1930), Koch-Grünberg (1921), and the monumental work of a German anthropologist Konrad Theodor Preuss (1921, 1923), who lived among the Mïka people sometime between 1913 and 1915.

The period of the Rubber Boom in the Amazon (c. 1879-1913) was the result of a social and economic change caused by the process of industrialization across Europe.

²² The word list of ‘Oregones’ includes *itoma* for ‘sun’ (*jítoma* in Murui but *nuuna* in Ocaina), *erigno* for ‘woman’ (*riño* in Murui, *ringo* in Minika, *maami* in Ocaina), *tai* for ‘snake’ (*jaiio* in Murui, *anunhtyonco* in Ocaina), *huco* for ‘jaguar’ (*jiko* in Witoto, *jonhxo* in Ocaina), *noki* for ‘rain’ (*noki* in Witoto, *ñoon* in Ocaina), *onokui* (*onokai*, *onoyi* in Witoto, *onoon* in Ocaina) (von Martius, 1867: 297).

²³ Minor and Minor (1980: 69) states that the ‘Witoto’ people were mentioned in literature as early as 1695 but gives no further reference.

Because of the high scale of slavery, torture, and the death of half of the tribesmen across the Amazon forest, it has become, what some refer to as the 'silent genocide' (Burgos, 1994: 2). At the turn of the 20th century, the natural territory of the 'Witoto' people was prime real estate, mainly for its chief resource - rubber trees. The increase of technology and the demand for rubber quickly turned the Amazon into a forced labour camp. The most powerful and ill-famed rubber company was the *Casa Arana*, a branch of the Peruvian Amazon Company run by Julio César Arana.

Arana discovered the areas with the highest concentration of rubber trees, specifically the lower section of the Putumayo river. Realizing the potential for profitable business, he developed a plan where he could control the collection and distribution of the material. He saw no need to hire an outside work force because there was already a large one available in the area - the indigenous population. At that time, the Indians were considered to be merely savages and cannibals who kept the majority of prospectors away from this region. At first Arana conquered many areas of the Putumayo river, set up outposts and offered products to the Indians in exchange for the rubber they would collect. For the Witoto, the rubber was a bargain, as they did not have much use for it. Many of the 'Witoto' began investing so much time in collecting the rubber that activities such as hunting and fishing were neglected (Burgos, 1994). The barter system worked well for both parties: Arana was getting a cheap supply of rubber and the 'Witoto' were obtaining items that improved their quality of life.

As the 'Witoto' acquired enough basic products, they lost interest in obtaining more rubber to trade. Moreover, once the latex from the trees was extracted, the 'Witoto' had to go further into the forest in order to search for more. To retain the constant rubber flow, Arana started capturing the 'Witoto' in their native territories and moving them to the rubber-rich areas, forcing them to collect a certain volume of rubber within a specified time period. In

exchange they were given small rations of food (Burgos, 1994). Since the ‘Witoto’ were forced to collect rubber, they could not go hunting and fishing, and many of them starved to death.

Arana created a caste system within the tribe by putting in charge those who were bilingual and raised by European colonists. To gain more control over the indigenous people, Arana also used members of enemy tribes as supervisors. The methods that Arana used to control the population were barbaric to say the least. Those who attempted to escape or did not meet their quota of latex collection were tortured or killed (Burgos, 1994). Those accounts spread fear among the ‘Witoto’ and enabled Arana to have full control over the people. Because of this slave-driven work, the production of rubber increased and remained high for many years.

Due to accusations of Benjamín Saldaña Roca, a Peruvian journalist, and Walter Hardenburg, an American railway engineer, public opinion in Britain became aware of those atrocities (Hardenburg, 1909, 1912). In 1910 the British government was forced to send the consul-general Roger Casement to the Putumayo area to investigate the accusations of Saldaña and Hardenburg. In his report from 1910, Casement denounced the activities of the Peruvian Amazon Company in the upper Amazon (Casement, 1912). This led to the court trial of Julio César Arana, the collapse *Casa Arana* in 1913 and the eventual freedom of the Witoto. With this, the Rubber Boom came to an end. In the meanwhile, Britain established new experimental rubber plantations in Asia (Malaya and Ceylon), and abandoned the exploits of the Amazon (Brockway, 1979).²⁴ For more on the tragic events during the

²⁴ There is a large amount of literature that focuses on the Rubber Boom period, e.g. (Casement, 1912), Goodman (2009); Hardenburg (1912); Mitchell (2009); Sawyer (1997); Taussig (1987); Valcárcel (1915).

Amazonian Rubber Boom see also (Domínguez & Gómez, 1990, 1994; Echeverri, 2011; Gómez, Lesmes, & Rocha, 1995; Mitchell, 2011; Olarte Camacho, 1932; Pineda Camacho, 2000).

By the time the Rubber Boom ended, its impact on the indigenous population in the Amazon had already taken its toll. The slave-driven work force caused a tragic demographic decrease of the *People of the Centre*. It is not entirely known what the size of the ‘Witoto’ population was before the Rubber Boom. Whiffen’s (1915) estimates are as high as 15,000 (see Table 1 in §1.2); for Tessmann (1930: 312), the total size of the ‘Witoto’ population was approximately 20,000. According to a more recent work by Pineda Camacho (2000), the ‘Witoto’ dominated the upper Amazon region with a population of 30,000 before the Rubber Boom.²⁵ Regardless how large the size of the ‘Witoto’ population was, the fact remains that by the end of the 1930’s, their number had dramatically decreased to a few thousand, as a direct result of disease, forced labour, torture, deliberate murder, and displacement. Steward (1948) estimated that in the 1940’s the total population of the ‘Witoto’ people numbered about 2,000 persons. Many of the ‘Witoto’ groups who survived the times of terror and the forced relocation would never return to their traditional territories in Colombia. The ‘Witoto’ people living today in Peru are their direct descendants (such as the Kilometro 11 community living currently in Leticia, Colombia). Since the 1940’s the ethnic population of the Murui, Míka, Mínika and Nípode groups has increased, reaching nowadays about 6,000 people (see Table 1.1 in §1.2).

²⁵ According to Pineda Camacho (2000), at that time there were 30,000 Witoto, 15,000 Miraña, 3,000 Boras, 2,000 Ocaina, 10,000 Muinane, 1,000 Nonuya, 1,000 Resígaro, and 10,000 Andoke peoples. Tessmann (1930: 312) estimated the total size of the Witoto population at approximately 20,000 in 1930.

In the years after the end of the Rubber Boom in 1913, the ‘Witoto’ people received some interest from anthropologists and linguists (see §1.3.3-1.3.11, §1.4, §1.6 and §1.7). The 1960s also advanced new ethnographies aimed at exploring ‘Witoto’ culture. For instance, Jürg Gasché, a Swiss anthropologist, initially devoted his work to the ‘Witoto’ of the Igará-Paraná river in Colombia (1969, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1977) and later to the ‘Witoto’ living on the banks of the Ampí-Yacú river in Peru (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985).²⁶

1.3.3 Social organization

For the last two centuries, mainly due the contact with the ‘outside world’, and the increasing processes of modernization and urbanization, the world of the indigenous peoples in South America has been radically changing. This is also the case for all ‘Witoto’ people, including Murui, Mika, Nipode, and Minika. Nowadays, young Murui people regularly refuse to adhere to ‘the old ways’, and adopt the Western lifestyle. They frequently abandon their ancestral lands in search of ‘a better life’ in larger villages and cities in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru (see e.g. the work of E. Pereira (2012) on the more up to date description of the current situation of the Murui communities of Cara-Paraná), such as Florencia, Leticia, Puerto Leguízamo, and Bogotá in Colombia, Pasto in Ecuador, and Iquitos in Peru. The long-established social structures are rapidly giving way to imminent cultural transformations. This section is concerned with traditional way of life of the ‘Witoto’, and does not focus on the ‘modern’ practices. It is important to stress here, however, that some of these ‘traditional’ aspects are still important today, especially among the ‘Witoto’ elders.

²⁶ Other ethnographic works concerning the *People of the Centre* were published by Guyot (on Bora) (1969, 1972, 1975) and by Landaburu (on Andoque) (Landaburu & Echeverri, 1995; Landaburu & Pineda-Camacho, 1984).

Traditionally, the population of a ‘typical’ ‘Witoto’ community consisted of from 25 to no more than 500 people. The community members lived in *ananeko*, a large multifamily communal roundhouse of a circular shape (henceforth called *maloca*).²⁷ Larger villages consisted of multiple *malocas*. Nowadays, only a handful of families in remote communities (such as Tercera India and San José located at the banks of the Cara-Paraná river) continue live in their *malocas*. Typically, members of a single residential unit will occupy individual wooden houses.

In the old days, each *maloca* consisted of two hierarchical groups of people: the ‘masters of the house’ (*jofo naani*) and the ‘orphans’ (*jaiéniki*) (Echeverri, 1997: 78). *Jofo naani* included men related by paternal line, their allied wives, and children. Within this group the internal hierarchy was based on age of its members. *Jaiéniki* consisted of people who had no relation of alliance with the masters and have come to live with them in the course of time. These could be for instance members from other disintegrated clans or prisoners of war who, in the past, would have been ceremonially consumed (Echeverri, 1997: 78). The ‘orphans’ were considered to be a socially inferior group.

The ‘Witoto’ social organization was (and, to a degree, still is) based on patrilineal and virilocal lineages in which descent is traced through the male line. Traditionally, descendants were part of the father’s side of the family and it was the male descendants that carried on the family name (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 69). Each patrilineage was distinguished from all others not only by a distinct name of the clan but also by different names of ancestors, a unique set of personal names, and other elements which are referred to in songs, proverbs,

²⁷ There are two types of traditional communal houses in the region: the rectangular longhouse and the conical roundhouse.

and riddles (Echeverri, 1997: 79).²⁸ Each ‘Witoto’ clan had its own totem that identified their apical ancestor with animals, plants, cultural objects, or natural phenomena (Gasché, 2009c: 12). To an extent, this practise is still true today. For instance, nowadays, during important traditional festivals and celebrations, roofs of *malocas* may occasionally be painted with totemic symbols that represent certain clans.

Male dominance (especially the father and father’s brother) played a crucial role in a child’s upbringing. In the case of a father’s death, the responsibility for a child (both emotional and physical) was transferred to *izo*, the father’s brother (but never mother’s brother) (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 75). Nevertheless, the mother was always an important person in the life of a child, as she was compelled to care for the infant. The maternal family was not expected to take part in the upbringing of the child but they could have a casual relationship with the young ones. The mother’s brothers and sisters were not considered to play any significant role in a child’s life, as they were members of a different consanguineous group. Among the ‘Witoto’ people, the birth order determined a child’s status in the family. For instance, when a man died, his possessions were transferred to his first son. If he had no son, they would be given to his *aama* ‘brother’, followed by *miriño* ‘sister’, *komoma* ‘son of his sister’ and a *enaize* ‘nephew’ (in that order) (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 81-82) (see §1.3.4 on kinship terminology).

Traditionally, the division of labour between the ‘Witoto’ women and men was clear-cut and, in some respects, it was also a matter of taboo. Following Whiffen (1915: 67), in

²⁸ As of 1909, Pinell (1928: 228-229) reported the existence of at least 136 Witoto clans. Almost a century later the number has decreased to 76 (Echeverri, 1997: 77). For Murui there are officially 32 clans in existence (OIMA, 2008: 29-31).

addition to being ‘the wife, the mother, the cook, and the housekeeper’, the woman was responsible for almost all agricultural labour. Typically, women cultivate yucca, cassava, and various types of fruit in so-called *iyi* (a jungle garden, *chagra* in Spanish) (Bríñez Pérez, 2002). The ‘Witoto’ man was the warrior, the hunter, and the fisherman. He was a major help when selecting a location of a new *chagra* and preparing it to be burnt, a task that was a woman’s domain.²⁹ Certain male tasks, such as hunting at night, were prohibited for women. Each *maloca* used to have a communal *chagra*, that would be ‘worked by’ members of a clan. Nowadays, almost every family has their own individual *chagra*; moreover, the division of work is today much less clear-cut than in the past.

Traditionally, ‘Witoto’ people were involved in the local trade network, and were known to be competent producers of tobacco and hammocks (Eriksen, 2011: 207). Steward (1948: 754) reports that each Witotoan group had their own pottery style, which lead Eriksen (2011: 207) to believe that ceramics in the region was an important way to express the ethnic group’s identities. Although Whiffen (1915: 61-62) mentions that there were no ‘recognized native trade routes or trade centres’ in the area, the importance of locally known paths was immense. Murui elders do mention that in the ‘ancient times’ there were well known paths that would lead to numerous settlements within the territories of the *People of the Centre*, as well as to remote villages of other language groups.³⁰

²⁹ Whiffen (1915: 110) noted that the ‘Witoto’ and Ocaina peoples were more skilful in fishing than other groups. They were also expert trappers. Like many other Amazonian tribes, the Witoto hunt mainly with blowguns with poisoned darts.

³⁰ The elder Lucio Agga commented that it has been long forgotten where these paths were and where they would lead to.

1.3.4 *Marriage customs and kinship terminology*

Traditionally, the ‘Witoto’ were required to adhere to a number of rules when considering marriage. Wives joined from other affiliated clans by the rule of exogamy. When a man married a woman, the relatives of each of the spouses would become relatives of their descendants. This was the way of making diverse alliances among various clans (Echeverri, 1997: 80). The ‘Witoto’ peoples practised polygamy, where the man would frequently marry his wife’s sister (Minor and Minor 1980: 75).³¹ Although a difference in age between partners wishing to marry was not officially disallowed, it was much more common for a couple to be relatively similar in age. Elders strictly forbade marriage when a couple had any direct traceable kin relations on either the father’s or mother’s side. Marrying cross and parallel cousins was generally considered taboo (Minor and Minor 1980: 80).³² In order for a marriage to be recognized, a couple attended a ritual, after which they could take up residency together (Gasché, 2009c: 13). The ‘Witoto’ people did not practice formal divorce rituals. If one of the members in a marriage wished to divorce the other, they must present a sufficient reason for it (e.g. bad temper, disease, childlessness, negligence of the spouse) (Whiffen, 1915: 165).

Legitimate children always belonged to their father’s line, never to the mother’s line. The obligations of a child’s parents depended (and generally still do) on its sex. In the old days, as well as today, the mother was compelled to care for the infant, either male or female.

³¹ The practise of polygamy disappeared long before 1975 (Minor and Minor 1980: 75), as a result of efforts by missionaries present in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries.

³² Minor and Minor (1980: 80) mentions however, that marrying a ‘distant’ classificatory brother, who does not live with the Consanguineous group of the Ego (e.g. granddaughter of mother’s father’s brother) was not disallowed.

She also carried the load of instructing and introducing her daughter to her duties and obligations as a woman. Father's dominance played a crucial role in male children's upbringing. He was responsible for their mental, emotional, and physical education. In case of a father's death, the responsibility for female and male children was transferred to the *izo* 'father's brother'. The maternal family was not expected to take part in the upbringing of the child but they could have a casual relationship with the young ones. The mother's brothers and sisters were not considered to play any significant role in a child's life, as they were members of a different consanguineous group (Minor and Minor 1980: 81).

The terminology of the 'Witoto' kinship system, ranges over five genealogical levels; relatives above generation (G^{2+} , see further this section) and beneath (G^{2-}) are not distinguished and become, therefore, non-traceable.³³ In the second ascending generation, there is an instance of terminological merging with regard to female blood relatives of Ego. In the generation of Ego, the terms for sister and brother extend to cover children of one's parent's siblings and their denomination depends on the sex of Ego. For the male Ego, in the first ascending generation, the system makes a distinction between cross and parallel cousins. While the parallel cousins are considered to be blood related to Ego (and are, therefore, referred to by the same kin terms), cross cousins are not. The Witotoan languages share only a handful of kinship terms; even basic terms greatly differ from language to language (e.g.

³³ According to the classical anthropological classification, the 'Witoto' kinship system might be classified as a variation of the Omaha type (Wojtylak, 2012b). E. Minor and Minor (1980) analyses the system as Hawaiian. To my understanding of the kinship terminology, the Hawaiian system does not differentiate between mother and father's sides of the family in relation to Ego, and it is ambilineal (Nanda & Warms, 2007: 192-198). The 'Witoto' kinship system clearly differentiates between father's and mother's side, but uses no bifurcate merging. The mother's patrilineage is insignificant to Ego.

‘mother-in-law’ in ‘Witoto’ is *jífaiño*, in Nonuya it is (possessor)-*jóvano*, in Ocaina *xoraahya*; in the terms for ‘mother’ in ‘Witoto’ is *ei/kei, juño* in Nonuya, and *úúdsah* in Ocaina).³⁴

‘Witoto’ kinship terminology is relatively large, distinguishing between consanguinal and affinal ties. The majority of them forms a special subclass of nouns, which includes a plural kin marker (see §5.1.4). Moreover, masculine terms tend to have more vocative forms than their feminine counterparts; see also E. Minor and Minor (1980: 79).

I. CONSANGUINEOUS RELATIONS - the following terms are used to denote consanguineous relations.³⁵ The second ascending generation (referred to as G^{2+}) contrasts two terms: *uzu-ma* (grandparent-CLF:DR.M) ‘grandfather’ and *uzu-ño* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F) ‘grandmother’. *Uzuma* refers to both father’s father (FF) and mother’s father (MF) regardless of Ego’s sex. In the same fashion, *uzuño* covers all female relatives (S^F) of both father’s and mother’s generations (that is, they are merged). The members of G^{2+} are distinguished only by sex. The terms *uzuma* and *uzuño* are also used for all the blood relatives above G^{2+} , as well as for fictitive kinship (those based on neither consanguinal nor affinal ties, but social ones). Generations above G^{2+} are not distinguished (referred to as *uzu-tiai* (grandparent-KIN.PL) for ‘grandparents, ancestors’).

(1.22) *uzuma* ♂♀Kin G^{2+} S^M (both sides: FF, FFF, FFB, FFFB, FMMB, etc.; MF, MMF, MMMF, MMB, MMBB, MFMB, etc.)

³⁴ This section is a modified version of Wojtylak (2012b).

³⁵ In discussing kinship terminology, I will use the following abbreviations (Foley, 1997: 135): ♀ - female Ego, ♂ - male Ego, F father, M mother, B brother, Z sister, S son, D daughter, H husband, W wife, P parent, P⁺ parallel, the same sex as Ego, P⁻ parallel, different sex from Ego, G sibling, $G^{+/-}$ generation (+ for ascending, - for descending), E spouse, C child, S^M - male relatives, S^F female relatives. The ‘etc.’ indicates that these terms apply to an infinite list of kin relationships.

uzuño ♂♀Kin G²⁺ S^F (both sides: FM, FFM, FFFM, FFZ, FFFZ, etc.; MM, MMM, MMZ, MMMZ, MFMZ, MFZ, etc.)

As we come closer to Ego's generation, more semantic features become relevant for an explicit description of the meaning of the terms. The core of the first ascending generation (G¹⁺) consists of *moo* (occasionally *mooma*) 'father' and *ei* (or *eiño*) 'mother'.³⁶ These terms are unique and apply only to the biological father and the mother of Ego.

(1.23) *moo/mooma* ♂♀Kin G¹⁺ (biological father: F)
ei/eiño ♂♀Kin G¹⁺ (biological mother: M)

izo 'uncle (FB)', *biyama* 'uncle (MB)', and *ii* 'aunt (FZ, MZ)' are other terms of G¹⁺ that refer to the first ascending generation linked to Ego. The terms are used regardless of Ego's sex. While *izo* refers to male relatives linked to Ego through their father, the term *biyama* is reserved for 'mother's brother'. *Biyama* could be interpreted as a man (from who) Ego's mother 'came'; it contains the nominalized *biya* 'coming' and CLF:DR.M *-ma*. *Biyama* (and his relatives) are not considered to be blood of Ego but a separate kin. The female blood relatives of G¹⁺ linked to Ego through both his father and mother are merged by term and referred to as *ii*.³⁷ The terms *ii* 'aunt (FZ, MZ)' and *izo* 'uncle (FB)' cannot take animate classifiers *-ma* (CLF:DR.M) and *-ño* (CLF:DR.F).

³⁶ There are a number of 'archaic' forms in Mika, where the form *kei* refers to 'mother', instead of *ei* in Murui and Minika. The Mika term *Mookei* can be interpreted as 'parents' (*moo* is 'father') and it occasionally is used in Murui and Minika only during traditional celebrations. Note however that the element *k-* in all Witotoan languages is related to 1sg marker, which suggest that *kei* in fact is an archaic form bearing the possessive prefix *k-*. *Kei* therefore would mean 'my mother' (see Chapter 5 on possession).

³⁷ Traditionally, those terms were also used by Ego, when a father would also marry his wife's sister, as his second wife (the blood line would remain intact), but not when his second wife would come from outside Ego's kin (Minor and Minor 1980: 75). It is uncertain if the 'Witoto' people practised any types of levirate marriages.

- (1.24) *izo* ♂♀Kin G¹⁺ (father's side: FB)
biyama ♂♀Kin G¹⁺ (mother's side: MB)
ii ♂♀Kin G¹⁺ S^F (both sides: FZ, MZ)

In the Ego's generation, G⁰, male and female kin are denominated differently. The terms for sister and brother extend to also cover children of one's parent's sibling. The sex of Ego is of great importance here. *Evuño* 'sister' is used by ♀Ego for all female relatives linked through her mother or father; *ii* 'brother' for all male relatives through her mother or father. ♂Ego refers to his brothers (on both mother's and father's side) as *aama* 'brother'; and *miriño* covers all female relatives linked to Ego through their father and mother. This is illustrated in (1.25-26). P⁺ stands for the same sex as Ego, P⁻ for different sex.

- (1.25) *evuño* ♀Kin G⁰ P⁺ S^F (Z, FBD, FZD, MZD, MBD)
ii ♀Kin G⁰ P⁻ S^M (B, FBS, FZS, MZS, MBS)

- (1.26) *miriño* ♂Kin G⁰ P⁻ S^F (Z, FBD, FZD, MZD, MBD)
aama ♂Kin G⁰ P⁺ S^M (B, FBS, FZS, MZS, MBS)

The first descending generation (G¹⁻) has six terms: *jito* 'son', *jiza* 'daughter', *enaize*, *enaizeño*, *komoma*, and *komoño*. The central terms as *jito* and *jiza*, which refer to one's biological children. Regardless of Ego's sex, *jito* and *jiza* are the unique terms that apply only to the children of Ego and not to the children of his/her brothers or sisters:

- (1.27) *jito* ♂♀Kin G¹⁻ S^M (biological son: S)
jiza ♂♀Kin G¹⁻ S^F (biological daughter: D)

To cover children of one's parent's sibling, the terms *enaize*, *enaizeño*, *komoma*, and *komoño* are used.³⁸ There are, however, fundamental distinctions between them. Firstly, *enaize* and *enaizeño* extend to also cover all blood relatives of G²⁻ as well. Secondly, the use of all four terms is strongly related to the closeness of the kin to Ego, Ego's sex and the sex of kin that is

³⁸ The term *enaize* 'nephew' cannot occur with the masculine derivational classifier *-ma* (**enaize-ma*).

referred to. For the ♀Ego, all children of her brothers and sisters (on both father's and mother's side, that is, ZC, MZDC, MZSC, MBZC, MBSC, FBDC, FBSC, FZDC, and FZSC) are classified as *enaize* and *enaizeño*:

- (1.28) *enaize* ♀Kin G¹⁻ P⁻ S^M (ZS, MZDS, MZSS, MBZS, MBSS, FBDS, FBSS, FZDS, and FZSS)
enaizeño ♀Kin G¹⁻ P⁺ S^F (ZD, MZDD, MZSD, MBZD, MBSD, FBDD, FBSD, FZDD, and FZSD)

For ♂Ego, on the other hand, *enaize* and *enaizeño* are children of his male brothers on both father's and mother's side (i.e. BC, MBSC, MZSC, FBSC, FZSC). The children of his sisters and children of his mother's and father's sisters (i.e. ZC, MBDC, MZDC, FBDC, FZDC) are referred to as *komoma* and *komoño*. Crucially, the terms *komoma* and *komoño* are reserved only for the male speakers.

- (1.29) *komoma* ♂Kin G¹⁻ P⁻ S^M of female relatives
komoño ♂Kin G¹⁻ P⁺ S^F of female relatives
- (1.30) *enaize* ♂Kin G¹⁻ P⁻ S^M of male relatives
enaizeño ♂Kin G¹⁻ P⁺ S^F of male relatives

There is thus a distinction between parallel cousins (*enaize* and *enaizeño*) and cross cousins (*komoma* and *komoño*) in the first descending generation for male Ego. While *enaize* and *enaizeño* are considered to be blood related to Ego, *komoma* and *komoño* are not and, therefore, are referred to as separate kin.³⁹

In G²⁻, *enaize* and *enaize-ño* extend to cover all blood relatives of G²⁻ with the sex of the kin referred to as being the only semantic contrast:

³⁹ *Komoma* and *komoño* literally mean 'new (man)' and 'new (woman)', where *komo* 'new' is followed by an animate derivational classifier; see also E. Minor and Minor (1980: 73).

- (1.31) *enaize* ♂♀Kin G²⁻ P⁺ S^M
enaizeño ♂♀Kin G²⁻ P⁻ S^F

Moreover, Ego can also refer to children of his/her *jita* and *jizo* with descriptive terms, such as *kue jito uru-e jito* (1sg son child-CLF:G son ‘my son’s son’) or *kue jiza uru-e jiza* (1sg daughter child-CLF:G daughter ‘my daughter’s daughter’).

II. AFFINAL RELATIONS - The affinal members of G²⁺ have the same terms as those of consanguinal relations, *uzuma* ‘grandfather’ and *uzuño* ‘grandmother’, as in (1.22) above.

For G¹⁺, the terms for female spouse of *izo* ‘uncle (FB)’ and *biyama* ‘uncle (MB)’ is *eikaño* ‘father’s brother’s wife (FBW) and mother’s brother’s wife (MBW)’. The male spouse of *ii* ‘aunt (MZ, FZ)’ is *mookama* ‘uncle (MZH, FZH)’.⁴⁰ These affinal terms are used regardless of Ego’s sex.

- (1.32) *mookama* ♂♀G¹⁺ S^M (father’s and mother’s side: MZH, FZH)
eikaño ♂♀G¹⁺ S^F (father’s and mother’s side: FBW, MBW)

In G⁰, there is a distinction for affinal terms for ♂Ego and ♀Ego. Firstly, *ai* is the term that refers to ♂Ego’s wife; the term for ♀Ego’s husband is *ini*.⁴¹ All male spouses of ♂Ego’s female relatives are called *oima*; the female spouses of male relatives are referred to as *ofaiño*. Male spouses of ♀Ego’s female relatives are *oma*; female spouses of male relatives are called as *oiño*.

- (1.33) *ai* ♂G⁰ (♂Ego’s wife)
ini ♀G⁰ (♀Ego’s husband)

- (1.34) *oiño* ♀Kin G⁰ P⁺ S^F (BW, FBSW, FZSW, MZSW, MBSW)
oma ♀Kin G⁰ P⁻ S^M (ZH, FBDH, FZDH, MZDH, MBDH)

⁴⁰ Note that *mookama* contains the element *moo* ‘father’.

⁴¹ Note that these terms cannot be followed by classifiers, **aiño* and **inima* are not grammatical.

- (1.35) *ofaiño* ♂Kin G⁰ P⁺ S^F (BW, FBSW, FZSW, MZSW, MBSW)
oima ♂Kin G⁰ P⁻ S^M (ZH, FBDH, FZDH, MZDH, MBDH)

The terms for parents of Ego's wife and husband (and their children) are *jifai* 'father-in-law, father-in-law's son' and *jifaiño* 'mother-in-law, mother-in-law's daughter'. Mother-in-law's children's children were referred to differently, depending on Ego's sex. In G⁰, ♂Ego calls his wife's brother *oima*, and his wife's sister *ofaiño* (cf. (1.35) above). *Oima*'s wife is called *jaieniño*; *ofaiño*'s husband is *rifema*. Similarly, the term of ♀Ego husband's brother is *oma*; her husband's sister *oiño* (cf. (1.34) above). *Oma*'s wife is referred to ♀Ego as *jaienima*⁴²; a husband of *oiño* is *rifeño*.

In G¹⁻ and G²⁻, to cover the wife and the husband of *jito/jiza*, *komoma/enaize* and *komoño/enaizeño*, the terms *mio* (for W) and *ñekore* (for H) are used.⁴³

1.3.5 Beliefs, rituals and customs

Traditionally, the 'Witoto' had numerous beliefs, rituals, and customs that they shared with other groups from the *People of the Centre* cultural area (see §1.2). I will focus here on the most salient characteristics of the traditional 'Witoto' ritual life that are crucial to understand 'Witoto' narrative context. Elaborate descriptions of the 'Witoto' beliefs and ceremonies can be found in among others in Calle (1986); (Echeverri, 1997); Echeverri and Candre (2008); Farabee (1922); Guyot (1969); Marín and Becerra (2006); D. Minor (1973); (G Petersen de Piñeros, 1994a, 1994b); Pineda Camacho (1985); (Preuss, 1921, 1923); Steward (1948); Tessmann (1930); Whiffen (1915). Perhaps the most important work is the one by Preuss (1921, 1923), that provides exceptional descriptions of the religion and mythology of the

⁴² The terms *jaieniño* and *jaienima* must be related to *jaieniki* 'orphans', see §1.3.3.

⁴³ Note that these terms cannot be followed by classifiers; **mioño* and **ñekorema* are ungrammatical.

Mika people.

The 'Witoto' religious worldview was traditionally based on animism. In the last century, Christian missionaries have significantly influenced the traditional belief system of this indigenous group. Between the 1960's and 1980's the Bible translations have become widely available among the 'Witoto' people, see e.g. translations of Genesis 1 (B. Burtch, 1974) and the New Testament (B. Burtch, 1978). This section does not focus on the impact of Christianity on the 'Witoto' people but rather, it draws attention to what is known about their traditional belief system, rituals and customs.

In the old days, the 'Witoto' differentiated between Good and Bad Spirits (Whiffen, 1915: 218). The deity *Buinaima* (sacred name *Yojema*) was seen as the superior being and the Creator of the People.⁴⁴ He inhabited the Underworld and his name was associated with water. His rival was *Juziñamui*, the only deity that lived in the Amazonian heights. *Juziñamui* was believed to have provided the people with the narrations and the fire upon their creation. As a fighter, *Juziñamui* was also 'a cannibal' whose name meant 'the insatiable fighter' (Echeverri, 1997: 106). The missionaries adopted this name to designate the Christian God. Good Spirits were considered to be omnipotent and sympathetic deities, and they did not interact with the world and remained passive. On the contrary, the Bad Spirit, *Taiife* (sacred name *Apuejana*), was always active. He must not be invoked because he was believed to cause grave harm and, therefore, had to be prevented from doing so. This was done by obeying taboos and adhering to rituals. In addition to *Taiife*, there were also *Taiifeño* - a term that referred to any bad spirit. The Bad Spirits could materialize and steal women and

⁴⁴ Referred to as *Usiyamoi* in Whiffen (1915: 220).

children. Similar to the taboo of addressing others by their names (§1.3.8), it was also forbidden to utter the true name of any spirit or deity openly (Whiffen, 1915: 219-220).

In the belief of the 'Witoto', a man's soul was immortal and would exist as long as it continued to appear in the dreams and in the thoughts of the people (Whiffen, 1915: 225). A person's soul not only left their body when they died but could also, voluntarily or not, wander around during their life (e.g. in dreams) (Whiffen, 1915: 227). After death, the body had to be buried in order to assure that the soul reaches the lands of *Buinaima* which, in Whiffen's account, is situated upstream, '(...) that, in this country where the trend of the land is north-west and south-west, is also approximately towards the setting sun' (1915: 225). In the past, the burial took place on the day of death. The unwashed bodies of deceased men or women were wrapped in their hammocks in a sitting position and buried together with their belongings in the communal house immediately below the place that the person occupied during their life (Whiffen, 1915: 175). Nowadays, people are buried in the cemetery in wooden coffins.

The 'Witoto' greatly feared the power of shamans. 'Witoto' shamans still exist, although nowadays they have become more like modern healers. In the old days, there were two types of shamans: *aima*, shaman who knew secrets of spirits, and *nimaimaima*, the one who was considered to be a 'sabedor' ('wise-man') and a protector of the tribe against evil spirits. Medicine-men are referred to as *manoriraima* or *firairaima*. It is a custom for the shaman to conduct a performance of breathing and blowing over the patient as an essential part of the healing process (Whiffen, 1915: 180). According to beliefs, shamanism was hereditary and, frequently, it was the eldest son that succeeded the father. In some cases the shaman could adopt a boy for transmission of his gift if he proved to be more suitable for this function than the shaman's son (Whiffen, 1915: 181). During his lifetime, the shaman could

transform himself into a jaguar-form and when he died, he would return in the form of a jaguar (Whiffen, 1915: 182). Until now, the healer's authority in the community is still considerable.

Even in the present day situation of the cultural decay, the 'Witoto' people know their mythology (called *bakakī*) well. Central to the origin myth is the secret place referred to as *Komimafo* that translates as either the 'Hole of Awakening' or the 'Hole of Humanity' (Echeverri, 1997: 100). According to the myth, before the creation, nothing existed on Earth. One day, the omnipotent deity *Juziñamui* opened the hole and let all the beings inside come out. *Juziñamui* began to cut their tails off (which later would turn into stems of sugar cane), and the beings, now without tails, became people. By the end of the day not everybody had left the Hole. Those who came out after the sunset, remained with tails and, today, they are monkeys (Echeverri, 1997: 101) (see also §1.2).

The important custom of tobacco licking ('liquid tobacco paste' is called *yera* in Murui, *ambil* in Spanish) is still widely practiced by the Murui men (and some women). The coca (*jibie*, known in Spanish as *mambe*) and tobacco (*diona*) are characteristic denotations of the 'Witoto' groups. According to Echeverri (1997: 121) the tobacco is 'a symbol of a man's word and his discipline'. While the word *yera* denotes 'tobacco paste', the lexical roots *ye* and *raa* have a meaning of 'behavior' and 'thing' respectively.⁴⁵ The ritual of *mambe* (performed at a special place in the maloca known as *jibibiri*) involves ingesting the green powder of processed coca with *yarumo* leaves, followed by the consumption of the *ambil*, which is processed tobacco mixed with a certain type of salt. Its consumption is recognized

⁴⁵ *Yetárafue* is understood as norms, relating to men's discipline and behaviour (Echeverri & Candre, 2008: 288).

‘(...) as a mediator that had first brought the people together with the jaguar’ (Davis, 1996: 231).

Festivals and dances (*rafue*), like tobacco and coca, have always been central to the social structure of the ‘Witoto’ people. The traditional songs (*ruaki*) and sung narrations of the origin of lineages (*yoraï*) are pentatonic (based on a scale of five notes) (Thiesen & Weber, 2012: 21) (see also §1.3.9 on songs). Until the 1960s, traditional celebrations used to take place continuously; nowadays, this is only a casual happening (Thiesen & Weber, 2012: 7). The festivals depended on the occasion, and used to be heavily attended when neighbouring clans (also non-Witoto groups) were invited. By nightfall, accompanied by the signal drum of the *manuagé* and by great bonfires, hundreds used to gather to dance and sing the traditional songs to the rhythm of the beat of the *maguaré*, which remains until today the most essential instrument still used during festivals (see §1.3.10 on signal drums).

With regards to adornment, some ‘Witoto’ groups traditionally covered their bodies with latex and then sprinkled it with black ashes (Whiffen, 1915: 88). According to Tessmann (1930: 316), both men and women had long hair and wore no clothing (with the exception of a string passing between a man’s legs and tied up around the waist). Unlike many neighbouring tribes, body piercing was not typical among the ‘Witoto’ people. Only a number of scattered ‘Witoto’ groups in the upper Igara-Paraná districts used to perforate the septum of the nose (where a goose feather would be worn), elongate the ear lobes, and carry out lip piercing (Whiffen, 1915: 86). Ligatures were worn by both men and women. According to Whiffen (1915, 83), men put them on the upper arm. Women, on the other hand, in addition to nasal ornaments, wore the ligatures on the leg (below the knee) and above the ankle.

1.3.6 Calendar

The traditional 'Witoto' year is divided into basically two seasons, a dry season referred to as 'summer' and a 'rain' season; the yearly cycle is tightly related to the different phases of plant cultivation, as well as fishing and preparation of traditional celebrations. The cycle of the year has several 'summers' (each has a distinctive name) followed by periods of rain. Each yearly cycle includes two most important periods (AZICATCH, undated; Makuritofe & Castro, 2008):

A. 'SUMMER' begins with *Tareko*, and is followed by 'verano' (Spanish for 'summer') *Jirada*; this is subsequently followed by a short period of rain that introduced the 'true' summer, the 'verano' *Mona Gigia*, which is further followed by the 'verano' *Egirimona*. During the 'summer' *Tareko* period, one burns the remaining cultivated chagras, and during *Jirada*, one re-sows the tobacco, coca and various types of fruit in the previously burnt chagras. In that time, people would also burn 'wild' uncultivated *chagras* (to have them ready for sowing in the following periods). During *Mona Gigia* one sows the main plants and fruit, cleans the pathways in the forest, prepares e.g. baskets and machetes. In the *Egirimona* period, one primarily burns wild areas that will be cultivated in the future. In that period, one also prepares seeds for sowing and gathers food that will be given to those who work in the chagras. The sowing is done in the following rain period.

B. 'RAIN' begins with rising waters during 'creciente grande' (Spanish for 'big crescent') *Kineji*, and followed by a cold snap (known in Spanish as the 'friaje') *Royizimui*. The 'rain' period *Kineji* is considered as an initial 'evaluation' of the yearly cycle. During the following *Royizimui* period, an evaluation of the past yearly cycle is done, and people make decisions

about what types of *chagras* they would prepare next year. The *Royizimui* period comes around the end of July/beginning of August.

Each of the periods has certain characteristics. For instance, the cold rain period *Roziyimui* is described as the time with low temperatures, fog, wind and dew, with no mosquitoes; water levels are constant and rivers flow ‘slowly’; in that period, animals are thought to ‘live in abstinence refraining from certain foods and activities’; for details see AZICATCH (undated). The ‘Witoto’ year cycle has the following occurrence of periods (AZICATCH, undated).⁴⁶

1. Summer period *aitoma* (relating to palm grubs)
2. Rain period *nokie*
3. Summer period *emaio*
4. Rain period *nokie*
5. Summer period *jizaikotoma* (relating to the *ingá* plant (Spanish *guamo*))
6. Rain period *nokie*
7. Summer period *yamao*
8. Rain period *nokie*
9. Summer period *yoiromona*
10. Rain period *nokie*
11. Summer period *egirimona*
12. Summer period *mona gigia*
13. Rain period *igoï*
14. Summer period *jirada*
15. Summer period *tareko*
16. Rain period *uaki*
17. Summer period *ukutoma* and *nekatoma* (related to *ukuyi* fruit and green *umarí* fruit)
18. Rain period *nekaji*
19. Summer period *jaireimona*
20. Rain period *kineji*
21. Rain period *royizimui*

⁴⁶ I cannot provide glossing for any of these terms as the origin of many is uncertain. While some are related to plant species, others might be associated with mythological figures. See (Echeverri & Candre, 2008: 276-286) for scientific names used in this section.

The names of some of the periods are related to names of specific fruit for a given period. For instance, *nekatoma* is derived from *neka-* ‘green *umarí*’, as in *neka-zí* (green.umarí-CLF.FRUIT) ‘green *umarí* fruit’; this is similar for *neka-ji* (green.umarí-CLF.SAP) ‘green *umarí* sap, liquid’ possibly associating the period of the green *umarí* fruit with rain water. Additionally, the repeater *-toma* (for both *jitoma* ‘sun’ and the name of a famous ‘Witoto’ mythological hero *Jitoma*) occurs on some names for certain periods (cf. *neka-toma* ‘the period of green *umarí* fruit’). The term *noki-e* (rain-CLF:G) ‘rain’ in (2, 4, 6, 8, 10) relates to the rain periods. The ‘Witoto’ calendar is illustrated in Figure 1.2 below.

It is unclear how the current climate change has been affecting the traditional division of seasons. During my fieldwork, many elders were complaining that the seasons have been recently changing, making it difficult to predict ‘rain’ and ‘summer’ periods. Together with the radical changes in social structures due to continuing modernization processes (§1.3.3 and §1.5), climate change adds to the shift in practicing traditional methods of plant cultivation in ‘Witoto’ jungle gardens.



Figure 1.2 The 'Witoto' calendar (AZICATCH, undated)

1.3.7 *Taboo*

Traditionally, 'Witoto' people had numerous types of prohibitions that were subject to taboo. This section will discuss the most prominent ones.⁴⁷

Perhaps one of the most important taboos is related to the process of reproduction. Universally, pregnancy was regarded as a state in which the woman is exposed to attacks of evil spirits, to witchcraft, and other harmful influences. A 'Witoto' woman, in a state of taboo (pregnancy or the early period of lactation), had a number of restrictions imposed upon her, such as avoidance of sexual intercourse. In the old days, this abstinence, especially during the early nursing, was related to 'the scarcity of food'. As there was no food substitute available for the child other than the mother's milk, the newborn would die, if she could not feed it (Whiffen, 1915: 155). During the birth, neither the husband nor any other man (except for the healer) were permitted to be present. In the past, when children were born as twins, stillborn, deformed in any way or with some striking abnormalities, the mother would not allow their offspring to live (Whiffen, 1915: 149-150).

'Witoto' people had numerous food taboos, such as the preparation and choice of food eaten under certain circumstances that had to be strictly obeyed. When the woman was pregnant, both the wife and the husband were obliged to adhere to various dietary rules (such as non-consumption of certain types of meat). If not, the unborn child would possess undesired characteristics of the animal whose meat was consumed (Whiffen, 1915: 148). The prohibitions that the parents had to adhere to before the child's birth, were also imposed on the children until they reached maturity. The children could eat fruit, cassava, and small fish,

⁴⁷ As discussed in §1.3.5, the 'Witoto' people converted to Christianity in the last century.

but no game. The 'Witoto' food taboos were also associated with the cult of guardian spirits (imposed on, inherited, or chosen by a clan) (see also §1.3.8). At no time could the woman prepare nor partake of coca and tobacco. Men, on the other hand, were not permitted to either plant or prepare manioc (Whiffen, 1915: 68).

Traditionally, menstruating women were subject to strong taboos. Additionally, sexual intercourse was not allowed during pregnancy. There were also taboos that related to the performance of the sexual act. The 'Witoto' elders forbade a man to have intercourse with his wife in the *maloca* since it would be displeasing to the tribe ancestors. The taboo prohibited adultery, especially a woman who was in a state of taboo from having any sexual intercourse (Whiffen, 1915). The 'Witoto' people, adhering to the rules of exogamy, would marry outside their clans, given that any type of incest would not only bring disaster to the persons involved but also to the entire clan (Whiffen, 1915).

Sickness and death were always ascribed to non-natural causes. Death was believed to be the necessary consequence of a broken taboo, and it was assigned to an evil spirit that was responsible for the person's death. The goods owned by the dead were thought 'to be a part of that person'. This was the leading motive in the custom of burying these objects in the grave with their possessor (see also §1.3.3)

A man's name, as much as his limbs, was identified with his soul. Should one 'come into possession of one's name, they would be able to perform evil magic against the person. Therefore, real names were kept secret, and their substitutes, such as kin terms or indirect forms, were employed in ordinary life (Whiffen, 1915: 153) (see also §1.3.11). The names of

supernatural beings were taboo as well, and were never uttered in ordinary conversation.⁴⁸ Since the spiritual beings could not remain ‘nameless’, the avoidance in pronouncing their names compelled the adoption of euphemisms. This is similar to Murui hunting avoidance speech style (see §1.3.8).

Similar to other groups of the *People of the Centre* cultural area, the ‘Witoto’ people practiced cannibalism.⁴⁹ According to Whiffen (1915: 121), in the past, those that were ritually consumed were enemies and prisoners (i.e. members of a different tribe): ‘Only the legs and arms, and the fleshy parts of the head are ceremonially eaten (...), the trunk is not eaten (...), anything like the intestines, brains, and so forth, is regarded as filthy and never touched (...). The male genital organs, however, are given to the wife of the chief, the only woman who has any share in the feast (...)’. Cannibalism was extra-tribal only and never occurred within the same tribe. Nowadays, Murui elders say that only certain clans participated in anthropophagy. Cannibalism has not been practiced among the *People of the Centre* area for at least a century now (Seifart, 2005).

The ‘Witoto’ people had taboos for one’s name. When addressing one another, they

⁴⁸ Sometimes, however, the worshipers might desire to attract the attention of a spiritual being by mentioning his name (Webster, 1942: 302).

⁴⁹ Citing Thiesen and Weber (2012: 3): ‘The Bora were alleged to be a warlike and cannibalistic people who often attacked neighbouring tribes, eating the victims (...) they only ate certain parts of their enemies, and they ate those to gain power. One of his [obs. Thiesen’s] sources, an elderly woman, said that she remembered how human flesh tasted.’ Quoting Whiffen (1915: 119): ‘(...) most, if not all, of the Indians of the upper rivers are indisputably cannibals, especially Boro, Andoke, and Resigero groups.’

used kinship terms (see §1.3.11 for details);⁵⁰ other terms included indirect forms such as nicknames (Echeverri, 1997: 124). Following Whiffen (1915, 153) ‘(...) if one of the speakers is not a member of the household and no relationship exist between them, they will use some expressions equivalent to ‘comrade’, ‘man’, or ‘girl’ (see also §1.3.11).

1.3.8 Avoidance speech style

Among the Murui (but also other ‘Witoto’ groups), hunting is a male activity and is still widely practiced. Although nowadays, many Murui people live on river banks, and rely on fish as their primary animal protein source, culturally, hunting was regarded as more important than fishing. When hunting, the most important game is that of mammals; birds and reptiles are of secondary concern. Traditionally, Murui men used to hunt with blowpipes, spears, and wooden traps (D. Minor, 1973: 29; Whiffen, 1915: 108). In 1973, Dorothy Minor, an SIL missionary who together with her husband, Eugene Minor, worked with the Minika groups, gave the following account: “(...) the blowpipes (called *obillakai*), war clubs made of hard wood (*bigi*, see also T1.28 in Appendix), spears (*dukirada*), archers (*zikuira*), and arrows (*zikuirada*) appear in ‘Witoto’ legends, and only elders remember what they were like” (Minor 1973:29, my translation). Today, hunting with a shotgun has been widely adopted by all the ‘Witoto’ groups, the Murui among them.

When hunting bigger game, Murui men employ a special vocabulary. It is a system of lexical substitution meant to ‘deceive’ the animal spirits by avoiding the utterance of the

⁵⁰ According to Whiffen (1915: 153), the Witoto refer to one another as *tanyabe* ‘brother’ or *iero* ‘father’; in case of a woman it would be *gwaro* ‘mother’ or *tanyali* ‘sister’. The Bora use *moma* for ‘father’ and *rinyo* for ‘mother’. This is clearly a mistake as the Bora kin terms are exchanged for the Witoto ones here. Cf. Thiesen and Weber (2012: 465-472) on the Bora kinship terms.

animals' 'true' names. Uttering the names would result in an unsuccessful hunt: animal spirits would know they are to be hunted and would escape. Animals are, therefore, 'renamed' to 'trick' their spirits. This culturally significant speech register is subject to a high degree of metalinguistic awareness, and is referred to by native speakers as 'skilled speech'. Many of the avoidance terms and their referents appear to be iconic. They are based on physical similarity between the animal whose name is avoided and some (typically non-faunal) natural objects (commonly fruit), or the animal's characteristic behaviour. Others are based on mythical associations and appear to have ontological origins. Some examples are given in (1.36) below. See Wojtylak (2015a) for a detailed description of the Murui avoidance speech style.

(1.36) BEHAVIOURAL ASSOCIATIONS

ime (regular term for 'agouti') is substituted for the avoidance term *mizeyi* 'maraca fruit', given that the *maraca* fruit is favoured by agouti rodents

IMPRESSIONISTIC ASSOCIATIONS

janayari 'jaguar' is substituted for the *uibiyi* fruit, given that the *uibiyi* fruit has a shape that is similar to the shape of the jaguar's paw

FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS

fekoda 'edible worm type' is substituted for the *fekorai* 'plant type', given that the *fekorai* leaf 'belongs' to *fekoda* worms (i.e. they share the root *feko-*)

MYTHICAL ASSOCIATIONS

ereño 'giant anteater' is substituted for *buinaireño* 'the anteater ancestor'.

Both terms have a totemic relation: *buinaireño* is the totem or the 'power' of the Anteater clan (the *Ereiai* clan); *-reño* is also a classifier-repeater of *ereño*, see Chapter 4).

Many of these associations appear to have ontological origins; see the work of Echeverri (1997); Echeverri and Román-Jitdutjaaño (2013). The usage of the avoidance terms in ritual discourse illustrates a number of unique characteristics of the hunting speech style. For instance, names of the avoided animals are used in a figurative way. Verbs that are used in the discourse describe actions of certain fruit, which are generally not associated with the

animals, such as falling from a tree (Wojtylak 2015a). Notably, Murui people also employ everyday and avoidance terms when interpreting dreams.

1.3.9 Songs

In the past, the festivals and celebrations were often held on various occasions, such as at the harvest of certain fruit, or at the conclusion of a successful hunt or war expedition (Whiffen, 1915: 193; Wojtylak, 2017). Gasché (2009c: 31) and Urbina Rangel (1997: 14) distinguish between the following ‘Witoto’ festivals:

- *erai rua* (inauguration of a *maloca*),
- *zikii* (dance of sticks),
- *marai* (dance of birth),
- *lluaki* (fruit dance),
- *riai rua* (‘Carijona’ dance),
- *bai* (commemoration of an eaten enemy),
- *zilliko* (dance before gathering pieces of the *manguaré* instrument),
- *ruaki* (inauguration of a newly made *manguaré*),
- *ifonako* (dance to celebrate an end of a duel),
- *menizai* (dance of *charapa* turtle).

The festivals present large repertoires of hundreds of songs. Whiffen (1915) mentions the existence of songs that could be sung only on special occasions and could not be used in any other context than the ritual one; see also Wojtylak and Agga Arteagga (forthcoming) for details on Murui song genre (see also Chapter 20 §20.3.3). All groups that belong to the *People of the Centre* cultural area would regularly celebrate traditional festivals together, during which songs would be sung in a predetermined order that exists for each language (Seifart, 2011: 7-8).

Traditionally, a clan that would organize a festival provided the cassava bread (called *airiji* in Murui, *taiñoji* in Minika) made from bitter manioc, *jaiḡabi* (‘cajuana’ in Spanish, a type of unfermented drink made of starch), fish, and fruit. The participants of the festivals

would bring meat of e.g. tapir (*zuruma*), monkey (*kuita*), peccary (*mero*), sparrowhawk (*nuiki*), and other birds, as well as live grubs, that would be exchanged upon arrival for cassava, cahuana, fish, and such.

1.3.10 Murui drum communication

All the groups of the *People of the Centre* cultural area share the practise of the *manguaré* instrument, a pair of hollowed-out wooden drums. The *manguaré* was used for long distance communication, as well as during traditional celebrations (see Figure 1.3). The small drum is considered male, and the big drum female. In the cosmology of the ‘Witoto’ people, the Father Creator possesses a *manguaré* instrument. Through songs, festivals and celebrations, the instrument is also associated with words. For more details, see Wojtylak (forthcoming-f) on a description of Murui *manguaré*, as well as signal communication in the Caquetá-Putumayo region.



Figure 1.3 A pair of M̄ka wooden signal drums (author’s picture, San José, March 2016)

Traditionally, the Murui drums played an important role in social life. In addition to being the musical accompaniment during celebrations, the *manguaré* was used for announcements within the community and between communities. *Malocas* would relay messages across the entire tribe. The *manguaré* was used to summon kinsmen or clans, to report danger, progress in preparation for a celebration, to announce a hunt, war, arrival of an important person, death, and such. Today, the *manguaré* is used during traditional festivals, but not for long distance communication. In fact, this practice has been long gone, possibly since the 1920's and 1930's (Chávez et al., 1976: 66).

The *manguaré* was a type of communication device in the Caquetá-Putumayo region (and also beyond). Murui had a system of 'drummed codes' with only some iconic relation to the sound structure of the spoken language. The relation is much less prominent than it is, for instance, in Bora (Meyer, Dentel, & Seifart, 2012; Thiesen, 1969, 2006). Messages correspond to established calling formulas (which were much more elaborate in the past). They consist of different phrases and have specific rhythmic patterns which allow one to distinguish between types of messages. All hummed messages have a clear specific intonation, distinguishing high and low pitches, which appear to be related to certain vowel qualities (that is, front high and central vowels have high pitch; back high, low-mid and low vowels have low pitch). The quality of the vowel does not seem to be relevant to the drumming though. Possibly, the 'Witoto' drumming technique was borrowed from other groups that spoke languages which had tones, and would use the pitch difference in humming (the *People of the Centre* shared traditional festivals together).

1.3.11 Naming

In the past, a child was named by the shaman and the members of the family eight days after it was born. If the child was a boy, he was usually named after the father's father. There was no specific ritual with the exception of a ceremonial tobacco-taking. As a rule, boys were given names of animals or birds, and girls were called by the names of plants and flowers (Whiffen, 1915: 153).

Nowadays, all the 'Witoto' people are given Spanish names. Spanish names are usually used to refer to people when they are not present. In addition, they also have numerous nicknames, which are more preferred than official Spanish names. Traditionally, given the taboo of a man's name (mentioned in §1.3.7), when addressing one another, kinship terms were used, such as *ei* ('mother'), *moo* ('father'), and *uzuma* ('uncle') (see also §1.3.4 on kinship terms). Nowadays, this is still practiced, mainly by Murui elders.

Murui has an interesting technique for avoiding names when talking about a person.⁵¹ It involves reducing a number of syllables of a proper noun and their transposition (i.e. metathesis, Chapter 2). This technique stems from the time of orphanages in La Chorrera (see §1.5), and was used by 'Witoto' speakers to refer to nuns and priests, in order to avoid being understood and punished. Nowadays, this technique is used for all kinds of purposes, and can also be used for one's nickname. *Rafî* in (1.36) is an example of such an alternation:

(1.36) Francisca > Fîra > Rafî

⁵¹ This practise is different from secret name taboos given at birth, such as those among the Trio in Suriname (Carlin, 2004), or taboos on the names of the dead among many Panoan groups (Aikhenvald, 2012: 363; Fleck, 2013).

1.4 Linguistic affiliation

Murui is a dialect (linguistic variant) of ‘Witoto’, which is widely known to be one of Witotoan languages. Some scholars consider the Witotoan languages to be related to the neighbouring Boran language family. Whether the Boran and the Witotoan languages are genetically related is a controversial issue. Aschmann (1993) did a comparative study of the Boran and Witotoan language families, and tried to prove the relationship between the two families, which he called ‘Proto-Witotoan’. His hypothesis was challenged by yet another attempt at a reconstruction of a proto language but not enough evidence was found to prove a genetic relationship between these language (Seifart & Echeverri, 2011, forthcoming). Currently, most linguists follow Aschmann’s account adopting it as a working hypothesis.

The division of languages within the Witotoan language family is a matter of consensus. The family constitutes three languages, ‘Witoto’, Ocaina (with a population of about 300, and about 50 speakers) and Nonuya (a moribund language with only 6 semi speakers left among a population of about 90 people). Nonuya and Ocaina share many morphological structures as well as various lexical items, setting them apart from all ‘Witoto’ varieties. A brief analysis of cognate words, suggests that Nonuya tends to ‘resemble’ more ‘Witoto’ word forms, than Ocaina ones. These might be ‘archaic’ forms, suggestive of a older ‘Witoto’ - Nonuya relation (Wojtylak, 2016d).⁵² The label ‘Witoto’ is itself an abstract

⁵² They might also be the result of contact. This hypothesis remains to be given more attention in the future.

concept that encompasses four language varieties, Murui, M̄ika, M̄inika, and N̄ipode.⁵³ They are mutually intelligible, Murui and M̄ika sharing many more similarities, than M̄inika and N̄ipode.⁵⁴ The four names (N̄ipode, M̄inika, Murui, and M̄ika) refer to the expression ‘What is it?’. In the political sense, all varieties of ‘Witoto’ are considered separate languages. The Witotoan language family is given below.

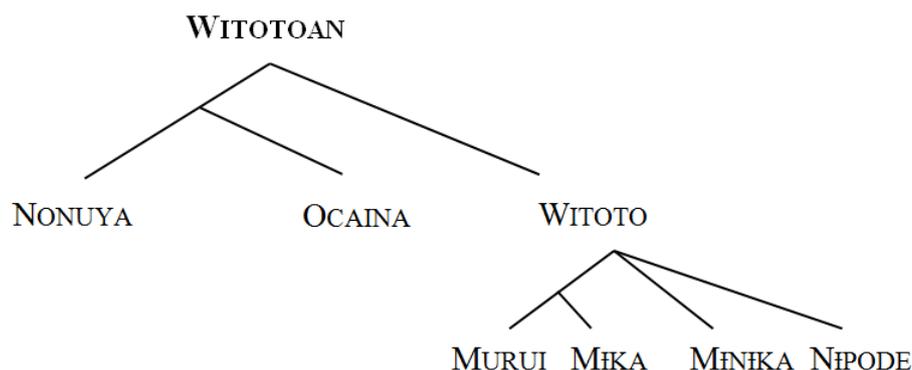


Diagram 1.2 The Witotoan language family

In the past, many languages were suggested as potentially belonging to the Witotoan (or, according to some, the Bora-Witotoan) language family. These include, among others, †Aifue, Andoque, †Andoquero, †Caimito, †Coeruna, †Fitia, †Goma, †Koihoma,

⁵³ Griffiths et al. (2001: 28) remark: ‘Uitoto people in the Middle Caquetá say that more dialects existed in the past including an intermediate dialect closely related to Minika and Nipode called Binika. Another Witoto dialect called Niuoti persisted until recently, but is now only spoken by a handful of people’. Petersen de Piñeros (1994:16) also comments on native reports of a past ‘Nivode’, ‘Binika’, ‘Mika doode’, ‘Mika reede’, ‘Mika reite’, and ‘Mika duaide’ dialects.

⁵⁴ Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994: 16) argues that the Witoto languages could be ‘idiolects’. For S. Burtch (1983), M̄inika and M̄ika are dialects of Murui. In my view, the four varieties of ‘Witoto’ could be very well seen as ethnolects, being a distinguishing mark of social identity. It is also important to notice at this point that each ‘Witoto’ variety has its own clanolects, which are specific to individual clans, and show minor distinctions in terms of their vocabulary and pronunciation.

†Nobenidze, Orejón (Maijiki), and Resígaro, †Tapuya (Kaufman, 1994; Loukotka, 1968; Mason, 1950; Ortiz, 1942; Tovar, 1961). It is extremely difficult to decide which languages belong to the family, as many of them are already extinct. Currently, while Andoque is considered to be a language isolate (Landaburu, 1976, 2000; Loukotka, 1968: 187), Orejón (Maijiki), together with †Andoquero and †Koihoma, are classified as Tucanoan languages. While Andoque is considered to be a language isolate, Resígaro has been analysed to be a member of the Arawak family (T. E. Payne, 1985; Rivet & Wavrin de, 1951). Detailed discussion of the ‘history’ of the Witotoan language family is to be found in Echeverri (1992).

Many speculative classifications have been proposed for the genetic affiliation of the Witotoan languages in the course of time. Curiously, they ranged from the ‘Carib stock’ (Ortiz, 1965: 143), to the ‘Macro Tupi-Guarani phylum’ (Mason, 1950: 244), the ‘Ge-Pano-Carib stock’ (Greenberg, 1987), and the ‘Macro-Cariban stock’ (Kaufman, 1990: 57). Others considered the family as an independent linguistic group, often including other neighbouring languages into the family, supported by works of, among others, Aikhenvald (2012); Loukotka (1968: 187); Tovar and Tovar (1984: 146); Wise (1999).⁵⁵

1.5 Sociolinguistic situation

In Colombia, according to the official records, there are approximately 658,000 indigenous people (87 ethnic groups in 754 ‘Indian reservations’) that live in the country. This number represents about 6% of the entire population of Colombia (Ferreira, 2005). One percent of

⁵⁵ Other works on genetic affiliation of Witotoan language can be found in (Harrington, 1944a).

these are Amazon Indians (Rojas Morales, 2007). The sociolinguistic situation of the languages spoken by the *People of the Centre*, including Murui, is relatively similar in Colombia, but quite different in Peru.⁵⁶

The estimates of the entire ‘Witoto’ population vary from author to author. For instance, the Ethnologue classifies Murui [Ethnologue code huu] as a language spoken in both Colombia and Peru with some 7,800 speakers (6,800 in Colombia and 1,000 in Peru, according to SIL’s estimates from 1995 and 2002) (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016). *Mĩnĩka* [hto] is considered to be a language spoken in Colombia by approximately 6,800 people (as of 2002); *Nĩpode* [hux] counts 1,130 speakers in Peru. There is no information on *Mĩka* [no Ethnologue code].

The official numbers given by Ethnologue for the population of the ‘Witoto’ people are not accurate. As for the Murui people, according to OIMA (2008, 42) as well as my fieldwork experience, there are approximately 2,800 people living both in Colombia and Peru; and less than 2,000 know the language. The ethnic population of *Mĩnĩka*, partially based on AZICATCH (2008), can be estimated at c. 2,400, with about c. 1,500 speakers. The population of the *Mĩka* people might be as high as 200 with less than 100 speakers. Echeverri, Petersen de Piñeros, Gasché, and Seifart (2009) notes that the language is still spoken but the number will not surpass more than a few dozen speakers. According to the account of Griffiths et al. (2001: 29), there are about 105 *Nĩpode* people living in Peru (as of 1994) and 482 in Colombia (as of 1995). The estimated number of speakers is 250. Consequently, while the official Ethnologue estimations for the entire population of the

⁵⁶ The sociolinguistic descriptions of these languages are to be found in Seifart (2002: 8-9) on *Miraña*, Thiesen and Weber (2012: 5-6) on *Bora*, Griffiths et al. (2001: 29-30) on *Nĩpode*.

‘Witoto’ people amounts to about 13,000 people, in reality, the numbers are much lower (ethnic population c. 6,000 with less than 3,800 speakers). Arango and Sánchez (2004) calculate the total number of the ‘Witoto’ population at 7,343 in Colombia and 1,917 in Peru.

The current ‘Witoto’ population is mainly distributed over three major regions: the middle Caquetá river (18 settlements), the Igara-Paraná river (34 settlements), and the Cara-Paraná and Putumayo rivers (25 settlements). Following (Echeverri, 1997, 76), all these 77 ‘Witoto’ settlements are organized in the form of *cabildos* (i.e. administrative local councils), see more details in OIMA (2008) and AZICATCH (2008). Only five of the cabildos have a population higher than 200 (among which are the El Encanto village of the Murui people and La Chorrera village of the M̄nika). See the study of Andrade León (2014) on the political system of indigenous communities in the Caquetá-Putumayo region.

All the South American countries acknowledge their ethnolinguistic diversity (although they might do so in various ways). In many South American countries, the existing legislatives and institutions concerning the indigenous rights are mainly conceived to help with the ‘integration’ within modern societies, rather than acknowledging their ethnicity and their linguistic pluralism (Echeverri, 1997: 84). In both Colombia and Peru, the status of the ‘Witoto’ language and culture is recognized in the Colombian and Peruvian Constitutions.⁵⁷ According to the current law, in addition to its official recognition, ‘the Witoto language’ has

⁵⁷ ‘Artículo 7: El estado reconoce y protege la diversidad étnica y cultural de la Nación colombiana’ (El Estado Colombiano, 1991). ‘Artículo 2: Toda persona tiene derecho: 19. A su identidad étnica y cultural. El Estado reconoce y protege la pluralidad étnica y cultural de la Nación. Todo Peruano tiene derecho a usar su propio idioma ante cualquier autoridad mediante un intérprete’ (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

also an official status in areas where it is predominantly spoken.⁵⁸ One might wonder however, which out of the four ‘Witoto’ variations is understood as ‘the Witoto language’ and is used at schools. The Constitution of Colombia as well as the Constitution of Peru declare that the ‘Witoto’ people have a right to bilingual education provided both in Spanish and ‘Witoto’.⁵⁹ Generally, ‘Witoto’ is considered more prestigious in Colombia, than it is in Peru.

Although the language is recognized by both the Colombian and the Peruvian governments for use in schools, in reality it is Spanish that is frequently preferred in educational contexts (Lewis et al., 2016). Although no official information is available about any bilingual teaching programs used at indigenous schools, it is estimated that the great majority of those who speak ‘Witoto’ are literate in Spanish (95% are between 20 and 40 years old) but only about 1% of them can read and write in the language (Lewis et al., 2016). According to my own fieldwork experience at schools in La Chorrera, El Encanto and San Rafael, bilingual education is almost non-existent, as it essentially comes down to repeating aloud after a teacher a few basic greetings and names for animals.

The current sociolinguistic situation of the ‘Witoto’ people is characterized by a

⁵⁸ ‘Artículo 10: El castellano es el idioma oficial de Colombia. Las lenguas y dialectos de los grupos étnicos son también oficiales en sus territorios. La enseñanza que se imparta en las comunidades con tradiciones lingüísticas propias será bilingüe’ (El Estado Colombiano, 1991). ‘Artículo 48: Son idiomas oficiales el castellano y, en las zonas donde predominen, también lo son el quechua, el aimará y las demás lenguas aborígenes, según la ley’ (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

⁵⁹ ‘Ley de Educación 115 de 1994: el gobierno nacional, a través del ministerio y en concertación con los grupos étnicos, prestara asesoría especializada en el desarrollo curricular, elaboración de textos y en la ejecución de programas de investigación y capacitación etnolingüística’ (El Estado Colombiano, 1991). ‘Ley 28044 de Julio 29 de 2003. Ley General de Educación.’ ‘Artículo 20. La Educación Bilingüe intercultural se ofrece en todo el sistema educativo’ (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

rapidly progressing language shift towards Spanish. The rate of assimilation is obviously much greater in the 'Witoto' communities located closer to cities, but nevertheless, even the 'Witoto' speakers located in remote areas are nowadays bilingual. The rate of assimilation has become alarming. While in Colombia only a handful of 'Witoto' elders are still monolingual (with basic knowledge of Spanish), in Peru, the 'Witoto' speakers are all bilingual. Spanish dominates almost all the domains of language use (both informal and formal). The use of 'Witoto' is mainly associated with traditional performances, festivities, and celebrations that take place in the communal round houses.

The language shift is an obvious consequence of the process of cultural interaction with the dominant cultures of Colombia and Peru. The resettlement of the majority of the 'Witoto' throughout the years of the Rubber Boom, education, and instruction in the Catholic faith, the brutality of forceful 'acculturation' of the people, has resulted in many cases in people's prejudice against speaking people's native language and in a gradual loss of their ethnic identification. As a consequence, with many traditional norms and values being lost, most of the Murui parents (those who still have a good command of Murui), do not want to teach their children the language. This results in the current situation where most of young adults younger than 25 years old, do not speak the language anymore. Those who still do, are usually ashamed to even admit that they speak or understand the native tongues of their parents and grandparents. Another factor contributing to the situation is the vast number of mixed marriages (e.g. Bora - Murui), where joining wives are not required to learn their husband's languages anymore. In the last few decades, Spanish has been becoming the language of everyday life. This situation has resulted in an overall 'language shift', which is leading towards a gradual language death in the future.

In recent years a number of initiatives have been undertaken to restore the status of

the ‘Witoto’ language. One of such efforts is the standardization of the writing system initiated during the meeting of bilingual school teachers in Araracuara in 1990 (Echeverri, 1997: 49). This standardization was principally intended to expand teaching materials for the community schools.

1.6 Previous studies

The first account of the ‘Witoto’ language in literature is probably the wordlist of Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1867: 297) (as mentioned in §1.2.3); followed by a wordlist from 1898 published together with some preliminary comments regarding the ‘Witoto’ grammar by an anonymous author (Anonymous, 1898). Since that time, a fair amount of wordlists have been compiled by various authors (see further). So far, however, only a few studies have been conducted with regard to aspects of ‘Witoto’ grammar.⁶⁰

The most extensive works that include descriptions of the phonology, morphology and syntax of ‘Witoto’ are those by Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994) and Petersen de Piñeros (2000). The former study provides elementary descriptions of M̄ika based on the texts gathered by the anthropologist Konrad Theodor Preuss at the beginning of the 20th century (1921, 1923). The latter is a more recent basic grammar sketch based on both M̄ika and Murui. For N̄ipode, there is the publication of Griffiths et al. (2001) which is a limited grammatical description of the basic grammatical aspects of the language. For other ‘Witoto’ varieties, there are only separate articles devoted to some aspects of phonology, morphology, or syntax. These are discussed in turn.

⁶⁰ I exclude here the work done on other Witotoan languages, that is Ocaina and Nonuya. For these see e.g. Echeverri (2014); Fagua Rincón (2013a); Romero Cruz (2015).

The phonology of the ‘Witoto’ languages has been analysed by several authors. E. Minor (1956) provides the first description of the sound system for Nipode. The sound system of Murui was briefly investigated by B. Burch (1975a). For Minka, short analyses of the sound system were done by E. Minor and Minor (1976) and Harrington (1944b). Almost all these descriptions are rather sketchy in that only the basic phonological features are covered (they are at most only a couple of pages long).

Except for the aforementioned grammatical sketches, two morphosyntactic analyses of the clause structures of Murui and Minka were given in B. Burch and Wise (1968) and Petersen de Piñeros (2004). Basic aspects of Murui verbal morphology was the main focus of my MA thesis (Wojtylak, 2012a). Recently, a number of articles were published on the nominal classification systems in the North West Amazonian languages (which also include ‘Witoto’ classifiers) (Seifart, 2007; Seifart & Payne, 2007; Wojtylak, 2016a). Additionally, other works on Murui morphology and syntax have been made available in the last few years (Wojtylak, 2014a, 2014b, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, forthcoming-a, forthcoming-b, forthcoming-c, forthcoming-d, forthcoming-e).

Since the first ‘Witoto’ word lists date from the end of the 19th century (Anonymous, 1898: 297; von Martius, 1867), more wordlists have been compiled throughout the years. The wordlist of Minka can be found in Preuss (1923). While Tessmann (1930: 311-329) offers two brief ‘Witoto’ wordlist collections of the clans Xura and Meresiene, in Koch-Grünberg (1910) we find a small wordlist collected by Hermann Schmidt (Schmidt, 1910). Short word lists from their travels to the Caquetá-Putumayo region at the beginning of the 20th century are given by Farabee (1922); Rocha (1905); Whiffen (1915). For Minka, there are three wordlist collections by Nies (1976), N. Pereira (1951), and E. Minor and Minor (1971b). Additionally, a small comparative wordlist of all the ‘Witoto’ languages is offered in

Loukotka (1968). For Murui, a fair-sized dictionary has been published by S. Burtch (1983), followed by by Becerra and Petersen de Piñeros (2008).

During the past 40 years, in response to the imminent threat of culture and language loss, government organizations have put into print a number of prescriptive materials, such as pedagogical grammars and language course books. Based on Witoto *Minika*, E. Minor and Minor (1971a) published a first pedagogical grammar for second language learners (redone later by Minor and Minor in 1982). For Murui, Petersen de Piñeros in co-operation with a Murui speaker Eudocio Becerra, has published a small-sized course book as well (Petersen de Piñeros & Becerra, 1997). The most recent pedagogical materials are by Gasché and Vega (2009a, 2009b) and Gasché (2009a). Other works concern mostly historical, ethnographic, and anthropological accounts about the ‘Witoto’ people (discussed throughout sections §1.3.1-11 and §1.4). If we compare the number of studies of the grammars of the ‘Witoto’ languages with the research that has been done on more familiar languages, such as English or German, it proves to be very small indeed for the understanding of the intricacies of the entire language. This PhD thesis is an attempt to do so, not only to offer a basis for future generations of researchers studying ‘Witoto’, but primarily for the Murui people and their descendants.

1.7 Basis for this study

Fieldwork methodology for this project focussed on the text collection, transcription, and analysis. The phonological, morphological and syntactic analyses of the collected data followed the widely tried, tested, and traditionally accepted framework of the Basic Linguistic Theory (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010a, 2010b, 2012).

1.7.1 *Materials and speakers*

Research into the available descriptions of the phonological and morphosyntactic aspects of the ‘Witoto’ languages formed the foundation of the project. The emerging literature-based picture of ‘Witoto’ was tested against data collected through immersion fieldwork. The data was collected from the Murui community in La Chorrera (3 months) and Tercera India (8 months in total), Colombia (see §1.7.2). Based on the assembled material, a rich phonological and morphosyntactic database was created (over 700 pages of written text, analysed and glossed, and over 1200 pages of field notes) approx. 20 hours of annotated recording. The data that was collected during two independent field periods (between 2013 and 2016) was assembled from both recording narrative texts (that deal with the group’s every-day activities, mythology, past memories, etc.), spontaneous language production and participant observation (following methods of the Basic Linguistic Theory approach).

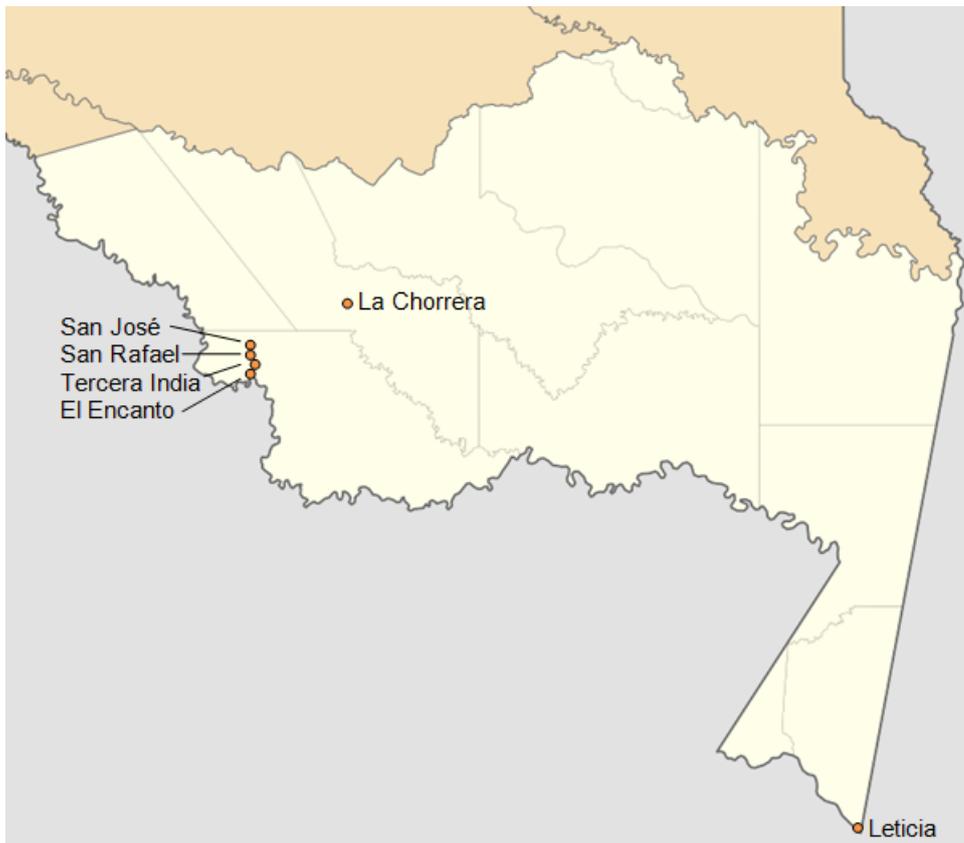
This work was done primarily with eight main consultants: Lucio Agga Calderon (73 y.o. as of 2016, Murui Elder and Traditional Authority of the Tercera India community), Walter Agga Arteagga (45 y.o. traditional healer of Tercera India), Alexis Agga Calderón (43 y.o. head of the *cabildo* Tercera India), Rubbio Agga Arteagga (43 y.o. vice president of *Asociación del Cabildo Autoridades Tradicionales de Consejo Mayor del Pueblo Murui*), Francisca Agga Arteagga (74 y.o.), Sandriela Agga Arteagga (26 y.o.), Elger Agga Areteagga (33 y.o.), Yudi Agga (24 y.o.). Additional eight consultants from the community were relied upon for verification: Aldo Agga Calderón (36 y.o.), Clementina Botyay Calderón (72 y.o.), Luca Miguel Agga Arteagga (35 y.o.), Eulogio Agga Arteagga (22 y.o.), Anastasia Agga Arte Agga (54 y.o.), Mesia Agga (53 y.o.), Lucio Choma Agga Calderon (26 y.o.), Marcia Agga (35 y.o.).

Recordings were made on a solid-state recorder better suited than tape recorders for

work in tropical conditions allowing greater precision in the acoustic analysis. The phonological data was transcribed and an impressionistic transcription always accompanied the recorded data. The lexical data was entered into Toolbox, a database generator which is especially designed for the construction of linguistic lexicons and morphosyntactic analyses. According to wishes of the community, a documentary film was made with the intention, as the Murui Elder Lucio Agga Arteagga said: ‘(...) to show the world that we, the Murui people, exist’ (K. T. Lupinski, (Editor, Director) & Wojtylak, 2017). The data gathered was eventually stored in the Archive of the Language and Culture Research Centre (James Cook University, Australia).

1.7.2 Locations

The majority of the recorded texts on which this grammar is based were gathered in the village of Tercera India. Additional materials were also collected in the neighbouring communities of the Cara-Paraná river: El Encanto and San Jose, as well as among some Murui speakers in La Chorrera (Igara-Paraná river) and Leticia (the capital of the Amazonas Department in Colombia).



Map 1.4 Locations of the Murui villages where materials for this study were collected

Tercera India is located on the Cara-Paraná river, about 80km to the south-west of La Chorrera (Map 1.1 in §1). The village is located some kilometres up the Cara-Paraná river (tributary of the Putumayo river) from El Encanto village (coordinates $1^{\circ}44'51.6''S$ $73^{\circ}12'29.9''W$), a town and municipality in the Amazonas Department, Colombia. The total population in the district is about 4,376 (as of 2005), spread out over an area of 12,686 km². It is located on the mouth of the Cara-Paraná river, tributary of the Putumayo river. El Encanto can be reached by air or by river, and has a small Colombian military base (established during the Colombia-Peru War). The community of Tercera India is one of the most traditional communities in the area, with no electricity, running water, or mobile coverage.

The total population of Tercera India numbers about 50 people, divided into two families, that of Lucio Agga Calderón (73 years old) and Francisca Agga Artega (76 years old). Each of the families has their own maloca, where most of the men gather at night. The elevation of the village is about 122m above sea level. The annual rainfall is similar to that of La Chorrera, with approximately 3000 mm with temperature ranging between 25-26°C throughout the year.

La Chorrera (named after Spanish *chorros* for 'big falls') is a beautifully situated Minika settlement at the cascades of the Igara-Paraná river (tributary of the Putumayo river) (see Map 1.1 in §1). The village is located at coordinates 1°26'49"S 72°47'40"W in the district of the same name in the Colombian Department of Amazonas. The total population of this district amounts to 3704 people which represent 5% of the total number of the Department of Amazonas (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2010), with about 400 people living in La Chorrera. In addition to the Murui communities, other tribes of the *People of the Centre* (i.e. Bora, Andoque, and Murui) inhabit this area as well. It is possible to reach La Chorrera from Bogotá and Leticia by air or by boat via the Putumayo river. The electricity is supplied by a solar power plant and is available about 5 hours every day; the mobile coverage in the area is satisfactory. The distance from the Colombian capital Bogotá is c. 700 km and c. 430km from the Amazonian port Leticia. The population of the village is largely engaged in agricultural production (banana and cassava), hunting, and fishing. The settlement is located c. 184m above sea level (Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 1992). The annual rainfall is approximately 3000 mm and the temperature ranged from 25-26°C throughout the year. The vegetation of this region of the Amazon basin consists mainly of rainforest of substantial height and a large number of diverse plant species (Eden & Andrade, 1988: 81). The Catholic order of Capuchins established an orphanage in

La Chorrera in the 1933 however there is evidence of their presence in the Putumayo and Caquetá regions already in the 1890s (Davis, 1996; Echeverri, 1997). In the 1940s, the orphanage founded by Capuchin Father Estanislao de Les Corts became a boarding school and it is now the oldest boarding schools established in this part of the Amazon basin (Echeverri, 1997: 87).

The city of Leticia is located on the Amazon river. It is a southernmost city in Colombia and one of the major ports on the Amazon river. Together with a Brazilian city of Tabatinga, form an urban area at the point where Colombia, Peru, and Brazil come together (so called 'Leticia trapezium'). The port of Leticia had been founded by Peruvians in the 19th century but in 1922 it was ceded to Colombia. The whole region, including Leticia, was subject to a short-lived armed conflict between Colombia and Peru between 1932-33 (Echeverri, undated; Woolsey, 1935) . Today, Leticia, being the capital of Colombia's department of Amazonas, has about 46,000 inhabitants. A significant proportion of Leticia's population are indigenous peoples who moved into the city for work (Steiman, 2002).

2 Phonology

Murui has a relatively small inventory of 15 contrastive consonantal phonemes some of which have restricted phonotactics. The language has also three additional phones that are not contrastive and are result of language-specific phonetic processes. Murui consonant inventory is similar to two other linguistic varieties of the ‘Witoto’, M̄ika and M̄in̄ika. The inventory of consonantal phonemes in the N̄ipode variety is somewhat different from other ‘Witoto’ languages (see also §22).⁶¹ Murui consonants and their distribution are discussed in §2.1. The vowel inventory of the language is based on a six vowel system that consists of, among other sounds, the high central vowel *ɨ*. This trait seems to be typical for languages from this region of Northwest Amazonia, such as the Tucanoan languages (Aikhenvald, 2012: 109). Murui vowels and diphthongs have different moraic lengths that condition consonant mutations. Murui vowels, vowel sequences, and diphthongs are given attention throughout §2.1.2 and §2.1.3. Murui has no nasalized vowels nor tone. The basic syllable pattern is of the (C)V type. The stress is generally word-initial (§2.2). There are two main basic intonation patterns: falling and rising-falling. A third intonation contour, the rising intonation, is of a special context-specific type. The intonation patterns and pitch are discussed in §2.4. A number of criteria for recognising a phonological word and a phonological phrase are considered in §2.3. The section 2.5, focuses on phonological processes. This is followed by adaptation of loan words in §2.6 and occurrence of unusual forms (onomatopoeic expressions, animal

⁶¹ Nipode is somewhat different in that the language has the implosive sounds, [ɓ] and [ɗ], which are absent in other varieties of ‘Witoto’. Nipode, similarly to Minika, has an additional velar nasal [ŋ], which is absent in Murui and Mika (§22).

sounds, and interjections) in §2.7. Section §2.8 discusses Murui orthography. The last section §2.9 includes some notes of nonverbal communication (deictic gestures).

2.1 Segmental phonology

The basic syllable pattern in Murui is (C)V where C can be in principle any consonant (see §2.1.1) and V any vowel (short or long) or a diphthong.⁶² This section focuses on Murui consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, and their phonotactic restrictions. Examples of (near) minimal pairs are provided at the end of each subsection.

2.1.1 Consonants

The Murui contrastive consonants consist of stops, fricatives, affricatives, nasals, and a flap. Murui distinguishes between bilabial, apico-alveolar, and dorso-velar stops ([p]/[b], [t]/[d], [k]/[g]) with the voicing distinctions in all these series. The voiceless bilabial *p* is a marginally occurring sound that seems to have been lost in the language at an earlier stage. Murui fricatives consist of bilabial, apico-dental and glottal sounds ([ϕ]/[β], [θ], [h]) with the voicing occurring only in the series of the bilabial fricatives. The voiced bilabial fricative is a relatively rare occurring phoneme. There are two affricates in the language: a voiceless and a voiced lamino-palatal [tʃ] and [dʒ] (with [tʃ] being a less frequently occurring phoneme). Additionally, Murui differentiates between three nasals, a bilabial [m], an apico-dental [n] and a lamino-palatal [ɲ], as well as a flap [ɾ].

There is a certain amount of asymmetry in the language: the marginal occurrence of the

⁶² This is similar to the syllable types of the Tucanoan languages that have the (C)V(V) form (Chacon, 2014: 279).

voiceless bilabial stop *p* is being compensated for the frequently occurring voiceless bilabial fricative *f*. The phonological system of Murui consonantal (contrastive) phonemes is presented in Table 2.1.⁶³

Table 2.1 Murui consonants phonemes

| | Bilabial | Apico-dental | Apico-alveolar | Lamino-palatal | Dorso-velar | Glottal |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|---------|
| Voiceless stop | | | t [t] | | k [k] | |
| Voiced stop | b [b] | | d [d] | | g [g] | |
| Voiceless fricative | f [ɸ] | z [θ] | | | | j [h] |
| Voiced fricative | v [β] | | | | | |
| Voiceless affricate | | | | ch [tʃ] | | |
| Voiced affricate | | | | y [dʒ] | | |
| Nasal | m [m] | n [n] | | ñ [ɲ] | | |
| Flap | | | r [ɾ] | | | |

It is worth to mention at this point the existence of the following three approximants: the bilabial [w], the lamino-palatal [y], and the dorso-velar [ɰ]. They are not included in Table 2.1, as they are actual representations of phonetic processes. These phones are not contrastive in the language; [w] has been incorporated into the current orthographic system of Murui, as in such as in Petersen de Piñeros and Becerra (1997) and Petersen de Piñeros (2000). Under the influence of Spanish, some innovative speakers have also begun adopting the apico-velar voiceless fricative [s] (see further this section). Here follows a description of the system of contrastive consonants in Murui. The end of each subsection, offers (near) minimal pairs and words in the similar phonetic environments illustrate the phonemic oppositions of Murui

⁶³ This work follows the most widely used ‘Witoto’ orthography as presented in, among others, Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994); (Petersen de Piñeros, 2000) and Wojtylak (2012a). For more on various writing systems in ‘Witoto’ languages see §2.14.

consonants. Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in Murui are given in Table 2.2, that follows the description of the consonants.

A. STOPS – the language has five stops, one bilabial stops, voiced *b*; two apico-velar stops, voiceless *t* and voiced *d*; and two dorso-velar stops, voiceless *k* and voiced *g*. There are no restrictions on the occurrence of both the voiced as well as voiceless stops in the language.

The voiced bilabial stop *b* occurs in initial and medial positions in both nominal as well as in verbal roots, e.g. *bakita* ‘owl’, *kaburi* ‘type of tree’, *dobeño* ‘basin (to crush unprocessed yucca to pulp, Sp. *machucador*)’, *bi-* ‘come’, *bai-* ‘die’, and *abaiki-* ‘spy’. It is also found in nominal and verbal affixes, e.g. *-bi* (CLF:THICK.LIQUID), *-aibi* (directional marker), and *-kabi* (habitual marker).

The voiceless apico-dental stop *t* is found in both nominal and verbal roots in initial and medial positions, e.g. *tai-fue* ‘devil’, *eto-ño* ‘piculet (subfamily of small woodpeckers [*Picumninae*])’, *jitoma* ‘sun’, *tai-* ‘break’, *feto-* ‘choose’. It can occur in any position in affixes, e.g. *-ta* (causative marker), *-tata* (double causative), *-ti* (an allophone of the predicate marker), and *-tai* (a verbal marker).

The voiced apico-alveolar stop *d* occurs in the initial position in all kinds of roots, e.g. *dori-* ‘shoot’, *doi-* ‘jump’, *dio-na* (tobacco-CL:TRUNK) ‘tobacco tree’, *gido-ni* (cricket-CLF:GROUP.HUMAN) ‘cricket clan’; as well as it is found in affixes, e.g. *-do* (CL:SMALL.ROUND; instrumental marker), *-da* (a verbal marker), *-di* (an allophone of the predicate marker; A/S subject focus marker).

The voiceless dorso-velar stop *k* occurs in any position in both nominal as verbal roots, e.g. *kabu-ri* (tree.type-CLF:BUSH) ‘type of tree’, *ekorue* (tree.type-CLF:THINGS) ‘type of tree’, *kaka-* ‘listen’, *jeiki-* ‘give birth’. It also occurs in nominal and verbal affixes, e.g. *-ko*

(CLF:COVER), *-ka* (an allophone of passive markers), *-kabi* (habitual marker), and *-kai* (a verbal suffix, marking immediate imperative).

The voiced dorso-velar stop *g* is found in verbal and nominal roots in word-initial and medial positions, e.g. *guami* ‘type of monkey’, *egiaño* ‘type of snake’, *gui-ra-gi* (eat-thing-CLF.ROUND) ‘stomach’, *gare-* ‘cut’, *gii~gi-t-e* (clean~RED-LK-3) ‘clean (reiterative reading)’.

In affixes, it is found in the initial position only, e.g. *-gai* ‘CLF:STRING’, *-ga* (an allophone of passive markers).

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| t - d | [i.te] | <i>ite</i> | exist | [i.ɲε.de] | <i>iñede</i> | does not exist |
| | [tu.te] | <i>tute</i> | hit | [i.du] | <i>idu</i> | hill |
| | [tuui.de] | <i>tuuide</i> | be punctured | [duui.de] | <i>duuide</i> | hold |
| k - g | [ki.dɔ] | <i>kido</i> | type of fruit | [gi.dɔ.ni] | <i>Gidoni</i> | <i>Gidoni</i> clan |
| | [kɔ.da.de] | <i>kodade</i> | smoke | [gɔ.nɔ.nɔ.kai] | <i>gononokai</i> | sugarcane cob |
| | [phi.de] | <i>fiiide</i> | lay down | [ni.ga] | <i>niga</i> | knitted |

The language has a handful of words containing the voiceless bilabial stop *p*. This is an extremely rare phoneme, encountered only in three verbal roots, one suffix, and a number of Spanish loan words, e.g., *pu-* ‘hit’, *pe-* ‘kick’, *uichupi-* ‘become grey-haired’, *jo-fo-chupi* (house-CLF:HOUSE.SMA LL) ‘small house’, *pataro* ‘trousers’ (from Spanish *pantalón*), *epejo* ‘mirror’ (Sp. *espejo*).⁶⁴ Similar to Murui, in Míka and Mínika, the phoneme *p* occurs in only a handful of words, which might suggest that it could have been a borrowed sound sometime in the past. This is further supported by the fact that in the majority of phonologically adopted loan words from Spanish (as still spoken by Murui elders), the sound *p* is commonly changed

⁶⁴ All of these words could be in fact borrowings. For instance, the verbal root *pu-* might be a loan from Spanish *puñar* ‘fight, attack’. The suffix *-chupi*, as in *jofochupi* for ‘small house’ is limited to *jofo* ‘house’ only and cannot be used in any other context. The verbal root *uichupi-* ‘become grey-haired’ is not considered as ‘real Murui word’, but a playful way of referring to an older person.

to the voiced bilabial stop *b* rather than *p*, e.g. *kobeda* ‘gun’ (Sp. *escopeta*) (see §2.11 on loan words adaptation). For those reasons, I do not include this marginally occurring phoneme into the Murui consonantal inventory, as presented in Table 2.1. It has to be mentioned at this point, however, that in Nipode, whose consonantal inventory is different from Murui, M̄ika, and M̄inika, *p* is not limited and is a commonly occurring phoneme. The voiceless bilabial stop in Nipode regularly corresponds to the voiceless bilabial fricative *f* in other variants of ‘Witoto’, e.g. *jopo* ‘house’ in Nipode is pronounced as *jofo* in Murui, M̄ika, and M̄inika.⁶⁵ For this reason, it is reasonable to argue for the voiceless bilabial stop *p* as perhaps being an archaic form in Murui, M̄ika, and M̄inika, rather than a borrowed phoneme.

B. FRICATIVES – Murui distinguishes between four fricatives, out of which three are voiceless: bilabial fricative *f* (realized as [ϕ]), dental fricative *z* (realized as [θ]), and the glottal fricative *j* (realized as [h]). The bilabial fricative *v* is the only one that is voiced; moreover, it seems to be a somewhat limited phoneme, but not as restricted as the voiceless

⁶⁵ Aschmann (1993) lists the phoneme *p* as archaic sound in Murui. In his dictionary of Murui, Burch (1983) makes no entry for the letter *p*. The phoneme *p* is also not listed in M̄ika texts collected by Preuss (1921, 1923) and recompleted later by Petersen de Piñeros (1994 [1921], 1994 [1923]). The collection of M̄inika texts (Echeverri & Candre, 2008), does not include words that would contain *p*. The Nipode variant (Griffiths et al., 2001) has the most ‘divergent’ phonological inventory, with the phoneme *p* being *f* in other ‘Witoto’ variants. This is illustrated by the following examples from Nipode: *nopi-ko* (stone-CLF:ROUND) ‘stone’ and *kaima-pue* (happy-CLF:STORY) ‘happiness’ (*nofiko* and *kaimafue* in Murui). In other Witotoan languages, the phoneme *p* occurs only in Ocaina. In Nonuya, the voiceless bilabial stop is a marginally occurring sound. From the areal perspective, *p* is a less commonly occurring sound in the region. While in Muinane, a Boran language, *p* is a restricted sound. In other Boran languages, Bora and Miraña, and well as in Resígaro (Arawak) and Andoque (isolate), *p* appears to have no restrictions. Interestingly, Carijona (Cariban), the language spoken outside the Caquetá-Putumayo region, but in contact with the ‘Witoto’ people in the distant past (see Chapter 1 §1.2), is the only Taranoan language which lacks *p*. The Tucanoan (East, West) languages spoken to the northeast and southwest do have the phoneme *p* in their consonantal inventories (Chacon, 2014).

bilabial stop [p] discussed above.

The phonemes *f* and *v* limited to partial complementary distribution.⁶⁶ The occurrence of the voiced bilabial fricative *v* in the word-initial position is restricted and limited to a few examples: *vatarago* ‘type of bird (Sp. *guacharaca*)’, *virudo(te)* and *viriri(de)* ‘move’⁶⁷, *viu(de)* ‘roll something up with a string’, and *veño* ‘type of frong’. The voiceless bilabial fricative *f* has no restrictions in the word-initial position, e.g. *fa-* ‘hit’, *feekui-ze* (slow-ADV) ‘slowly’, *fue* ‘mouth’, *foodo(de)* ‘be in a bad state’, *fiki(de)* ‘mix’. In the word medial position, the voiced bilabial fricative *v* is rare (e.g. *evu-ño* ‘sister (for female ego)’ and *efuai* ‘leprosy’) and it mostly occur in derivational morphemes (the classifier *-vui* ‘day/time’, e.g. *na-vui* ‘afternoon’, *fī-vui* ‘moon’). The voiceless bilabial fricative *f* occurs in all possible positions within a word, e.g. *feei(te)* ‘forget’, *faiḥi(de)* ‘loose’, *faiḥifaiḥi makari(te)* ‘hopscotch (lit. keep walking by hopping)’, *fena-fe* (bark-LOCAL) ‘side of tree bark’, *feei-fe* (below-LOCAL) ‘there below, south’, *fuiḥi-fe* (downstream-LOCAL) ‘the side of the river downstream’, *aa-fe-mo* (below-LOCAL-LOC) ‘above (lit. in the high part)’, *foo-fe-mo* (inside-LOCAL-LOC) ‘less (marker in comparative constructions)’, *jiñora-fo* (green.clay-CLF:CAVITY) ‘type of ceramics’, *jifano-ra-kuai* (play-CLF:THING-CLF:STORY.PL) ‘playful stories, narrations’. Both the phoneme *v* as well as the phoneme *f* can occur in intervocalic positions, e.g. *evu-ño*

⁶⁶ Some innovative speakers of Murui occasionally replace *v* → *f* in word initial positions, rarely in other positions.

⁶⁷ The derivation of *virī-* and *viru-* is unclear. They might be derived with the verbal markers *-ri* (durative) and *-do* (valency changing marker), and are differently pronounced variants of the same verbal root. I do not exclude a possibility that *virī-/viru-* is actually a loan word from Spanish *virar* ‘turn’).

(sister-CLF:DR.F) ‘sister (for female ego)’, *aa-fe* (above-CLF:SIDE) ‘above’.⁶⁸

The voiceless glottal fricative *j* has a wide range of occurrence. The phoneme occurs in any kind of roots or monosyllabic affixes, e.g. *jemi* ‘choro (type of monkey)’, *jiibi-e* (coca-CLF:G) ‘coca’, *jofo* ‘house’, *jide(de)* ‘paint’, *maiiji(de)* ‘work’, *jii~ji-kai(de)* ‘interrupt’, *ji(te)* ‘plant yucca’, *da-je* (alone-CLF:G) ‘alone, one’, *i-ji* (ANA.NSP-CLF:SAP) ‘juice’, *-ji* (an allomorph of a future marker *-i*), and *jai-* (an allomorph of the directional marker *-ai*).

The voiceless apico-dental fricative *z* occurs in both nominal as verbal roots as well as affixes. It is found either word-initially or medially, e.g. *zaada* ‘type of bird’, *ziki* ‘corner’, *zeda* ‘long trap’, *izt-na* (dart.tree-CLF:TRUNK) ‘a ‘dart’ tree’, *zori(de)* ‘have smell’, *kazi(de)* ‘wake up’, *zii(de)* ‘escape (animals from a trap)’, *-zi* (plural participant), *-ze* (adverbializer), *-za* (classifier for ‘immature, animate’, apprehensive), *-zai* (an allophone of the directional marker). Currently, there is a loan phoneme, the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative [s] rapidly penetrates the Murui language under Spanish influence. Younger speakers of Murui frequently exchange the voiceless apico-dental fricative with ‘its Spanish equivalent’ [s], as in *gui-sa!* (eat-APPRH) ‘be careful with eating (it)!’ and *rai-se* (well-ADV) ‘well’ instead of *gui-za* and *rai-ze*, in the speech of Murui elders.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| f - v | [ɸa.tɛ] | <i>fate</i> | kill | [βa.ɸi.dɛ] | <i>vafide</i> | scatter |
| | [ɸi.ri.θa.do] | <i>firizado</i> | fruit of a vine | [βi.ri.ri.de] | <i>viriride</i> | move |
| | [gui.ɸi.dɛ] | <i>guifide</i> | (used to) eat | [βui.θi.de] | <i>vuizide</i> | get bran |
| f - b | [ɛ.ɸa] | <i>efa</i> | parrot | [ɛ.bɛ] | <i>ebe</i> | oh! wow! |
| | [ɸu.ɛ] | <i>fue</i> | mouth, banks | [bu.ɛ] | <i>bue</i> | what |

⁶⁸ It is interesting to enquire into the historical origin of the bilabial and dental fricatives (i.e. loss of full closure in plosives). The future study on dialectal variation among the Witoto languages (and other Witotoan languages, Ocaina and Nonuya) might shed some light on this process.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------|
| v - b | [ɸi.tɛ] | <i>fite</i> | blow | [bi.dʒa] | <i>biya</i> | arrival |
| | [i.βa.na] | <i>ivana</i> | type of snake | [ha.na.ba] | <i>janaba</i> | demon |

C. AFFRICATES – there are two affricates in Murui, the voiceless and the voiced lamino-palatals, *ch* (realized as [tʃ]) and *y* (realized as [dʒ]). While the former occurs rarely, the latter is a frequently occurring sound.

The voiceless lamino-palatal *ch* occurs in a sparse number of (mainly) nominal roots where it is found in initial position only, e.g. *cheme* ‘brain’, *cherako* ‘caries’. There is also a few verbal roots where the phoneme *ch* occurs in, e.g. *chuno(te)* ‘harm (by sorcery)’, *churu-ri-d-e* (drop-DUR-LK-3) ‘drop’. The phoneme *ch* has been attested in just one affix *-chupi*, as in *jo-fo-chupi* (house-CLF:CAV-CLF:SMALL.HOUSE)⁶⁹. The voiceless lamino-palatal sound *ch* occurs also in onomatopoeic expressions (e.g. *chii* ‘sound of a young bird crying for its mother’) and in a number of mythical stories where it resembles speech of a *jimenaki* ‘possum’, e.g.:⁷⁰

| | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|-----|--|
| (2.1) | MURUI | POSSUM’S SPEECH | | |
| | <i>aa-ma</i> | > <i>chaa-ma</i> | for | ‘brother’ (brother.ego.masc-CLF:DR.M) |
| | <i>yai-dai</i> | > <i>chai-dai</i> | for | ‘leg’ (leg-CLF) |
| | <i>guta-d-e</i> | > <i>chuta-d-e</i> | for | ‘swallow’ (swallow-LK-3) |
| | <i>zui-t-e</i> | > <i>chui-t-e</i> | for | ‘untie’ (untie-LK-3) |
| | <i>jobai-d-e</i> | > <i>chobai-d-e</i> | for | ‘burn’ (burn-LK-3) |
| | <i>eika-ño</i> | > <i>cheika-ño</i> | for | ‘mother-in-law’ (mother.in.law-CLF:DR.F) |

The voiced lamino-palatal affricate *y* occurs in roots in initial and medial positions, e.g. *yikiai* ‘fish’, *yo(te)* (tell-LK-3) ‘tell’, *yino(te)* (catch-LK-3) ‘catch’, *jiyo(de)* (heal-LK-3) ‘heal’,

⁶⁹ Whether the verbal root *uichupi*- ‘become grey-haired’ is derived with *-chupi* is unclear. Synchronically, it is a lexical root.

⁷⁰ Other examples of such deviant speech styles where this phenomenon occurs can be found among the Takelma where certain words in the speech of bears are prefixed by the voiceless lateral fricative (Hymes, 1979) and among the Coyote whose speech is prefixed by the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative (Sapir, 1915).

yiriyu(de) ‘crumple’, *mokoyai* ‘type of mosquitos’, *maiyoiki* ‘island’. In affixes, it occurs solely in initial positions, e.g. *-yi* ‘CLF:SUPPORT’, and *-ya* (an allomorph of the event nominaliser *-a*).

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| y - ch | [dʒɛ.rɛ.da] | <i>yereda</i> | type of tree | [tʃɛ.mɛ.ki] | <i>chemeki</i> | brains |
| | [dʒɔ.tɛ] | <i>yote</i> | tell | [tʃɔ.tɛ] | <i>chote</i> | tell (as possum) |

D. NASALS – Murui has three nasal phonemes: the bilabial *m*, the apico-dental nasal *n* and the lamino-palatal nasal *ɲ* (realized as [ɲ]). All are very frequent.

There are no restrictions for the usage of the bilabial *m* and the apico-dental nasal *n* within roots, e.g. *mabi* ‘type of lizard’, *macuri-na* ‘type of a medicinal tree (Sp. *palo de azucar*)’ *mei-kino* (be.ashamed-CLF:NEWS) ‘shame’, *mame-ki* (name-CLF:CLUSTER) ‘name’, *nemo-na* (umarí-CLF:TREE) ‘umarí tree’, *mena(de)* ‘be two’, *mena-mie* (two-CLF:PR.M) ‘two men’, *mame(de)* (name-LK-3) ‘name’; *noki* ‘rain’, *nofi* ‘tree squirrel’, *nuiki* ‘sparrowhawk’, *ananekeo*⁷¹ ‘maloka’, *nonodoma* ‘type of worm, fish’, *naidai(de)* ‘stand up’, *ni(te)* ‘knit’, *kano(de)* ‘help’. In affixes they occur in the initial position, e.g. *-ma* (derivational animate classifier), *-mo* (locative), *-maki* (3pl pronominal gender marker); *-na* (N.S/A marking; CLF:TREE), *-ni* (CLF:GROUP.HUMAN), *-no* (CLF:SP.PLACE; thematic suffix), *-ne* (demonstrative/locational suffix), *-ni* (negative attributive), *-mona* (ablative).⁷²

The lamino-palatal nasal *ɲ* is less frequently occurring sounds than other nasal phonemes in Murui. It can occur in the word initial position with nominal roots, e.g. *ɲeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira tree’, *ɲuiɲogi* ‘type of rat’. Its occurrence is more frequent in

⁷¹ Although synchronically *ananekeo* is a lexical noun, its derivation is still transparent (below-DEM.LOC-CLF:COVER).

⁷² The ablative marker *-mona* is the concatenation of the locative *-mo* and the ablative with demonstratives *-na*.

verbal roots, however, e.g. *ñai(te)* ‘talk’, *ñaaï(te)* ‘(she/he) will talk’ *ñe(te)* ‘do’, *ñuiro(de)* ‘pack’, *ñee~ñe-d-e* (do~RED-LK-3) ‘keep doing’, *ñe~ñe-d-e* (do-NEG-LK-3) ‘(she/he) didn’t do’. It occurs in both the word-initial and word final positions as, e.g. the derivational animate classifier, e.g. *-ño*, as in *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’, a pronominal gender marker *-ñaiño*, as in *bi-ñaiño* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.F) ‘she (lit. this she)’, *-ño* (an allomorph of the thematic suffix *-no* and the imperative suffix *-no*); *-ñiai* (an allomorph of the collective number marking), and *-aiñuai* (the pronominal subject marker).⁷³

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| n - ñ | [nai.te] | <i>naite</i> | suck sugar cane | [nai.te] | <i>ñaitē</i> | speak |
| | [nɛ.ka.θɨ] | <i>nekazɨ</i> | umarí fruit | [nɛ.kɨ.rɔ] | <i>ñekiro</i> | type of fiber |
| | [hi.nɔ] | <i>jino</i> | outside | [jaai.nɛ.nɔ] | <i>jaaiñeno!</i> | dont go! |
| | [nɛ.tɛ] | <i>nete</i> | hang | [nɛ.tɛ] | <i>ñete</i> | do |
| | [nui.kɨ] | <i>nuiki</i> | type of bird | [nui.ro.de] | <i>ñuirode</i> | pack |
| m - n | [mɔ.na] | <i>mona</i> | sky | [nɔ.gɔ] | <i>nogo</i> | pot |
| | [mui.do] | <i>muido</i> | point | [nui.kɨ] | <i>nuiki</i> | type of bird |
| m - ñ | [mɛ.te] | <i>mete</i> | lick | [nɛ.tɛ] | <i>ñete</i> | do |
| | [mo.to] | <i>moto</i> | middle | [nɔ.ta.kai] | <i>ñotakai</i> | type of tree |

E. FLAP – Murui has a frequently occurring flap *r* (realized as [r]) which can occur primarily in the initial position in all nominal and verbal of roots, e.g. *reizaki* ‘brush’, *raitie* ‘grass’, *reigai* ‘firewood’, *ria-ño* (non.witoto-CLF:DR.F) ‘a non-Witoto woman’⁷⁴, *rii(de)* ‘arrive’, *ri(te)* ‘plant’, *ro(te)* ‘sing’, *roo~ro(de)* (sing~RED-LK-3) ‘keep singing’, *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’. The

⁷³ The occurrence in other word classes: *nana* ‘everything’, *makai* ‘enough’.

⁷⁴ See §13.4 on the nominalized *ri-a-ño* (eat.meat-E.NMLZ-CLF:DR.F) ‘non-Witoto (female)’. Synchronically, the derivation is *ria-ño* (non.witoto-CLF:DR.F). It is frequently translated as an enemy woman (especially in the context of the Carijona people, the traditional neighbours of the Witoto people who were considered to be cannibals ‘meat-eaters’, see Chapter 1), as well as all western women.

flap can also occur root-medially, e.g. *ra-roki* (thing-CLF:SHORT.BUSH) ‘small bush’, *ñuiro(de)* ‘pack’. It can also occur in the initial position in an affix, e.g. *-ru* (CLF:OVAL), *-roi* (CLF:SKIN), *-re* (attributive marker; CLF:PLACE.PLANTS), *-ri* (durative; benefactive), *-biri* (CLF:SITE), *-ra* (CLF:THING), e.g. *jaai-ra* (go- CLF:THING) ‘ladder (lit. a thing to go on)’, *bi-rui* (this.CTS-CLF:DAY) ‘today, nowadays (lit. this day)’.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| n - r | [rɔ.nɔ] | <i>rono!</i> | sing! | [nɔ.gɔ] | <i>nogo</i> | pot |
| | [ri.tɛ] | <i>r̥ite</i> | eat meat | [ni.nɛ] | <i>n̥ine</i> | where |
| | [rɔ.θi.dʒi] | <i>roziyi</i> | pineapple | [nɔ.φi.kɔ] | <i>Nofiko</i> | La Chorrera |
| | [ni.na] | <i>nina</i> | what tree | [ni.ri] | <i>niri</i> | which bush |

The Murui consonantal phonemes differ in their frequency of occurrence and their phonotactic restrictions. The comparison of the restrictions of consonants in (nominal/verbal) roots, affixes, and clitics (word-initial and medial positions) is presented in Table 2.2:

Table 2.2 Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in Murui

| PHONEME | ROOT-INITIAL | | ROOT-MEDIAL | | AFFIX-INITIAL | | AFFIX-MEDIAL | | CLITIC-INITIAL | CLITIC-MEDIAL |
|---------|--------------|---------|-------------|-----|---------------|---|--------------|-----|----------------|---------------|
| | N | V | N | V | N | V | N | V | | |
| t | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | - |
| k | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| b | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - |
| d | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| g | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| f | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| z | + | + | (+) | (+) | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| *s | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| j | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| v | limited | limited | (+) | (+) | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| ch | limited | limited | - | - | (+) | - | - | - | - | - |
| y | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - |
| m | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - |
| n | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | - | + | - |
| ñ | + | + | ? | (+) | + | + | - | (+) | - | - |
| r | + | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | (+) | - | - |

* occurring in loans; phonemes occurring marginally are marked by bracketing

I now turn to the description of Murui vowels, diphthongs, and vowel sequences.

2.1.2 Vowels

Murui vowel system consists of six oral vowels. Every of vowel has a long vowel counterpart that is phonemic in the language. Murui vowel phonemes are shown in Table 2.3:

Table 2.1 Murui vowels

| | FRONT | | CENTRAL | | BACK | |
|----------|-------|------|---------|------|-------|------|
| | SHORT | LONG | SHORT | LONG | SHORT | LONG |
| HIGH | i | i: | ɨ | ɨ: | u | u: |
| OPEN-MID | ɛ | ɛ: | | | ɔ | ɔ: |
| LOW | | | a | a: | | |

The Murui vowels consist of three high vowels (front *i*, central *ɨ*, and back *u*), two mid-open vowels (front *e* and back *o*), and one low central *a*. While only the high back vowel *u* and the mid-open *o* are rounded, the rest is unrounded. Each of the short vowels can form a syllable nucleus and can be preceded by any type of consonant or vowel. When short vowels are stressed, they have high pitch.

All of the Murui short vowels have their own long counterparts that are restricted to the word-initial position only. They can constitute a syllable on their own or with a consonant in the onset. Long vowels are stressed and have high pitch. An interesting feature of the long vowels in the verbal underived monosyllabic roots is that they trigger the change of the form of the linker (*-ti* > *-di*), e.g. *bi(te)* (come-LK-3) ‘come’ and *rii(de)* (arrive-LK-3) ‘arrive’. Such long vowel could be considered to be two copies of the same vowel in succession. The currently Murui orthography (as used by Gasché (2009a); Petersen de Piñeros and Becerra (1997) and others) follow the overall convention in Murui to write long vowels using two short vowels, e.g. *riide* ‘arrive’ instead of *ri:de* ‘arrive’. This work will not deviate from this commonly accepted orthographic ‘tradition’.

A. SHORT VOWELS - the high front short vowel *i* is found in all positions. In nominal and verbal roots, it can be followed by any consonant, e.g. *irai* ‘fire’, *ibirai* ‘truck of a tree type’, *jiza* ‘daughter’, *i-ya-no* (EXIST-E.NMZL-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘place of living, existence’, *bi(te)* ‘come’, *faiḥi(de)* ‘lose’. It can occur in any position within a word. In fact, the occurrence of the high front vowel is very frequent with the formation of nouns (by means of the ‘dummy’ anaphoric element *i-*), e.g. *i-ki* (ANA.NSP-CLF:ROUND) ‘a small, round object (e.g. heart, fruit)’, *i-do* (ANA.SP-CLF:POINTED) ‘a very small, pointed object (e.g. seed, tooth)’, *i-na* (ANA.SP-CLF:TREE) ‘an object that has a form of a tree’, *i-da* (ANA.NSP-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT) ‘objects that are long and straight (e.g. crutches)’. The high front short vowel *i* occurs also frequently in various types of verbal affixes, e.g. *-i* (future tense marker), *-ia* (conditional marker), *-iaka* (the emphatic marker that co-occurs with the desiderative *-aka*), *-ni* ‘negative attributive, privative’, *-ri* ‘durative’, and *-kabi* ‘habitual’. Although in principle, there are no restrictions on co-occurrence with other vowels, the phoneme *i* is rarely followed by the high central vowel (e.g. *iife* ‘tongue’) and by the high back vowel (e.g. *iugoe* ‘type of plant’).

The short high central vowel *i* is found in all positions. It can occur word-initially in underived nominal and verbal roots, e.g. *ini* ‘husband’, *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’, *ri(te)* ‘plant’, *ini(de)* ‘sleep’, as well as word-medially, as in *jeiki(te)* ‘be born’. It can also occur in functional words, such as *diḡa* ‘with’, *ni-ga* (Q₂-QUANT) ‘how much?’. Word-finally, it occurs in various types of affixes and clitics, such as *kome-ki* (PERSON-CLF:ROUND) ‘heart’, *=di* (topical S/A subject marker).

The short high back vowel *u* is found in all possible positions in roots, affixes, and enclitics, e.g. *uzu-ma* (grandparent-CLF:DR.M) ‘grandfather’, *uku-be* (plant.type-CLF:LEAF) ‘money’, *uku-du* (start-CLF:XXX) ‘star’, *yunu(de)* ‘make an object by hand (e.g. a basket)’, *du(te)* ‘chew coca’, *-ru* (CLF:OVAL), *-yu* (CLF:BAG), *-buku* (CLF:BASKET).

The mid-open front vowel *e* is found in all positions. This is illustrated by e.g. *efa* ‘macaw’, *ebi-re-d-e* (nice-ATT-LK-3) ‘nice’, *ñe(te)* ‘do’, *de(te)* ‘cut open’, *jeno(de)* ‘search’.

The mid-open back vowel *o* has no restrictions and occur in positions within a noun and verb, such as *o(te)* ‘take out, get’, *moto* ‘centre’. It also occurs in affixes and clitics, e.g. *-mo* (locative), *-no* (CLF:PLACE), *-bero* (CLF:MASS), *-foro* (CLF:FEATHER.SHAPE), *-ño* (CLF:DR.F), *-kino* (CLF:NEWS), *-no* (semelfactive marker on verb), *-o* (2nd person singular pronominal S/A marker), *-omiko* (2nd person plural pronominal S/A marker).

The low central vowel *a* can found in various positions in the word, word initially, medially-, and finally, such as in *jaka* ‘always, never’, *kaka(de)* ‘hear, listen, understand, warm coca vessel’. It is also found in various affixes and clitics, e.g. *-ka* (an allomorph of the passive marker), *-na* (non S/A topic marker; ablative, CLF:TREE), *=ta* (reported evidential), *-ma* (CLF:DR.M), *-da* (CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT), *-nita* (CLF:LONG.SQUARE).

B. LONG VOWELS - all Murui long vowels are limited to occur in word-initial positions only, in all types of roots, affixes, and clitics. In Murui all monomorphemic words always contain long vowels, e.g. *raa* ‘thing’, *aa* ‘above’, and *moo* ‘father’ (see also section 2.2 on syllable structure). Vowel lengthening occurs also in reduplicated verbal roots, as in *roo-ro-(de)* (sing~RED-LK-3) ‘keeps singing’ (see section 2.8.8), as well as it is used in the formation of future tense, especially when it combines with the high front vowel *i*, e.g. *rite* ‘plant (NFUT)’ vs. *riit-e* ‘plant (FUT)’ (see section 2.8.7). Long vowels can also be used for emphasis, e.g. *kuue jaa riitikue* (1sg.EMP now arrive.FUT-LK-1sg) ‘I (emphasised) will come now!’.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ The difference between the readings of *riite* ‘will plant’ (*rite* ‘plant’) and *riite* ‘will arrive’ (*riide* ‘arrive’) is contextual.

The vowel *ii* is the long counter part of the short high central vowel *i*. It occurs in word-initial positions only, e.g. *ii(de)* ‘swim’, *fii(de)* ‘rob, steal’, and *yiiino(te)* ‘grab’. The long counterpart of the high front vowel *i* is found in verbal roots in word-initial position only, e.g. *rii(de)* ‘arrive’ vs. *riit-e* (arrive.FUT-LK-3) ‘will arrive’, *i(te)* ‘exist’ vs. *iit-e* (exist.FUT-LK-3) ‘will be’, *bi-t-e* (come-LK-3) ‘come’ vs. *biit-e* (come.FUT-LK-3) ‘will come’. The long high back vowel *u*, occurs in word-initial positions only, e.g. *zuu-re-d-e* (sad-ATT-LK-3) ‘sad’. The long vowel *ee* is found in all types of roots, e.g. *ee(de)* ‘cry’, *jeedo* ‘type of animal (Sp. *chucha*)’, and *mee-re-d-e* (heavy-ATT-LK-3) ‘heavy’. The long counterpart of the short open-mid back vowel *o* is used in word-initial positions as well, e.g. *boo(de)* (burn-LK-3) ‘burn’ and *ooño* ‘type of frog’, similar to the long low front vowel *aa*, as in *aama* ‘brother (ego masculine)’, *naama* (owner-CLF:DR.M) ‘owner’, *aa-na* (above-ABL) ‘from above’ (cf. *ana* ‘below’).

The phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of short and long vowels in nominal/verbal roots, affixes and clitics according

Table 2.3 Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of short and long vowels

| PHONEME | ROOT-INITIAL | | ROOT-MEDIAL | | AFFIX-INITIAL | | AFFIX-MEDIAL | | CLITIC-INITIAL | CLITIC-MEDIAL |
|---------|--------------|---|-------------|---|---------------|---|--------------|---|----------------|---------------|
| | N | V | N | V | N | V | N | V | | |
| i | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| ĩ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| u | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| e | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| o | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| a | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| i: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| ĩ: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| u: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| e: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| o: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| a: | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

A number of comparative examples of (near) minimal pairs illustrating vocalic oppositions between: A) short vowels, B) long vowels, and C) short-long vowels are given below:

A) VOCALIC OPPOSITIONS BETWEEN SHORT VOWELS:

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| i - i | [ni.tɛ] | <i>nite</i> | knit | [ni.ga] | <i>nĩga</i> | how much |
| | [bi.dʒa] | <i>biya</i> | arrival | [bi.gĩ] | <i>biḡĩ</i> | sword (weapon) |
| i - u | [dʒi.tɛ] | <i>yite</i> | eat fruit | [dʒu.nu.dɛ] | <i>yunude</i> | have a content |
| | [ni.tɛ] | <i>nite</i> | knit | [nu.ku.ɔ] | <i>nukuo</i> | type of vine |
| i - e | [i.bɛ] | <i>ibe</i> | leaf | [ɛ.bɛ] | <i>ebe</i> | oh! |
| | [ni.tɛ] | <i>nite</i> | knit | [nɛ.tɛ] | <i>nete</i> | hang |
| i - o | [ni.tɛ] | <i>nite</i> | knit | [no.gɔ] | <i>nogo</i> | crook pot |
| | [dʒi.tɛ] | <i>yite</i> | eat fruit | [dʒɔ.tɛ] | <i>yote</i> | tell |
| i - a | [i.rai] | <i>irai</i> | fire | [a.rɛ] | <i>are</i> | long |
| ĩ - u | [di.ga] | <i>dĩga</i> | with | [du.tɛ] | <i>dute</i> | chew coca |
| ĩ - e | [bi.gĩ] | <i>biḡĩ</i> | sword (weapon) | [bɛ.no] | <i>beno</i> | here |
| | [di.ga] | <i>dĩga</i> | with | [dɛ.tɛ] | <i>dete</i> | cut open |
| ĩ - o | [ri.no] | <i>riño</i> | woman | [ro.tɛ] | <i>rote</i> | sing |
| | [hi.ka.dɛ] | <i>jikade</i> | request | [ho.kɔ.dɛ] | <i>jokode</i> | wash |
| ĩ - a | [di.nɛ] | <i>dine</i> | (over) there | [da.ma] | <i>dama</i> | alone (male) |
| | [fi.no.dɛ] | <i>fĩnode</i> | make | [fa.kai] | <i>fakai</i> | time |
| u - e | [du.tɛ] | <i>dute</i> | chews coca | [dɛ.tɛ] | <i>dete</i> | cut open |
| | [ho.rai] | <i>jorai</i> | lagoon | [hɛ.no.dɛ] | <i>jenode</i> | search |
| u - ɔ | [u.rui.ai] | <i>uruiaĩ</i> | children | [ɔ.rui.dɛ] | <i>oruide</i> | be full, send |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| | [a.tu.ɛ.dɔ] | <i>atuedo</i> | in half, middle | [a.tɔ.na] | <i>atona</i> | straight |
| u - a | [du.tɛ] | <i>dute</i> | chew coca | [da.ma] | <i>dama</i> | alone (male) |
| o - e | [hɔ.ɸɔ] | <i>jofo</i> | house | [hɛ.ɸɔ] | <i>jefo</i> | ear |
| | [θɔ.tɛ] | <i>zote</i> | prepare in pot | [θɛ.tɛ] | <i>zete</i> | get out fibre |
| e - a | [a.mɛ.na] | <i>amena</i> | tree (general) | [a.ma.na] | <i>amana</i> | dolphin |

B) VOCALIC OPPOSITIONS OF LONG VOWELS:

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ii - ii | [i:.tɛ] | <i>iite</i> | will exist/give | [i:.dɛ] | <i>iiide</i> | swim |
| | [ɸi:.dɛ] | <i>fiide</i> | burst | [ɸi:.dɛ] | <i>fiiide</i> | rob, steal |
| ii - ee | [ɸi:.dɛ] | <i>fiide</i> | burst | [ɸɛ:.dɛ] | <i>feede</i> | fly |
| ii - ee | [dʒi:.nɔ.tɛ] | <i>yiiñote</i> | pick up | [dʒɛ:.dɔ] | <i>yeedo</i> | type of bird |
| | [hi:] | <i>jii</i> | yes | [hɛɛ] | <i>jee</i> | interjection |
| ii - aa | [hi:] | <i>jii</i> | yes | [ha:] | <i>jaa</i> | soon |
| ee - oo | [mɛ:.rɛ.dɛ] | <i>meerede</i> | heavy | [mɔ:.na] | <i>moona</i> | (from) father |
| oo - aa | [hɔ:.nɛ.tɛ] | <i>joonete</i> | put | [ha:.nɔ.tɛ] | <i>jaanote</i> | (be) hidden |
| uu - aa | [bu:] | <i>buu</i> | who | [ra:] | <i>raa</i> | thing |
| ee - aa | [mɛ:.rɛ.dɛ] | <i>meerede</i> | heavy | [ma.ɸai.tɛ] | <i>maafaite</i> | threaten |

C) VOCALIC OPPOSITIONS OF SHORT-LONG VOWELS:

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| i - ii | [i.tɛ] | <i>ite</i> | exist | [i:.tɛ] | <i>iite</i> | will exist |
| | [bi.tɛ] | <i>bite</i> | come | [bi:.tɛ] | <i>biite</i> | will come |
| | [dʒi.tɛ] | <i>yite</i> | eat fruit | [dʒi:.tɛ] | <i>yiite</i> | will eat fruit |
| i - ii | [ri.ɲɔ] | <i>riiño</i> | woman | [ri:.ɲɔ] | <i>riiño</i> | type of toad |
| | [hi.tɛ] | <i>jiite</i> | plant yucca | [hi:.dɛ] | <i>jiide</i> | pray |
| u - uu | [tu.tɛ] | <i>tute</i> | hit | [tu:.dɛ] | <i>tuude</i> | scatter (animals) |
| | [θu.ri.dɛ] | <i>zuride</i> | sing (a bird) | [θu:.ri.tɛ] | <i>zuurite</i> | tear yucca |
| e - ee | [ɸɛ.tɛ] | <i>fete</i> | poison water | [ɸɛ:.dɛ] | <i>feede</i> | fly |
| | [ɛ.ki] | <i>eki</i> | side | [ɛ:ki] | <i>eeeki</i> | spiny palms |
| | [θɛ.rɛ.dɛ] | <i>zereede</i> | whimper | [θɛ:.rɛ.dɛ] | <i>zeereede</i> | suffocate |
| o - oo | [bɔ.tɛ] | <i>bote</i> | slit | [bɔ:.dɛ] | <i>boode</i> | burn |
| | [mɔ.na] | <i>mona</i> | sky | [mɔ:.na] | <i>moona</i> | (from) father |
| a - aa | [ha.nɔ.rɛ] | <i>janore</i> | little | [ha:.nɔ.tɛ] | <i>jaanote</i> | (be) hidden |
| | [dama] | <i>dama</i> | alone (male) | [da:.ma] | <i>daama</i> | the same (male) |

2.1.3 Vowel sequences and diphthongs

Murui distinguishes between vowel sequences and diphthongs. All have different phonotactic restrictions. While vowel sequences are discussed in §2.1.3.1, diphthongs are given attention in §2.1.3.2. Regardless their status, Murui orthography represents them always as vowel sequences.

2.1.3.1 Vowel sequences

Murui vowel sequences are formed by two separate syllable nuclei, wherein only the first vowel gets stressed. In slow speech, each vowel is pronounced separately. In normal (and rapid) speech, they can be co-articulated (approximant insertion). Vowel sequences may involve long vowels. Table 2.5 illustrates Murui sequences followed by phonetic transcription in slow and normal/rapid speech.

Table 2.4 Vowel sequences in Murui

| VOWEL SEQUENCE | EXAMPLE | SLOW SPEECH | NORMAL/RAPID SPEECH |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| u.e | <i>urue</i> ‘child’ | [u.ru.ɛ] | [u.ru.wɛ] |
| | <i>bue</i> ‘what’ | [bu.ɛ] | [bu.wɛ] |
| u.a | <i>tua!</i> ‘spit!’ | [tu.a] | [tu.wa] |
| | <i>ua</i> ‘really’ | [u.a] | [bu.wɛ] |
| i.a | <i>mia</i> ‘licking’ | [mi.a] | [mi.ya] |
| | <i>iairede</i> ‘short’ | [i.ai.rɛ.dɛ] | [i.yai.rɛ.dɛ] |
| i.o | <i>diona</i> ‘tobacco (tree)’ | [di.o.na] | [di.ɥo.na] |
| a.e | <i>nokae</i> ‘canoe’ | [nɔ.ka.ɛ] | [nɔ.ka.ɛ] |

Given that the language has the $o > u$ and $e > i$ vowel assimilation processes (see §2.5), sequences *oa* and *ea* are not attested among the older speakers of Murui. However, it is not uncommon to hear them among younger speakers, who do not always apply these processes in their speech on the morpheme boundaries. An example of this is for instance the lack of the $o > a$ assimilation in *jifano-a* (play-E.NMLZ) ‘playing’, instead of *jifanu-a* in the speech of Murui elders.

2.1.3.2 Diphthongs and underlying vowel sequences

Murui diphthongs are vowel sequences that comprise two adjacent vowel sounds occurring as a single sound with an inherent movement within the same syllable (forming one vowel nucleus, one vocalic segment). All are of the falling (or descending) type that start with a

vowel quality of higher prominence and end in a vowel with less prominence. The first element of the diphthong consists of short vowels *a*, *e*, *u* followed by *i* or *ĩ*:

- short vowels *a*, *e*, *u* followed by *i*:
 - *ai* as in *airi(jĩ)* ‘casabe’, *abaikĩ* ‘totem’, *zai(te)* ‘dance’
 - *ei* as in *tei(de)* ‘cough’, *rai(te)* ‘say’
 - *ui* as in *nemui(de)* ‘defecate’, *fivui* ‘moon’
- short vowel *a* followed by *ĩ*:
 - *aĩ* as in *fai(te)* ‘throw away’
 - *oĩ* as in *omoĩ* (2pl)

The second vowel sound is always the high vowel, either the front *i* or the central *ĩ* which nicely fit into a division of vowels (front vowels vs. everything else). Such diphthongs are treated as monomoraic structures on par with short vowels (see the description of the phonologic al process of vowel assimilation discussed further in this section). In addition to ‘true diphthongs’, Murui also has underlying vowel sequences which are phonetic diphthongs.⁷⁶ In the present analysis, forms of Murui roots are either monomoraic (those consisting of a short vowel), or bimoraic (those consisting a long vowel). What Petersen de Piñeros considers trimoraic diphthongs, here are treated as vowel sequences (that are the result of two different vowels in succession):

⁷⁶ In this work I adopt an alternative somewhat simpler analysis of Murui diphthongs than the existing one, based on an odd/even moraic principle. It has been proposed that Murui has in fact mono-, bi- and trimoraic diphthongs (Petersen de Piñeros 1994, 1997), where different forms of a number of verbal linkers are triggered by either an odd or an even number of moras present within a syllable. In that analysis it has been put forward that the from of the :

- short vowels (monomoraic), as in *rite* ‘eat meat’, or diphthongs with a long vowel (trimoriaic), as in *guuite* ‘will eat’ trigger the forms *-tĩ* and *-ga*,
- long vowels (bimoraic), as in *rii(de)* ‘arrive’, and diphthongs with a short vowel trigger the forms *-dĩ* are and *-ka*.

- monomoraic: *ri(te)* [ri.te] ‘eat meat’
- bimoraic: *rii(de)* [ri:.de] ‘arrive’
- phonetic diphthong (underlying vowel sequence) *jaai(de)* [jaa.i.de] ‘go’

The reason to treat such sequences as underlying vowel sequences, rather than trimoraic diphthongs, is not only not to expand the system with (C)VVV syllable type (§2.2), but also that fits the language-internal phonological principles where allomorphs of certain stops are triggered by either a monomoraic (consisting of a short vowel or a diphthong) or a bimoraic (long vowel) shape of the root. (The moraic principles influencing mutation of consonants are also discussed in §2.5.2).

- monomoraic roots triggering *-t/-g*: *me(te)* [me.te] ‘lick’
ni(ga) [ni.ga] ‘knitted’
gui(te) [gui.te] ‘eat’
- bimoraic roots triggering *-d/-k*: *ii(de)* [ii.de] ‘swim’
fii(ka) [fii.ka] ‘robbed’

Rather than being triggered by trimoraic diphthongs, the alternation between different variants of verbal allomorph is determined by a vowel sequence (bimoraic roots followed by a vowel):

- vowel sequences triggering *-d/-k*: *jaai(de)* [jaa.i.de] ‘go’
teei(de) [tee.i.de] ‘cough’
beei(ka) [bee.i.ka] ‘toasted’

This analysis is consistent with the phonological processes involving reduplication (§2.8.8), where the moraic weight of the reduplicated syllable remains always bisyllabic, and triggers the allomorphs *-d-k*, regardless of the initial weight of the verbal root, as illustrated in (2.2):

- (2.2) *ro(te)* [ro.te] ‘sing’ > *roo~ro(de)* [ro:ro-de] ‘keep singing’
boo(de) [bo:.de] ‘burn’ > *boo~bo(de)* [bo:.bo.de] ‘keep burning’

The moraic weight in the process of vowel lengthening which marks future tense (for verbal roots with the high front vowel *i*, see §2.8.7 on vowel lengthening of verbal roots) is of a little importance here; there is no allomorphy between verbal linkers. The form of the future tense linker is always *-t*. Compare:

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| (2.3) | <i>i(te)</i> [i.te] ‘exist’ | > | <i>ii(te)</i> [i:.te] ‘will exist’ |
| | <i>rii(de)</i> [ri:.de] ‘arrive’ | > | <i>rii(te)</i> [ri:.te] ‘will arrive’ |
| | <i>gui(te)</i> [gui.te] ‘eat’ | > | <i>guui(te)</i> [guu.i.te] ‘will eat’ |
| | <i>jaai(de)</i> [jaa.i.de] ‘go’ | > | <i>jaai(te)</i> [jaa.i.te] ‘will go’ |
| | <i>jooi(de)</i> [joo.i.de] ‘put’ | > | <i>jooi(te)</i> [joo.i.te] ‘will put’ |
| | <i>deei(de)</i> [dee.i.de] ‘rain’ | > | <i>deei(te)</i> [dee.i.te] ‘will rain’ |

2.1.3.3 Further on vowel sequences

Murui has two limited sequences, *k-w-V(V)* and *g-w-V(V)*, which can be interpreted as having the *CwV(V)* structure, as in *gua(te)* ‘crush (tobacco powder)’ and *kuei(de)* ‘finish’.

They occur in vowel sequences and are the result of syllable reduction. Such sequences can be interpreted on two levels (two different speech segments):

- a) on the phonological level, as a (C)V.V vowel sequence (phonological diphthong in slow-normal speech) where *quate* is pronounced as [gu.a.te],
- b) on the phonetic level, either as a phonetic diphthong or a phonetically labialized consonant, where in the normal-rapid speech where *quate* is pronounced as [gwa.te].

They could be considered to be phonetic diphthongs but not phonological ones. This is also related to stress assignment in Murui (see §2.2) where in a phonological word, the primary stress is always word-initial. Not to expand the system with CCV syllable type, I analyze such sequences as complex syllable nuclei of the CV_{diphthong} type.

2.2 Syllable structure and stress

The basic syllable patterning in Murui is of the (C)V type where C can be in principle any consonant (see discussion on phonotactic restrictions of consonants in §2.1.1) and V any vowel or a diphthong (see §2.1.2-3). There are no CC clusters (see also §2.1.3.3 on the discussion of vowel sequences and §2.6 on the treatment of loans that contain CC clusters).

There are no restrictions as to the onset of syllables, but the glottal stop can occur in the coda position if the vowel is long.

In Murui stress is not contrastive. The language distinguishes between primary and secondary stress. In a phonological word, the primary stress is word-initial. Monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic words do not have the secondary stress rule (primary stress is marked with ‘ and the secondary stress with , in the examples below).

(2.4) MONOSYLLABIC WORDS

| | | |
|------------|--------|------------------------------------|
| <i>oo</i> | [‘ɔ:] | (2sg) |
| <i>too</i> | [‘tɔ:] | ‘type of fish (similar to an eel)’ |
| <i>aai</i> | [‘a:i] | ‘wife’ |

BISYLLABIC WORDS

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|---------|
| <i>bote</i> | [‘bɔ.tɛ] | ‘split’ |
| <i>zaitɛ</i> | [‘θai.tɛ] | ‘dance’ |
| <i>deeide</i> | [‘dɛ:i.dɛ] ⁷⁷ | ‘rain’ |

TRISYLLABIC WORDS

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>uzuma</i> | [‘u.θu.ma] | ‘grandfather’ |
| <i>uudida</i> | [‘u:.di.da] | ‘shank of the river’ |
| <i>nemuiɛ</i> | [‘nɛ:.mui.dɛ] | ‘defecate’ |
| <i>uruiaɪ</i> | [‘u.ru.yaɪ] | ‘children’ |

⁷⁷ As discussed in §2.1.3.2.

There are a number of exceptions where the stress location differs. The language internal lexicalization processes account for the stress dislocation in a few cases, as for instance in *ikare* [i.'ka.rɛ] 'tomorrow' < [i.kɔ 'aa.rɛ] 'time in future' + 'far away'.⁷⁸ A small number of affixes shift stress on morpheme boundaries, as in *jadie* [ha.'di.ɛ] 'that (close to the speaker)' < [ha.di + i.ɛ] 'here (by the speaker)' + CONN (clitic). Diachronically, *jadie* seems to have been derived with *ja-* which has demonstrative overtones (although *ja-* is not productive anymore, it does occur in some words, such as *jaziki* 'jungle', or *jaa* 'now'). Another morpheme that shifts stress is the demonstrative *aki-*, as in *akie* [a.'ki.ɛ] 'that (as heard)' < [a.'ki + i.ɛ] 'here (as heard, auditive overtones)' + CONN (clitic). Verbal affixes do shift stress; however in polysyllabic words, the secondary stress goes usually onto the syllable that contains the verbal linker *-di-ti*, as in:

- (2.5) a. [fa.re.be.gi., di.ɔ.mɔi]
 fare-bogi-di-omoi
 bulky-CLF:BIG.ROUND-LK-2pl
 'you are bulky (lit. ball-like)'
- b. [na.bai.ri.ti. ɲai. ɲo., di.kue]
 [nabai-ri-ti-aiño-di-kue]
 neighbour-DUR-LK-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg
 'I was the one who accompanied (them)'

⁷⁸ This was previously suggested by suggested also by Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994). Nowadays, in case of *ikare* 'tomorrow', frequently the stress is word-initial among young speakers of Murui. The expression *iko aare* does exist, and refers to very remote future.

2.3 Phonological word and phonological phrase

Phonological word is the smallest prosodic unit in Murui. There are five main criteria for recognition of the phonological word: stress (primary and secondary), formation of diphthongs, vowel fusion, vowel reduction and consonant mutation. Primary stress operates over one phonological word. In polysyllabic words (that consist of more than three syllables), there is also the occurrence of the secondary stress. Vowel sequences that form a diphthong, operate within a phonological word. They do not occur outside the phonological word boundary. Phonological changes (vowel fusion) occur as the result of morpheme concatenation can operate only within one phonological word. With respect to consonant mutation, the allophonic difference between the predicate morphemes (*-di-ti* and *-ka-ga*) can occur within one phonological word only (see §2.5). Phonotactic restrictions can also be used to determine phonological words because some phonemes are indicative of the beginning and/or the end of the word. For instance, the phonemes *ch* and *v* occur only in word initial positions (*ch* can also occur within one affix *-chupi*). Other phonemes such as *b* cannot occur in affix initial positions for verbs, but they can do so for nouns (see Table 2.2 in §2.1.1 that illustrates phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants). Vowel lengthening that occurs in word-initial positions only (see §2.1.2).

Phonological phrases, units that are larger than a phonological word, consist of a number of phonological words that form one phonological unit, bear the primary-secondary stress pattern of one phonological word, and cannot be interrupted by any kind of pause marking. For instance, Murui possessive noun phrases form phonological phrases. The examples below present instances of a possessive noun phrases in both the slow and the normal/rapid speech registers (primary stress is marked with the diacritical mark ´, the

secondary stress with is illustrated with ,). The normalrapid speech in (2.6) illustrates a weakened stress as opposed to the slow speech register in (2.7) (both have the intonation contour of a declarative clause, see also §2.4).

(2.6) NORMAL/RAPID SPEECH

[Tádave ie , jo-fo]
 Tadave CONN house-CLF:CAV
 ‘house of Tadave’

(2.7) SLOW SPEECH

[Táda,ve] [íe] [jó-fo]
 Tadave CONN house-CLF:CAV
 ‘house of Tadave’

2.4 Intonation and pitch

Generally, Murui is characterized by two basic types of intonation contour: falling and rising-falling. Additionally, there is a special rising intonation limited to certain situations involving calling in the distance.⁷⁹ Generally, the falling intonation is used for declarative sentences. The rising-falling intonation is used for questions (polar and content) (see §11.2. The rising intonation is a special intonation contour used for ‘calling, announcing’. The Murui intonation types are discussed below:

⁷⁹ Also, the Murui have a special distinctive semi-speech-register-like intonation for talking in the jungle at night. It involves a similar conversational and narration patterns but risen with at least half or double of the frequency of a normal pitch. I was told that this is to disguise people’s voices in a manner that they would not be recognizable for evil spirits.

A. FALLING INTONATION - in declarative clauses and in commands. In declarative clauses, a slightly rising pitch (marked with ↗) falls on the first syllable of the last word of a clause (which is usually a predicate) and is followed by a fall (marked with ↘), as in (2.8):

(2.8) Kata_s uieko-do jo-fo-mo_{LOC} ↗rii-↘d-e_{PRED}
 Kata face-INS house-clf:cav-LOC arrive-LK-3
 ‘Kata arrived home first.’

TYPE B. RISING-FALLING INTONATION - this kind of intonation contours occurs in content (B1) and polar (B2) questions, and in commands (B3).

B1. RISING-FALLING INTONATION IN CONTENT QUESTIONS - this intonation contour involves a high rising pitch (marked with ↗↗) on the first syllable of the content interrogative word followed immediately by a fall similar to these in declarative clauses, as illustrated in (2.9):

(2.9) ↗↗ni-↘no-mo kue moo_s ↗i-↘t-e?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 1sg father exist-LK-3
 ‘Where is my father?’

B2. RISING-FALLING INTONATION IN POLAR QUESTIONS - this intonation contour involves a high rising pitch (marked with ↗↗) that falls on the first syllable of the last word of a clause and is followed by a fall, as in (2.10):

(2.10) oo_s [nai-e naze]_s ↗↗iba-↘ka_{PRED}
 2sg ANA.SP-CLF:G door close-PASS
 ‘Did you close the door?’

In tag questions, the clause has a common falling intonation (like the one described for the declarative clauses above). Tags in questions, however, have the rising-falling intonation with a high pitch that falls on the first syllable of the tag, as in (2.11).

- (2.11) ñaiño_s ñi-ma-na_o ʔki_o-ʔd-e_{PRE} ʔʔuʔa?
 CLF:DR.F man-CLF:DR.M-N.SA.TOP see-LK-3 really
 ‘She saw that man, didn’t she?’

In certain context (such as disbelief) , the tag word *ua* can have a rising-falling intonation with a lower pitch, as in (2.12).

- (2.12) jak_i-nai-t-e_{PRE} nai-mie_s ʔʔuʔa?
 scared-BECOME₁-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M really
 ‘He got scared, didn’t he?’ (whispering in astonishment, disbelief)

TYPE B3. SHARPLY RISING-FALLING INTONATION - In commands, commands can have a distinctive sharply rising-falling intonation. There are also other cues that frequently accompany commands, such as a stern eye gaze. (2.X) is a call of an elder to his grandson to come right now to him. In (2.10), an angry mother was forcing her child to sit down and eat his food.

- (2.13) bene_{LOC} ʔbiʔ-ño-kai!_{PRE}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Come here immediately!’ (a mild command)
- (2.14) ñiño! uri ʔʔraai!_ʔʔ_{PRE} ʔʔguiʔ-ño-kai!_{PRE}
 child.M.Sp **calm** sit.IMP eat-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Child! Sit down! Eat (this) immediately!’ (a **stern** command)

C. RISING INTONATION - this is a special (non-canonical) kind of the intonation contour pattern in Murui. It is mainly used when calling at distance, as well as during festivities (for instance, to announce somebody’s arrival or gifts’ acceptance, and it is a usual way to bring to an end traditional songs).⁸⁰ Calls at distance can be considered a special speech register,

⁸⁰ In songs, curiously, they are a customary way of finishing traditional songs. They seem to be fixed expressions that contain many lexical elements from other varieties of Witoto, such as Mika or Nipode (see Chapter 20), suggesting how Murui ‘acquired’ many of their traditional songs.

conditioned phonologically rather than lexically. A characteristic of this speech-register feature is a steep rise in pitch of the high central vowel *i* that usually follow final elements of a clause, as in (2.15-16) (see also §2.5.2 for more details on vowel change used for calling at distance). Its duration can last up to a several seconds. The high open vowel *i* is treated here as a prototypical vowel because it holds the syllable nuclear position.⁸¹

(2.15) *kai-mo*_{O:RECEIPIENT} *jano-re* *ʔin*↘↗*ʔi*!_{PREP}
 1pl-LOC small-ATT give.TH.CALL
 ‘Give us a little!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *kaimo janore ine* ‘give us a little’)

(2.16) *ʔjaii*-↘*ño*-↗*ʔkii*!_{PREP}
 go-IMP-RAPID.CALL
 ‘Go immediately!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *jaiiñokai* ‘go immediately’)

Similar vowel centralization techniques have also been reported for other Amazonian languages spoken in the area, such as Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2003).⁸²

2.5 General phonological phenomena

In this section I will discuss a number of the general phonological phenomena associated with articulatory processes in Murui and affect alternations of phonemes. They are divided into those involving vowels (§2.5.1) and consonants (§2.5.2). Murui phonological processes occur on the boundaries between a root and a verbal suffix and between two verbal suffixes. There are some phonological processes that can occur on the boundaries between roots, suffixes, and enclitics.

⁸¹ Vowel centralization is different from the high central vowel loss occurring in Murui elsewhere (cf. 2.9).

⁸² Vowel centralization for calling in distance is not uncommon elsewhere. For instance, ‘call-at-distance’ messages are shouted out among the Nungon speakers of Papua and New Guinea (Sarvasy, 2014: 122-124, 669), and are marked by an alteration of the final vowel of an utterance.

2.5.1 Involving vowels

The phonological processes that include changes in vowel sequences include vowel assimilation, vowel loss, vowel lengthening, and vowel centralization.

A. VOWEL ASSIMILATION - it occurs on the rootsuffix-suffix boundary regardless of the placement of the stress. There are two main processes: $o + V > uV$ and $e + a > ia$.

Throughout the examples, the vowel alternation are illustrated in the stressed (syllable-initial) and unstressed positions. The two types of vowel assimilation apply to roots containing both short and long vowels.

- $o + V > uV$, if V is *a* or *e*

(2.17) *o-* ‘take away’ + *-ai* (ANDTV) > *uai(te)* ‘go to take away’
boo- ‘burn’ + *-a* (E.NMLZ) > *buua* ‘burning’

fino- ‘make’ + *-aibi* (VENTV) > *fīnuaiibi(de)* ‘come to make’
jofo ‘house’ + *-e* (CLF:G) > *jofue* ‘housing’

The vowel assimilation $o + V > uV$ does not take place with the desiderative suffix *-aka*, as in the following examples:⁸³

(2.18) *fino-* ‘make’ + *-aka* (DES) > *fīnoakadikue* ‘I make’
ro- ‘sing’ + *-aka* (DES) > *roaka(de)* ‘want to sing’

With the younger speakers of the language, this type of vowel alternation is currently being lost. Frequently, young speakers do not apply any vowel assimilation, as in examples in

⁸³ The reason why this phonological change does not apply to the desiderative *-aka* may be related to the fact that *-aka* can be preceded (and often, it is) by the emphatic *i-*, as in *fino-i-aka-di-kue* (make-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg) ‘I really want to make (it)’ (see §7.2.3.1).

(2.X). Murui elders occasionally correct such speech, especially with relation to ‘mispronounced’ nouns, rather than verbs.⁸⁴

(2.19) *jifano-* ‘play’ + *-a* (E.NMLZ) > *jifanoa* ‘playing’
muruiño ‘Murui woman’ + *ai* (pl marker) > *muruiñoai* ‘Murui woman’

- $e + a > i$

(2.20) *ne-* ‘hang (hammock)’ + *-ai* (ANDTV) > *niai(de)* ‘go away to hang (a hammock)’
ñe- ‘do’ + *-ai* (ANDTV) > *ñiai(de)* ‘go away to do’
me- ‘lick’ + *-a* (E.NMLZ) > *mia* ‘licking’
urue ‘child’ + *-ai* (plural marker) > *uruiai* ‘children’

Although younger speakers apply this vowel alternation more frequently than the $o + V > uV$ rule, examples without vowel assimilation do occur. Compare examples in (2.20) with those in (2.21).

(2.21) *me-* ‘lick’ + *-a* (E.NMLZ) > *mea* ‘licking’

B. VOWEL LOSS - Murui has a few instances of a phonological process that involves vowel loss and triggering a contraction on a suffix-suffix boundary in unstressed syllables. In such cases, in the normal and fast speech-registers, the forms of the linker *-di-ti* can be optionally ‘elided’, when they are followed by *o* (which corresponds to the forms that involve second

⁸⁴ This is best illustrated based on an autoreflexion of the speakers. Sandriela Agga (26), a fluent speaker of Murui (originally raised monolingually), does not apply vowel assimilation in her speech. Her mother, Francisca Agga (73) is one of a few remaining fairly monolingual speakers of Murui, and in her speech she invariably applies vowel assimilation rules. Sandriela once mentioned to me that her mother speaks the language ‘like the old people’ did. Sandriela tried to make effort and speak like her mother (applying vowel assimilation) but as, to her feeling, she was making mistakes, she gave up imitating her mother fairly quickly. Based on the data gathered in the field, such lack of the vowel assimilation rules does not seem to be an indication of dialectal difference among the Murui varieties.

person pronominal subject markers).

- $-d-t + -o > -do-to$ (when normally $-di--ti$ (LK)+ $-o$ (2sg) $> -dio, -tío$)

This is illustrated in (2.22). Vowel loss is attested principally in the speech of the young Murui (more frequently with the linker $-di$, than with $-ti$); it occurs less frequently among the elder speakers.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (2.22) ELISION | LACK OF ELISION |
| <i>kio-do</i> (see-LK.2sg) | < <i>kio-di-o</i> (see-LK-2sg) ‘you see’ |
| <i>fino-domoi</i> (make-LK.2pl) | < <i>fino-di-omoi</i> (make-LK-2pl) ‘you (all) make’ |
| <i>aizi-domiko</i> (run-LK.2du.m) | < <i>aizi-di-omiko</i> (run-LK-2du.m) ‘you (two men) run’ |

The process of the syllable elision for the second person pronominal subject markers is not frequent among Murui elders; in the speech of young speakers, it occurs often.⁸⁵ It is usually used for emphasis, and can have various interpretations. For instance (2.23) has overtones of a stern suggestion, but (2.24) somewhat ‘forces’ the hearer to pay closer attention to what the speaker says.

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (2.23) <i>jai</i> | <i>jaai-domoi</i> _{PRED} |
| already go-LK.2pl | |
| ‘You (all) go.’ (father reprimanding his children for not having gone yet) | |

| | | |
|--|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (2.24) <i>ero!</i> _{PRED} | <i>aaiki!</i> | <i>kiido?</i> _{PRED} |
| look.IMP | monkey.type | see-LK.2sg |
| ‘Look! The <i>aaiki</i> monkey! You see?!’ | | |

Vowel loss on suffix-suffix boundaries is also a salient feature of the third person pronominal subject marking $-e$ (see also Chapter 8 on verb structure).

⁸⁵ When Murui elders reflected upon forms such as ‘kiido’, some commented that in fact this is not the proper way of speaking the language.

- *-di-ti* (LK)+ *-e* (3rd person marker) > *-de-te*

Syllable contraction is always obligatory in such contexts. This is illustrated in (2.25).

- (2.25) *jaai-d-e* (go-LK-3) ‘go’ > **jaai-di-e*⁸⁶
yi-t-e (eat.fruit-LK-3) ‘eat fruit’ > **yi-ti-e*
maka-d-e (walk-LK-3) ‘walk’ > **maka-di-e*
jifano-t-e (play-LK-3) ‘play’ > **jifano-ti-e*

C. VOWEL LENGTHENING AND REDUPLICATION - the formation of the future tense in Murui involves an obligatory lengthening of monosyllabic verbal roots, and applies on root-suffix boundaries.

- (C)V > (C)VV + (*i*)te

- (2.26) NON-FUTURE FUTURE
ite ‘exist’ > *iite* ‘will be’
bitikue ‘I came, come’ > *biitikue* ‘I will come’
mete ‘lick’ > *meeite* ‘will lick’
boode ‘burns’ > *booite* ‘will burn’

In Murui, the great majority of the monosyllabic and disyllabic verbal roots can be reduplicated.⁸⁷ Reduplication in the language marks intensity (see Chapter 9). In Murui, reduplicants are suffixed directly to roots, as in (2.27). The reduplication is partial in Murui, as the moraic weight of the reduplicated syllable is lost (as discussed in §2.3, phonological

⁸⁶ Forms such as **jaai-di-e* used for ‘go-LK-3’ are ungrammatical in Murui. In a number of Minika texts I gathered in the field, however, such forms do seem to occur.

⁸⁷ In Murui, reduplication applies to verbs only, and it is one of the criteria to distinguish between word classes (see Chapter 3 and 9). A few verbs cannot be reduplicated if they are to retrain their original meaning. An example of this is *baaide* ‘to die’ and *baaibaide* ‘to lose consciousness (during a sexual act)’.

word in Murui cannot contain more than one bimoraic syllable in the word-initial position).

Reduplicated sequences do not influence the consonant mutation processes.

- (2.27) *boo-d-e* (burn-LK-3) > *boo~bode* ‘keep burning intensively’
maka-d-e (walk-LK-3) > *maka~makade* ‘keep walking intensively’
ne-t-e (hang-LK-3) > *nee~nede* ‘keep hanging (hammock) intensively’
jifano-t-e (play-LK-3) > *jifa~jifanode* ‘keep playing intensively’

Replicated verbs have always the *-di* linker to mark non-future tense, and *-(i)ta* to mark future meanings. Reduplication of verbal roots that consists of vowels requires the insertion of a glottal stop, as in *ee~e(de)* (cry~RED-LK-3) ‘keep crying intensively’.

D. VOWEL CENTRALIZATION AND CALL AT DISTANCE TECHNIQUE - statements, questions, and commands can be shouted out and used as calls at distance. As such, they not only receive a special rising intonation type of the rising intonation contour (see §2.4), but also involve a vowel change/vowel insertion the final syllable in the clause to *i*, as in (2.28). Those calls at distance which involve the high open vowel *i*, usually do not change the vowel of the final syllable of the utterance, and remain *i*, as in (2.29) and (2.30).

(2.28) *i, u, e, o, a* as in *iñediīīī!* (non-call-at-distance would be *iñedi* ‘there is not’)

(2.29) *i* as in *nooizaibiīīī!* (non-call-at-distance would be *nooizaibi!* ‘come to bathe’)

(2.30) *mare-na* *omoi* *īīīī!*_{PRED}
 good.att-N.S/A.TOP 2pl exist.IMP.CALL
 ‘(You) all be well!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *marena omoi ii* ‘be well’)

In addition to calls at distance, vowel centralization can also occur in other genre-specific contexts (songs and ritual narrations, see Chapter 20), as well as in various types of announcements, which are typically shouted out, and apply to clauses that are understood as important. Clauses used as calls at distance are usually short, frequently comprising one

single word (verbs, adjectives, and nouns).⁸⁸ Vowel centralization does not occur in every-day speech. An example of a call in distance is given in (2.31). A Murui woman went outside the house and shouted in the direction of her jungle garden, where her daughters were working:

- (2.31) *bi-ño-kiih!*_{PRED} *yiki-ai_o* *roko-ye-ziih!*_{PRED}
 come-IMP-RAPID.CALL fish-PL cook-FUT.E.NMLZ-CALL
 ‘Come immediately! To cook fish!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *biñokai! yiki_{ai} rokoye!*)

(2.32) is an announcement during a traditional celebration ‘reporting’ that the mother’s brother *biyama* is to arrive shortly. The nominalized *biyi* is altered by the further lengthening of the central vowel to mark it as a special calling. This is similar to examples in (2.33-34), which are typical calls at distance.

- (2.32) *biya-ma_s* *bi-yiih!*_{PRED}
 mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M come-FUT.E.NMLZ.CALL
 ‘To cook fish!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *biyama biyi!*)

- (2.33) *dio-kai_s* *atih!*_{PRED}
 tobacco-CLF:STEM bring.IMP.CALL
 ‘Bring a cigarette!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *diokai ati!*)

- (2.34) *gui-ye_s* *i-tiih!*_{PRED}
 eat-FUT.E.NMLZ exist-LK.CALL
 ‘There is food!’ (non-call-at-distance would be *guiye ite!*)

The high central vowel *i* can either follow final element of a clause, as in (2.32-34) above, it can be preceded by a consonant insertion *z* in (2.35), or it can replace word-final vowels, as in (2.36-37), sometimes triggering alternations of preceding vowels. Its duration can last up

⁸⁸ No other word classes were attested as being subject to vowel centralizations when used as call at distance.

to a several seconds. The phoneme *i* is treated here as a prototypical vowel because it holds the syllable nuclear position.⁸⁹

(2.35) Kateriniiii! uzu-ño_s bi-ya-ziiii!_{PRED}
 Katarina.CALL grandparent-CLF:DR.F come-E.NMLZ-CALL
 ‘Katarina! The grandmother has came!’ (shouting in the distance) (cf. *Katarina!*
uzuño biya for ‘Katarina, the grandmother came’ in a normal register)

(2.36) bi-ño-kiiii!_{PRED}
 come-IMP-RAPID.CALL
 ‘Come immediately!’ (cf. *biñokai* for ‘come immediately’ in a normal register)

(2.37) i-ti-omuiiii!_{PRED}
 exist-LK-2pl.CALL
 ‘How are you (lit. Are you?)’ (non-call-at-distance would be *itiomoi*)

Although the conditions under which one or the other technique is used seem to depend on a speaker. For instance, note that in (2.35), *Katarina* is becomes *Kateriniiii*, but *biya* is alterned into *biyaziiii*.

In addition to vowel changeinsertion *i*, the first person pronominal marker marker *-kue* changes into *-kuiii*, as in (2.38). The high central vowel *i* is never used in such contexts.

(2.38) *jai jaaidikuiiii!* (non-call-at-distance would be *jai jaaidikue* ‘I’ve left already’)

2.5.2 Involving consonants

The phonological processes that include changes in consonants include consonant mutation and consonant insertion. They are discussed in turn.

A. CONSONANT MUTATION - Murui has a number of mutation triggering affixes, as well as those which do not trigger any consonant mutations. The consonant mutation in Murui

⁸⁹ Vowel centralization is different from the high central vowel loss occurring in Murui elsewhere (cf. 2.9).

involves a kind of dissimilation processes in verbal roots whereby where the predicative suffix markers *-di* (linker) and *-ka* (passive marker) become (de)voiced and have the forms of the allomorphs *-ti* and *-ga*.⁹⁰ This consonant mutation is influenced by the moraic length of root (as discussed in §2.1.3.2), and does not correlate with stress assignment in the language. There is a tendency in Murui for verbal root to be bimoraic, and frequently bisyllabic. Such roots always trigger *-di* and *-ka*, as in *rii(de)* ‘arrive’, *uu(de)* ‘sink’, *fii(ka)* ‘be robbed’, *maka(de)* ‘walk’, and *jaai(de)* ‘go’ and *raai(de)* ‘sit’ (which underlyingly has the CVdiph-V-CV structure). Monomoraic roots, on the other hand, are much less frequent. They always trigger t and g, as in *ri(te)* ‘plant’, *pe(te)* ‘kick’, *me(te)* ‘lick’, *do(te)* ‘clean (around the house)’, and *gui(ga)* ‘be eaten’ (CV-V-CV underlyingly). The distinction between the linker *-di* and *-ti* marks also the non-future - future tense distinction, as illustrated in (2.39).

(2.39) *gui(te)* ‘eat, ate’ > *guui(te)* ‘will eat’

This is in addition to the affixation of the future tense marker *i-* (see Chapter 9 §9.X), as illustrated in (2.40).⁹¹

(2.40) *maka(de)* ‘walk’ > *makai(te)* ‘will walk’

Some of the verbal markers are non-mutation triggering suffixes. As such, they belong to different morphophonological class, than those suffixes, which trigger consonant mutation. An example of a non-mutuating semelfactive *-no* (with its allomorph *-ño*) is given in (2.41).

⁹⁰ The suffixes *-di* and *-ka* are treated as the underlying forms.

⁹¹ The future marker *-i* can also be analysed as *-ite*, with the linker *-ti* forming a part of the future tense morpheme.

(2.41) *eti(de)* ‘light (an object)’ > *etiño(te)* ‘light (an object) once, briefly’ (**etiñode*)

Table 2.2 below shows a list of Murui non-mutualting affixes.

| |
|--|
| <u>Table 2.2 Murui mutating suffixes</u> |
| semelfactive <i>-no-ño</i> |
| durative <i>-ri</i> |
| attributive <i>-re</i> and <i>-ni</i> |
| transformative <i>-rui, -nai, -tai</i> |

Another phonological phenomenon that involves palatalized consonants, where the palatalized n is triggered by the front vowel i. This is shown in (2.42), with the imperative suffix *-no* having a form *-ño*.

(2.42) *jai(te)* ‘paddle’ > *jaino!* ‘paddle!’
gui(te) ‘eat’ > *guiño!* ‘eat!’
duui(de) ‘finish’ > *duuiño!* ‘finish!’

B. CONSONANT INSERTION - it applies to identical vowels (low central vowels) on rootsuffix-boundary. This is illustrated in (2.43).

(2.43) *maka(de)* ‘walk’ > *makaja* ‘walking’ (nominalization)
gua(te) ‘pound’ > *guaja* ‘pounding’ (nominalization)
ini(de) ‘sleep’ > *initaja* ‘making to sleep’ (nominalization)
aïma(de) ‘fish’ > *aïmajai(de)* ‘go to fish’ (directional marker)
kaka(de) ‘hear’ > *kakajaïbi(de)* ‘come to hear’ (directional marker)

Consonant insertion does not take place when a verbal root is followed by the desiderative suffix *-aka*, e.g. *makaaka(de)* ‘wants to walk’, *makaakaja* ‘wanting to walk’.⁹²

Another type of consonant mutation involves the insertion of z in the root/suffix-boundary position, following *i*:

⁹² The desiderative suffix has unusual properties in Murui (see Chapter 9 §9.X). It is often accompanied by the emphatic *-i*, as in *makaiaka(de)* ‘(really) wants to walk’.

- (2.44) *ini(de)* ‘sleep’ > *iniai(de)* ‘go to sleep’
nooi(de)- ‘bathe’ > *nooizai(de)* ‘go to bathe’
gui(te) ‘eat’ > *guizaibi(de)* ‘come to eat’
jaai(de) ‘go’ > *jaaizoi(de)* ‘used to go (in remote past)’

The exception to this are nominalized verbs, which take *-ya*, e.g. *jaai-ya* (go-E.NMLZ) ‘going’, *rai-ya* (say-E.NMLZ) ‘saying’.

There is a tendency in Murui to co-articulate reduplicated identical long vowels, that is, to insert the glottal stop [ʔ] intervocallically on root-root boundary (of monosyllabic verbal roots). The voiceless glottal sound is an automatic way of creating a juncture between two identical vowels. This is illustrated in (2.45).

- (2.45) *ee(de)* ‘cry’ > *ee’e(de)* ‘keep crying intensively’
o(te) ‘take out’ > *oo’ote* ‘keep taking out intensively’

The glottal stop [ʔ] is not phonemic and it is limited to intervocalic positions only. Murui vowels involve the partial closure of the glottis during the articulation of reduplicated vowels. This double articulation treated as type of a glottal reinforcement.

2.6 Borrowings and adaptation of loan words

This section discusses Spanish loan words into Murui and their adaptation (§2.6.1), as well as identified and potential loanwords from other languages spoken in the neighbouring areas, mainly between the Caquetá and Putumayo river basins (§2.6.2).

2.6.1 Spanish loan words and their adaptation

The vast majority of Spanish loanwords in Murui are nouns, which relate to foreign concepts borrowed from the western world, such as *semana* ‘week’, *computadora* ‘computer’, *tieda* for ‘store’, *pelicula* ‘film’, *foto* ‘photo’, *padrino* ‘godfather’, and other types of notions, such as names of the months and the days of the week. For a few of such culturally motivated

borrowed concepts, Murui uses its own resources. This is the case for instance with ‘money’ for which *uku-be* (psychoactive.plant-CLF.LEAF) is used rather than the colloquial *plata* in Spanish.⁹³ Frequently, especially among young Murui speakers, certain loanwords are preferred to their native counterparts. This is the case for instance with *epejo* (pronounced also as *espejo*) for ‘mirror’ (from Spanish *espejo*), for which also the native word *aka-ra* (show-CLF:THING) is used. While young bilingual speakers of Murui do not tend to adapt Spanish borrowings phonologically, the Murui elders frequently still do. This section discusses Spanish words borrowed into Murui as they are pronounced by Murui elders.

Among traditional speakers, Spanish loanwords contain (C)VC-CV syllables have the (C)VC sequence simplified in all word positions. This is illustrated in (2.46). The Spanish VC-CV syllable sequence is reduced to CV-CV, where the consonant in the coda position of stressed and unstressed syllables is lost.

| | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (2.46) | SPANISH | MURUI |
| | <i>re-loj</i> (VC-CVC) ‘watch’ | > <i>re-ro</i> (CV-CV) |
| | <i>es-pe-jo</i> (VC-CV-CV) ‘mirror’ | > <i>e-pe-jo</i> (V-CV-CV) |
| | <i>pan-ta-lón</i> (CVC-CV-CVC) ‘trousers’ | > <i>pa-ta-ro</i> (CV-CV-CV) |
| | <i>re-fri-ge-ra-dor</i> (CV-CCV-CV-CVC) ‘fridge’ | > <i>re-fi-je-ra-do</i> (CV-CV-CV-CV-CV) |

The exception is the word *iglesia* ‘church’ which retains an unusual CCV structure, and is pronounced as *igresia*. A few phonologically adopted loan words in Murui of the CVC-CV-CV structure show syllable loss, as in *sol-da-do* (CVC-CV-CV) ‘soldier’ which is pronounced as *zo-da-u* (CV-CV-V) by Murui elders. There also seems to be a tendency to reduce number

⁹³ Some Murui elders narrate that in the past, upon the contact with the white man, elders have decided to refer to ‘money’ in terms of the *ukuna* tree, which had psychoactive properties. They associated the behaviour of men that were given money with being

of syllables in polysyllabic words. (2.47), in addition to the reduction of the VC syllable in the initial position, the voiceless stops p and t are exchanged with b and d:

(2.47) *es-co-pe-ta* (VC-CV-CV-CV) ‘gun’ > *ko-be-da* (CV-CV-CV)

Spanish words, which are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable, have word-initial stress, as in *camio’neta* ‘van’ > ‘*camioneta*. Additionally, in *pa-ta-ro* ‘trousers’ the Spanish phoneme l, which does not occur in Murui, is replaced by r. This occurs also in *telefono* ‘telephone’ which is pronounced as *terefono*. Other Spanish sounds, such as the alveolar trill is pronounced as a flap, as in *caro* ‘car’ > *karo*. Spanish borrowings are occasionally inflected for number and case, as in (2.48-49).

(2.48) *ie-me-i* *Europa-mo* *jaai-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 CONN *Europa-LOC* *go.FUT-LK-1sg*
 ‘After that I go back to Europe.’

(2.49) *ie* [*bai-e* *arroz-na*]_O *gui-ñe-di-kai*_{PRED}
 CONN *that.FSH-CLF:G* *rice.Sp-N.S/A.TOP* *eat-NEG-LK-1pl*
 ‘We did not eat that rice.’

It is also a frequent practise to employ Spanish conjunctions in the everyday speech, as well words such as *sí* (Spanish for ‘yes’) and *no* (Spanish for ‘no’). This is illustrated in (2.50-51).

(2.50) *jai* *kue*_{OBLIQUE} *yo-ga* *pero* *kaka-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 already 1sg *tell-PASS* *but.Sp* *hear-NEG-LK-3*
 ‘I already said (it) but (she) didn’t understand (lit. heard).’

(2.51) J: *aima-jai?*_{PRED} *o-ti-maki?*_{PRED}
 fish-ANDTV *take.out-LK-3pl*
 ‘They went fishing? Did they get (anything)?’

S: *no!* [*da-je* *ñee* *graba-jai-di-maki*_{PRED}
no.Sp *one-CLF:G* *FILLER* *record.Sp-VENTV-LK-3pl*
 ‘No! They only... went to record.’

Code-switching is also very common. In (2.52), the borrowed phrase ‘cinco de la mañana’ is not re-analyzed, either morphologically or phonologically.

(2.52) *kue*_S cinco de la mañana *kazita-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 1sg five in the morning wake.up-LK-1sg
 ‘I woke up at five in the morning.’

2.6.2 Cognate forms shared with neighbouring languages

There is a number of shared cognates in Murui, that are also found in other neighbouring languages, such as Tucanoan, Quechuan, and Boran. These might be indicative of areal contact (see Chapter 1 §1.X), and relate mainly to meanings associated mainly with trade, substance, cultural change, economy, fauna, and flora. I discuss here a few of these shared cognates.⁹⁴

A. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH TUCANOAN LANGUAGES - these are *ogo-do* (*ogo-e*) for ‘banana’ (*oho* in TucanoDesano⁹⁵). Other possible borrowings from Tucanoan languages include -yari ‘jaguar’ (*ya’i d^yai* in TucanoCoreguaje), *ini* for ‘husband’ (*imi* in Tucano for ‘man, husband’, ²*ihĩ hĩhĩ* in Coreguaje and Siona for ‘married man’), *ono-* for ‘hand’ (*omo-* in Tucano), *die* for ‘blood’ (*di* in Tucano, *d^yie* in Coreguaje), *mame-ki* for ‘name’ (*mãĩ* in Coreguaje and Siona).

⁹⁴ Some of these has been called Amazonian ‘wanderwörter’ (Haynie, Bown, Epps, Hill, & McConvell, 2014).

⁹⁵ Words from the Tucanoan languages are adopted from Mountain (1978).

B. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH KICHWA VARIETIES OF ECUADOR AND COLOMBIA⁹⁶ - these include *atava* which is *ata-llba* in Kichwa for ‘roaster’.⁹⁷ Another possible loanword is *rakuiya* for ‘white men’ (*virakucha* in Kichwa).⁹⁸

C. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE AREA - *aamana* for ‘dolphin’ (*amána* in Bora, *hamaánú* in Resígaro), *beja-* ‘maize’ (*βeéká* in Bora, *bea* in Tucano), *jíibi-* ‘coca’ (*ípií* in Bora, *xíibi-* in Muinane, *hí?píe* in Andoque, *xipie* in Coreguaje, *híibi?é* in Resígaro). The Murui verb ‘wake up’ *kazi-* might be related to *ka:whi* in Tariana and Baniwa (Aikhenvald, p.c.).

2.7 Unusual sounds

This section describes phonological aspects of a number of unusual forms such as their phonological structures. These are onomatopoeic expressions, animal sounds, and interjections.

⁹⁶ Quechua II B [Torero’s classification (1964)] includes the Ecuadorian dialects spoken in the Andean Highlands and the Amazon Lowlands plus several Peruvian dialects such as Chachapoyas or Loreto spoken also in the Amazon basin.

⁹⁷ The word for ‘chicken’ or ‘rooster’ must be from Quechua *atawallpa*, the name of the last Inka. It contains the element *wallpa*, which means ‘chicken’. Quechua loans for ‘chicken’ and ‘rooster’ in South American languages are divided between those derived from ‘wallpa’ and those derived from *atawallpa*. There is an extensive list of loan words in South American languages featuring the two options in (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004). The existence of chickens in Pre-Columbian Peru is doubtful, but there was a verb *wallpa-* which meant something like ‘to behave as a peacock so as to scare your enemies’. So it is likely that *wallpa* referred to some sort of rooster-like bird. The meaning of the element *ata* is not clear because it is not used anymore as such. It could have meant something like ‘great’ or ‘majestic’ but that is speculative. There always was an association between *atawallpa* and the meaning of ‘rooster’ (Adelaar, p.c.).

⁹⁸ The word *virakucha* is also used in Karijona, a neighbouring language spoken to the north.

2.7.1 Onomatopoeic expressions

In a numerous languages in the world onomatopoeic expressions show unusual phonological features (Dixon, 2010: 302). In Murui they do not reveal any special phonological characteristics but are derived from special phonemes that do have unusual characteristics:

- *juiko(de)* - to make sounds of a tapir (called *jigadima* in Murui), possibly derived from the sound ↓yⁱ!↓yⁱ tapir makes;
- *jiko(de)* - to make the *jii* sound (expressing content);
- *mu(te)* - to make the *hmm* sound (expressing happiness or sickness);
- *kuita* - name of a monkey-like animal that makes a sound similar to *kuicho[?]! kuicho[?]* or *kui! kui!*
- *kueko* - name of a bird that makes the '*kueko[?]! kueko[?]!*' sound;
- *veño* - name of a frog that makes the '*wε[?] wε[?]!*' sound;
- *joforai* - name of a bird which makes a *jo fo!* sound.

2.7.2 Animal sounds

When the Murui people imitate the animal sounds, numerous unusual forms are used with special phonological characteristics. In the examples above note diverse usage of nasalization, creaky voice, glottal stop insertion, reduplication, and the pulmonic ingressive airstream:

- *mãõ!* - a sound of a young jaguar (called *jiko*);
- *j^{uu}! j^{uu}!* - a sound of tigers (*jiko*) calling each other out;
- *ixi[?]! xixi[?]!* - a sound of a hunting jaguar;
- *g^{ap}! g^{ap}! g^{ap}!* - scream of an ara bird;
- *bu^u?! bu^u?!* - a big frog called *nofaiño* announcing rain;

- ɔ^{ap}! ɔ^{ap}! - sounds of a medium-sized frog called *ooño* in the rainy season;
- ju^{u?}! ju^{u?}! - sounds a medium-sized frog called *jodaki*;
- eɛe! - a sound of an angry jaguar;
- ↓yⁱ! ↓yⁱ! - a sound of tapir (*jigadima*);
- zⁱ! zⁱ! - sounds of a transformed evil spirit snake;
- keⁱ keⁱ keⁱ keⁱ - chattering of a pig (*mero*);
- nei nei neiⁱ - sounds of a circling mosquito (*uidodo*);
- to ro ko ko ko ko - a sound of a small nocturnal frog;
- jo fo - a sound of the bird called *joforai*.

Murui has an interesting animal speech style called ‘possum’ speech style (‘lengua de chucha’) where the lamino-palatal voiceless affricate *ch* can be inserted prevocally or the phoneme *ch* can replace any consonant (discussed in §2.1.2). In the narrations there are many language adaptation, such as *chama* instead of *ama* for ‘brother’ or *chuite* instead of *zuite* for ‘release’. The sound the possum makes is *chi chi chi cha cha cha*; this could explain why sounds are exchanged only with the phoneme *ch*. According to the mythological story, a possum killed his children in revenge of his brother. In this narration, the possum cannot pronounce words well (‘as he was not a human’, so it is explained).

2.7.3 Interjections

In addition to a number of conventionalized emotional exclamations, such as *aa* used to express understanding, Murui has also a number of interjections and exclamations that have some unusual phonological features (see also §3.3.4). These are:

- [?]*mm* - used to express understanding or recognition;
- ↓*ih* - used to express a sign of agreement and back channelling, as well as surprise. It is used

primarily by older speakers of Murui and it is very common;

- *ooʔ* - used to respond to someone's calling;

- *jii!* - used to express content during a traditional celebrations in the maloca.

- *jmm!* - used to express happiness or indicate a sickness; it is also a frequent pause marker used for narration.

- *jee!* - used to express impatience or dissatisfaction.

- *ebe!* - used to express surprise,

- *aaʔ* - used to express understanding.

2.8 Orthography

Throughout the years, the existing phonological analyses of the language have come to reflect different spelling variations using different graphemes. The first to analyze and describe the sound system of Minika was the SIL missionaries Eugene and Dorothy Minor. Their descriptions were fundamental to the development of the language orthography. Nowadays, there is a tendency to use graphemes introduced by Petersen de Piñeros (1994) (slightly modified in her later works).⁹⁹ That spelling is consistent with the alphabet which has been adopted to write that language (that was decided in a meeting of bilingual school teachers in Aracuara in 1990, see Echeverri 1997: 49), and has been used in many recent publications in Murui and in other Witoto varieties, such as Echeverri and Candre (2008). This grammar follows this spelling as well. I do not wish to introduce new symbols, as this would create confusion among the Murui people who know how to use the current spelling. For the

⁹⁹ Used for example in the very recent publications of Betancourt (2006) and Echeverri & Candre (2008).

detailed outline of various types of spelling employed over the years, see Wojtylak (2012a). Notes on the standardization of ‘Witoto’ orthography can also be found in E. Minor and Minor (1976: 67) and Echeverri (1997).

In general, the Murui orthography is fairly phonemic, similar to that of Spanish (on which it was originally based). The language is written with the Latin alphabet with the additional *í* (for [i]), *ñ* (for [ɲ]), *ch* (for [tʃ]) and *y* (for [dʒ]) graphemes. The tilde marks only words in which accent assignment not word-initial (such as *ja'die* ‘that’). In this grammar, punctuation depend on the pauses in speaker’s speech after the sentence is considered to have been completed. Clauses and sentences are not capitalized.

2.9 Nonverbal communication and deictic gestures

A number deictic gestures used by the Murui speakers include index finger-, head- and lip-pointing. Speakers produce these gestures in alternation with each other but the lip-pointing is the most commonly use as a pointing strategy. There is *a tendency* for gestures to be used in specific contexts.¹⁰⁰

Generally, Murui rise up their shoulders when information is not known. Hand-pointing (palm) and index finger-pointing is used to indicate directions (for objects that are far away). The current index pointing that is used among the Murui is probably a consequence of acculturation. While head-head pointing is used for information direction of objects that are not visible (and/or far away). Lip-pointing seems to be used when objects are

¹⁰⁰ How Murui deictic gestures have been influenced, or is an effect of, lip-pointing in various Latin-American varieties of Spanish; see an overview on the uses of lip-pinting in Spanish in South America in Ortega-Santos (2016: 114-116).

close and visible.

Lip-pointing as a form of deictic gesture is widely used among the Murui people. This deictic action involves both lips and face. It is characterized by making both lips protrude ‘pointing’ to ‘point’ to or at a referent. This is accompanied by a quick raising of the head and chin, and orientation of gaze towards the referent, with occasionally an eyebrow-raise in addition (Enfield, 2001: 186). Murui speakers produce the lip-pointing gestures in alternation with other pointing morphologies, such as index finger- and head-pointing. Lip pointing has also been reported for Tariana and well for other groups from the Vaupés region.¹⁰¹

Another deictic gesture characteristic to the Murui is the way people ‘count’ (see Chapter 21 on Murui number words and the ‘counting’ system). The current counting strategies differ greatly among the Witoto people in that different Murui clanolects use different terminologies. Deictic counting gestures remain the same, however. The usual way of counting begins with the little finger of the left hand called and continues counting using ring finger, middle finger, and index finger. For number five, the Murui show the full hand, called *dabekuiro* ‘one side of the hand’. Counting from six to ten starts with the thumb of the other hand and continues up to the little finger. For number ten, both hands are shown, usually referred to as *nagabekuiro* ‘all sides of the hands’. To count above ten one has to use their toes, and counts in the similar manner as using the hands (see §3.2.3 for details).

¹⁰¹ See Aikhenvald (2003: 17) for the patterns of nonverbal communication.

3 Word classes

Given their formal, functional, and derivational possibilities, we can recognize three distinct open lexical word classes for Murui. These are nouns, verbs, and adjectives (see §3.1).

Adverbs, time words, and number words belong to semi-closed word classes (§3.2). The closed word classes include quantifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, connectives, adpositions, and interjections (see §3.3). Section 3.4 gives a comparative overview of functional slots that are available for open, semi-closed, and closed word classes.

3.1 Open word classes

Open word classes are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. All three word classes are distinctly different in their derivational possibilities and functional slots available for each of the word class. Nouns occur primarily as heads of NPs, and can also function as heads of intransitive predicates. They take a distinctive nominal morphology that includes case and plural marking. The class of Murui nouns is discussed in §3.1.1. Verbs take verbal morphology and function as heads of predicates of all types. They are subject to valency-reducing (passive) and increasing processes (causative) (discussed in Chapter 6). Murui verbs are the topic of §3.1.2. In terms of their morphosyntactic properties, adjectives form a separate class in Murui. They share grammatical categories with both verbs (i.e. they can function as heads of intransitive predicates, but occur with a limited number of verbal markers) and nouns (they can take nominal morphology and function as modifiers within an NP). Murui adjectives are discussed in §3.1.3. Section §3.1.4 discusses word class-changing morphological derivations that involve open word classes. Table 3.5 in §3.4 summarizes the properties of open word classes (in relation to those of the semi-closed and closed word classes).

3.1.1 Nouns

Nouns distinguish the following grammatical categories: classifiers (including animate classifiers, which distinguish natural gender, feminine and masculine; classifiers are discussed in Chapter 4), number (plural and collective - referring to individuals as a group - number markings; see Chapter 5), and case (topical S/A and non-S/A markers, locative, ablative, instrumental, benefactive-causal, and privative, see Chapter 6).¹⁰² All these grammatical categories are expressed with bound forms. An example of a noun with all positions filled is given in (3.1):

- (3.1) *ogo-do-niai-do*
 banana-CLF:POINTED-COLL-INS
 ‘with/by the banana’

Prototypical Murui nouns are heads of NPs that function as arguments of a predicate; they can also function as heads of intransitive predicates.

Noun structure is less complex than the structure of Murui verbs and adjectives. Noun categories are marked just once on a noun or an NP. A minimal nominal word is usually bisyllabic, often accompanied by a classifier. Nouns occurring with classifiers can be either:

- lexicalized, such as *riño*¹⁰³ (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’, or
- free, such forms can take classifiers, such as *maika-bi* (yucca-CLF:STEM.TUBEROUS) ‘stem of yucca *maika*’.

¹⁰² Murui, similar to other Witotoan languages, does not have the category of nominal tense, as in some languages spoken to the north, such as Tariana (Arawak) spoken in the Vaupés (Aikhenvald, 2012: 159-163).

¹⁰³ The word *riño* originates in the verbal root *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’ (cf. in the Murui mythology, the word *riai*, followed by a plural marker *-ai*, refers to carnivore beings, non-Witoto).

Some free (underived) forms, such as *nokae* ‘canoe’.¹⁰⁴ cannot be further specified for classifiers. The structure of Murui noun is outlined in Scheme 3.1. Note that, depending on the noun class (see discussion below), not all the structural positions can be filled in simultaneously.

Scheme 3.1 The structure of Murui noun

| | | |
|------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| Proclitics | 0. | Pronouns (possessive) |
| Root | 1. | Root |
| Suffix | 2. | Classifier (up to two positions) |
| | 3a. | Plural marker <i>-ai</i> |
| | 3b. | Kinship plural marker <i>-tiaĩ</i> |
| | 3c. | Collective marker <i>-niaĩ</i> |
| | 4a. | Topical non-S/A <i>-na</i> |
| | 4b. | Locative <i>-mo</i> |
| | 4c. | Ablative <i>-(mo)na</i> |
| | 4d. | Instrumental <i>-do</i> |
| | 4e. | Privative <i>-nino</i> |
| Enclitic | 4f. | Topical S/A <i>=di</i> |

Root can be preceded by pronouns (to refer to the possessor, see Chapter 4) which can occur as either proclitics (in rapid speech) or as phonologically independent words, e.g. *kue=jiko* [ˈkwe.hiko] or *kue jiko* [ˈkue ˈhiko] for ‘my dog’. The root can be followed by a variety of suffixes, such as classifiers (usually one position filled, occasionally, for nouns with inanimate referents, two classifier positions can be filled simultaneously), as e.g. *ñekĩ-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira palm tree (*Astrocaryum chambira*, a type of palm tree)’, *ifo-gi-tirai* (head-CLF:OVAL-CLF:FUR) ‘head hair’. Nouns with human referents take gender-sensitive animate classifiers *-ma* (masculine) and *-ño* (feminine), e.g. *evu-ño* (sister-CLF:DR.F)

¹⁰⁴ Conventionally in this work, lexicalized forms are glossed without a hyphen, as in *riño* (woman-clf:dr.f) ‘woman’, *jefo* (ear.CLF:CAV) ‘ear’.

‘sister (for feminine ego¹⁰⁵)’. Generally, nouns do not allow variable ordering of suffixes, but in a few cases re-ordering of classifiers results in the difference of meaning, compare *yera-ko-be* (liquid-tobacco-CLF:COVER-CLF:LEAF) ‘a leaf to wrap (cover) liquid tobacco’ and *oma-be-ko* (tail-CLF:LEAF-CLF:ROUND) ‘flat tail (of a fish)’. Murui classifiers are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Murui has optional number marking on the noun - singular is formally unmarked, plural, kinship plural, and collective are formally and functionally marked. All three non-singular numbers have the same origin (see Chapter 5). The non-singularity of plain noun forms is usually determined by context. Frequently, if the non-singular referents of the noun are highly animate, or its non-singularity is important in the discourse, the noun will be marked for number. There are some dependencies between number and classifiers in their co-occurrence. For instance, the kinship nouns, when marked with kinship plural *-tiai*, cannot occur with an animate classifier, as in (3.2c). (3.2c) further shows that the masculine is the functionally unmarked gender in the language. The meaning of (3.2c) is ‘grandparents’ (with ‘grandfathers’ being subsumed within ‘grandparents’) but not ‘grandmothers’:¹⁰⁶

- (3.2) a. *uzu-ma* (grandparent-CLF:DR.M) ‘grandfather’
 b. *uzu-ño* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F) ‘grandmother’
 c. *uzu-tiai* (grandparent-KIN.PL) ‘grandfathers, grandparents’

To express the meaning of ‘grandmothers’, one can say either *uzu-ño-niai* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F-COLL) or *uzu-ñuai* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F.PL). Forms such as *uzu-ma-tiai* and *uzu-ño-tiai* are ungrammatical.

In Murui, case markers (topical non-S/A, ablative, instrumental, benefactive-causal,

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 1 (§1.3.4) on kinship terminology

¹⁰⁶ This is also shown by the dual masculine pronouns that are functionally unmarked in Murui, see §3.3.2.

privative) are suffixes. They occupy positions 4a-e, which cannot be filled in simultaneously.¹⁰⁷ The topical S/A marker =*di* is an enclitic that occasionally occurs as independent phonological word on its own right (see Chapter 6 and 13).

Murui ‘headless’ nominal modifiers are can have many members of other word classes (open, semi-closed, and closed) as their base. Such formations function as ‘modifiers’ within an NP. This is illustrated in (3.3) where the bound form *da-* ‘one’ (followed by the general classifier -e, here *-je*) modifies the head noun *ananeko* ‘maloca’.

- (3.3) [da-je_{NOMINAL.MODIFIER} anane-ko_{NOUN}]_{NP} *nominal modifier followed by head noun*
 one-CLF:G maloca-CLF:COVER
 ‘one *maloca*’

In the discourse, such NPs with the overtly stated heads are not common. Instead, nominal modifiers are ‘directly’ accompanied by classifiers, and the head noun is not stated. An example of a classifier used with an adjectival modifier without a noun head is presented in (3.4). (3.4) is a functional an equivalent of (3.3) above. Nominal modifiers used in such a way share syntactic functions and grammatical categories with prototypical nouns (classifiers, number, case). The referents of (3.4), as well as (3.5), are understood from the context. The ‘headlessly’ used nominal *nai-gi* (ANA.SP-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) ‘that (egg)’ in (3.5) is further marked with case, the topical non-S/A marker *-na*.

- (3.4) da-ko_{NOMINAL} *modifier followed by a classifier*
 one-CLF:COVER
 ‘one (maloca)’

¹⁰⁷ At some earlier stage, two syntactic functions marked on the noun seem to have been possible (the ablative *-mona* developed from the locative *-mo* followed by the non-S/A marker *-na*; see Chapter 6 for details).

and feminine *-ño*) but not all. Generally, gender of nouns with human referent depends on the referent's sex, but certain inanimate beings can be assigned to natural gender by other mechanisms, such as mythological associations (see Chapter 4). All types of nouns with human referents can be possessed. Kinship nouns have special vocative forms, and well as a separate kinship plural marker. Given their distinctive morphological possibilities, we distinguish several separate classes of nouns with human referents:

A1. NOUNS MARKED WITH ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - nouns with human referents are obligatory marked with animate classifiers. They distinguish between singular (formally unmarked), plural *-ai*, and collective *-niai* numbers. These are nouns such as *riño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) 'woman' and *ii-ma* (man-CLF:DR.M) for 'man'. For instance, *riñuai* (woman-CLF:DR.F.PL) is marked for plural, *riñoniai* is marked with collective.

A2. NOUNS WITH NO ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - these are nouns which do not take animate classifiers. This is a residue category that includes all types of nouns that have human referents, e.g. *urue* 'child', *kome* 'person', *konirue* 'youngster, fellow'. They can take plural *-ai* and collective *-niai* marking, e.g. *uru-iai* (child-CLF:G.PL) 'children'.

A3. KINSHIP NOUNS - a closed subclass of nouns with human referents that denominate kinship relations, such as *evu-ño* (sister.fem.ego-CLF:DR.F), *biya-ma* (mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M). For few of these nouns, the masculine form is unmarked while the feminine is marked, such as *enaize* 'grandson' (cf. *enaize-ño* for 'granddaughter'), *jifai* 'father-in-law' (cf. *jifai-ño* for 'mother-in-law'). Kinship nouns have a special category available for them, the vocative. The vocative is formed by omitting animate classifiers, which is an obligatory category elsewhere. This is illustrated in (3.9) with *uzu!* 'grandparent! (for either a

grandmother or a grandfather)’. The usual form can be either *uzu-ño* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F) for ‘grandmother’ and *uzu-ma* (grandparent-CLF:DR.M) for ‘grandfather’.

(3.9) *uzu!* [oo anane-ko-mo]_{LOC} maka-ri-zaibi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 grandparent.VOC 2sg maloca-CLF:COVER-LOC walk-DUR-VENTV-LK-1sg
 ‘Grandfather! I came to your maloca (to visit you)!’

Only some vocative forms can be possessed, such as *ei* ‘mother’ and *moo* ‘father’ (as in *kue ei* ‘my mother’ and *oo moo* ‘your father’),¹⁰⁸ others cannot, such as *uzu* ‘grandparent’ (**kue uzu* intended as ‘my grandparent’ is considered ungrammatical among the traditional speakers of Murui; and occasionally used among the younger speakers¹⁰⁹). Kinship nouns have a special type of kinship plural form *-tiaï*, as in *ei-tiaï* (mother-PL.KIN) ‘mothers (of one’s group)’, *biya-tiaï* (mothers.brother-PL.KIN) ‘mother’s brothers (of one’s group)’, *moo-tiaï* (father-PL.KIN) ‘fathers (of one’s group)’. Note that the kinship plural occurs in the slot of the animate classifiers only (that is, forms such as *moo-ma-tiaï* marked with the animate classifier (masculine) *-ma* are ungrammatical). Kinship nouns can have also plural forms when they refer to referents outside one’s group, such as *uzu-ñuai* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F.PL) ‘grandmothers (generally)’, and occasionally, also the collective plural, as such *evu-ño-niaï* (sister-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘sisters (referring to individuals as a group, not belonging to one’s group)’.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ The forms for ‘mother’ *ei* and ‘father’ *moo* are unusual in that they usually used with animate classifiers, unlike other kinship terms. In other varieties of Witoto, such as Mika, the forms *eiño* and *mooma* are more commonly used among the speakers.

¹⁰⁹ The fact that it is occasionally used among younger speakers of Murui is an example of language change.

¹¹⁰ Among younger speakers, there is an apparent increase in usage of kinship nouns with the collective marker *-niaï*. For instance, while *ei-ño-niaï* (mother-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘mothers’ is often used by younger speakers, *ei-tiaï* (mother-KIN.PL) and *ei-ñuai* (mother-CLF:DR.F.COLL) is much more frequent in the speech of the Murui elders.

B. NOUNS WITH NON-HUMAN REFERENTS - this class includes nouns with non-human (both animate and inanimate) referents that distinguish singular, plural, and collective numbers.

These nouns fall into the following subclasses:

B1. NOUNS WITH NON-HUMAN REFERENTS MARKED WITH ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - this subclass contains a group of nouns with non-human referents (both animate and inanimate) that are marked with animate classifiers. In Murui, many nouns that refer to sex-differentiable animals, are marked this way, e.g. *jigadi-ma* (tapir-CLF:DR.M) ‘tapir’, *une-ma*¹¹¹ (wasp-CLF:DR.M) ‘wasp (from a mythological story)’, *jikodo-ma* (CLF:DR.M) ‘wasp (big type)’.¹¹² Some animate nouns with undetermined gender, such as frogs and insects, are assigned to a gender by their perceived physical properties that relate to, among others, their size, and shape (see Chapter 4). For instance, *ue-ño* (frog.type-CLF:DR.F) ‘type of frog’ is marked with the feminine animate classifier *-ño* (that is associated with small, harmless animals); so is the majority of insects. Nouns with non-human referents that include animate beings can be possessed; conventionally, however, it rarely occurs (see Chapter 5). A few inanimate nouns also can take animate classifiers. There are nouns which refer to sex-related tasks, such as *dobe-ño* (crush-CLF:DR.F) ‘basin (to crush unprocessed yucca, which is a women-only task)’ and *yoe-ma* (ax-CLF:DR.M) ‘ax (tree-cutting is considered to be a task of men)’. These types of nouns can be usually possessed, e.g. *kue yoema* ‘my machete’.

¹¹¹ *Une-ma* can also occur with the classifier *-ki*: *une-ki* for a normal type of wasp (not related to any mythological narrative).

¹¹² Called *zuru-ma* (tapir-CLF:DR.M) in Minika.

B2. INANIMATE NOUNS - inanimate nouns occur with physical property classifiers of all types that characterize referents for, among others, their shape and size, dimensionality, form, consistency, and interiority (see Chapter 4 for details). They distinguish singular, plural, and collective numbers. Some examples include *jo-fo* (house-CLF:CAV), ‘house, dwelling’, *jaiga-bi* (cahuana-CLF:THICK.SUBS) ‘cahuana (type of thick drink)’, *jigui-da* (stick-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT) ‘stick’. This class contains also inanimate nouns that refer to body parts (which obligatory are combined with classifiers of shape and form), such a *jege-bi* (stomach-CLF:OVAL) ‘stomach’, *kome-ki* (person-CLF:SMALL.ROUND) ‘heart’, *moi-fo* (rear-CLF:CAV) ‘vagina’.¹¹³ All these types of inanimate nouns can be (and usually are) possessed. This class is open to loans, that also includes newly coined words (which are partial calques from Spanish), such as *pece-ri* (from *peque-peque* ‘outboard motor’ followed with the element *-ri*, which has a function of a classifier) and *rite-ri* (from *linterna*) ‘flash light’.¹¹⁴

B3. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT CANNOT BE POSSESSED - there is a class of nouns that refer to ‘objects’ that cannot be possessed or owned. These include nature phenomena, evil spirits, some plants, some species of animals, and the like, e.g. *mona* ‘heaven’, *aifî* ‘wind’, *noki* ‘rain’. For cultural reasons, some also occur only in a singular form, and cannot take neither plural nor collective numbers, e.g. as *fîvui* ‘moon’, *jitoma* ‘sun’, *moo jafaiki* ‘Father’s Creator’s spirit’ (see §5.1.4).

¹¹³ Certain types of nouns that refer to body parts have inherently non-singular readings, such as *uizi* ‘eyes’.

¹¹⁴ This type of spoken Murui is referred to with the portmanteau *Muruiñoz* (Murui and Español) by the Murui speakers.

B4. PERSONAL NAMES AND PLACE NAMES - personal names, referred to with the word *mame-ki* (name-CLF:INHER), are secret among the Murui, and are used only on special occasions (see §1.3.11 on name taboo). They are take various types of classifiers, e.g. *Koreji Buuiñaiño* (that contains the classifier *-ji* for cassava-like forms).¹¹⁵ Other names include (for males) *Nimaira Buuinaima* (cf. *nimairama* ‘wise man’), *Kaziya Buuinaima* (cf. the nominalized verb *kazide* ‘wake up’), and (for females) *Komiki Buuiñaiño* (cf. the classifier *-ki* for round objects), *Jitomagieño* (cf. *jitoma* ‘sun’). Place names, such as *Jibuida* (cf. the classifier *-da* for stick-like forms; a small river close to San Jose) and *Akokidu* (cf. the classifier *-du* for hill-like forms, a place where the mythological hero *Jitoma* ‘resides’), *Uiyokue* (cf. classifier *-kue* for stream-like forms) for the Cara-Paraná river, are similar to personal names in that they cannot be modified, possessed, or used vocatively, and occur only in a singular form.¹¹⁶

3.1.2 Verbs

In Murui, numerous grammatical categories are expressed directly on verbs. With verbs being prototypical predicates, verbal morphology is exclusively suffixing. Verbs are cross-referenced for person, number, and also for gender (available for dual number marking). All types of verbs have only one cross-referencing position, the S/A. There are a number of valency-changing mechanisms in the language, such as passive and causative (see Chapter 8).

Murui has two main verb types: intransitive (with one core argument: intransitive

¹¹⁵ The names *buuiñaiño* and *buuinaima* are honorific terms, generally used for respected elders and mythological heroes. In the Murui mythology, *buuinaima* is the son of the creator *Juziñaimui*, and lives at the bottom of the river. *Buuiñaiño* and *buuinaima* are related to the verb *buui(de)* ‘sink’.

¹¹⁶ It remains to be seen if personal names and place names can occur in vocative forms (similarly to kinship nouns).

subject S) and transitive (with two core arguments: S=A, O; frequently, only one of the arguments is overtly expressed in the clause). Additionally, a few verbs belong of a class of extended intransitive (with A and O arguments) and transitive (with two or three arguments: A, O, E). The difference between intransitive and transitive verbs include valency-reducing mechanisms; intransitive verbs cannot be passivized and cannot occur in reciprocal constructions). According to their transitivity, we can thus distinguish the following verb classes:

A. STRICTLY INTRANSITIVE VERBS (S) - may occur only in intransitive clauses.

Morphologically, unlike transitive verbs, intransitive verbs cannot be subject of derivations which reduce valence (passive and reciprocal constructions). The majority can be subject to double causative derivations (Chapter 6). The verbs from this class denote concepts such as motion and state, e.g. *ini(de)* 'sleep', *aizi(de)* 'run', *jaai(de)* 'go', *bi(te)* 'come', *yeta(de)* 'advise, punish', *ee(de)* 'cry', *ñai(te)* 'talk', *komui(de)* 'grow up, bring up', *mu(te)* 'complain', *jama(de)* 'become mature (fruits)', *ee(de)* 'cry', *kueide* 'finish', *izoi(de)* 'be similar', *rii(de)* 'arrive'.

B. EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE (A=S, O) - Murui has a small class of strictly transitive verbs that occur with two arguments, A NP and O NP. They include the verb *jaai(de)* 'go (in the sense of become)'. Extended intransitive verbs cannot be passivized.

C. TRANSITIVE VERBS (A=S, O) - Murui transitive verbs have A argument of the transitive clause corresponding to the S argument of the intransitive clause. Each transitive verb can be

used in an intransitive clause.¹¹⁷ These verbs include for instance *roko(de)* ‘cook’, *ri(te)* ‘eat (meat)’, *gui(te)* ‘eat’, *roka(de)* ‘carry’, *zeda(de)* ‘care, wait’, *joko(de)* ‘wash’, *jiro(de)* ‘drink’, and *ibai(de)* ‘close’. The O argument, if present, can either be left unmarked or carry the topical non-S/A marking *-na* (see Chapter 6 on differential object marking).¹¹⁸ An example of the verb *jiro(de)* ‘drink’ with the optionally omitted *jaigabi* ‘cahuana (type of traditional drink)’ is given in (3.10):

(3.10) (jaigabi-bi_O) jiro-d-e=ta_{PRED}
 cahuana-CLF:SUBS drink-LK-3=REP
 ‘He drank (the cahuana), (it is said).’

Some of the transitives occur much more often in a transitive clause than in an intransitive one, such as *fino(de)* ‘make’, *fa(te)* ‘hit’, and *iba(de)* ‘buy’. Murui transitive verbs differ from strictly intransitive verbs in that they are easily passivizable, e.g. *nokae fino-di-kue* (canoe make-LK-1sg) ‘I made a canoe’ becomes *(nokae) (kue) fino-ka* (canoe 1sg make-PASS) ‘canoe made by me’.

D. STRICTLY TRANSITIVE VERBS (A=S, O) - Murui has a small class of strictly transitive verbs that occur with two arguments, A NP and O NP. They include the verb *fuete-* ‘teach’.

E. EXTENDED TRANSITIVE VERBS (A, O, E) - there is a small class of ditransitive verbs A verbs with three core arguments; the first O argument is a Gift, and the second (extended) O

¹¹⁷ This class of verbs could also be called ‘ambitransitive’, in agreement with R. M. W. Dixon (2010a: 124). In Murui there are difficulties in distinguishing object omission from ambitransitivity, as each of the transitive verb can be used in an intransitive clause. Object arguments can be omitted even when they are not recoverable from the context.

¹¹⁸ The topical non-S/A marker *-na* is subject to differential object marking. Its use depends on discourse-pragmatic status of the nominal, and is conditioned by topicality, specificity of referents, and complete involvement (§6.2.1.4-5).

argument is a Recipient/ADDRESSEE. These verbs include *i(te)* ‘give’¹¹⁹, *akata(te)* ‘show’, and *eka(de)* ‘feed’. While the peripheral E argument (in Recipient/Addressee role) takes the locative case marker *-mo* (see §6.2.1.7); the Gift O NP is can be optionally marked by the suffix *-na*. An example is given in (3.11):

- (3.11) *dio-kai-na*_{O:GIFT} *kue-mo*_{O:RECIPIENT} *ine!*
 tobacco-CLF:STEM-N.S/A.TOP 1sg-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give ME the cigarette!’

(3.12)

(3.13)

(3.14)

Murui verbs have a rich system of grammatical categories available to them. Verbal morphology is mostly aspectual, with only one tense marker (for future tense). There is one (reported) evidential and two epistemic suffixes occurring in the same slot on the verb. Although Murui has no serial verb constructions, there are two directional markers (the ventive and the andative markers, see Chapter 7) which have forms similar to those of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’. See §7.1 on the structure of Murui predicate.

3.1.3 Adjectives

There are two adjective types in Murui; they are morphologically different from one another and belong to open (called ‘derived adjectives’) and closed (‘underived adjectives’) word classes (Murui adjectives are discussed in detail in §9.1). We discuss here those adjectives that belong to open word class. A small group of underived adjectives is a focus of §9.X.

In terms of their structural possibilities, Murui ‘derived’ adjectives share grammatical

¹¹⁹ The verb *i(te)* ‘give’ is homophonous with the verb *i(te)* ‘exist’.

categories with verbs and nouns. They have also a number of features on their own: a) they have a restricted set of verbal affixes that they occur with, and b) they cannot undergo root reduplication (unlike verbs).

Murui adjectives can either function as heads of intransitive predicates (they are never used in transitive clauses; these are so-called ‘verb-like adjectives’), as illustrated in (3.15), or head nominal modifiers commonly used in verbless clauses (these are ‘noun-like adjectives’), as in (3.16). The head is the adjectival root *jea-* ‘dirty, ugly’ in both examples. The semantic difference between (3.15) and (3.16) relates to temporality. In (3.15) the attribution is ‘temporal’; the place is dirty or ugly because someone did not clean it in the right way. In (3.16) it is ‘timeless’; the fruit is by nature dirty and cannot revert to becoming ‘clean’.¹²⁰ In both cases (3.15) and (3.16), nominal forms (*naino* ‘that (place)’ and *jeaki* ‘dirty, ugly (fruit)’ have to be referential, and understood from the immediate context.¹²¹

(3.15) *nai-nō_{NP:S}* *eo jea-re-d-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PLACE very dirty.ugly-ATT-LK-3
 ‘That place is very dirty, ugly (lit. that place has a property of being dirty, ugly).’

(3.16) *bi-kī_{NP:VCS}* *eo jea-kī_{VCC}*
 this.CLS-CLF:SMALL.ROUND very dirty.ugly-CLF:SMALL.ROUND
 ‘This fruit is dirty, ugly (lit. this fruit - dirty, ugly fruit).’

Adjectives, as well as verbs, occur frequently in Murui comparative constructions (see §9.2).

The structure of nominal modifiers can have adjectives as their base (such structures are referred to as ‘noun-like adjectives’) is less complex than the structure of those adjectives that function as intransitive predicates (i.e. ‘verb-like adjectives’). Note that the structure of

¹²⁰ The ‘temporal’ vs. ‘timeless’ distinction might also be referred to as e.g. ‘temporary state’ vs. ‘inherent property’.

¹²¹ See also Wojtylak (2016) for details on derivation of nominal modifiers by means of classifiers.

nominal modifiers with adjectives also applies to nouns (cf. Scheme 3.1 in §3.1.1) as well as to all nominal modifiers based on roots from closed word classes (see §3.3.1-3.3.6) (with the exception of interjections). The difference is the marking of the kinship plural marker *-tiaĩ*, that is reserved for kinship nouns only and cannot occur on nominal modifiers (see §5.2.X). The structure of nominal modifiers with adjectives as their base is illustrated in Scheme 3.2.

Scheme 3.2 The structure of Murui adjective (noun-like)

| | | |
|------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Proclitics | 0. | Pronouns (possessive) |
| Root | 1. | Root |
| Suffix | 2. | Classifier (up to two positions) |
| | 3a. | Plural marker <i>-ai</i> |
| | 3b. | Collective marker <i>-niaĩ</i> |
| | 4a. | Topical non-S/A <i>-na</i> |
| | 4b. | Locative <i>-mo</i> |
| | 4c. | Ablative <i>-(mo)na</i> |
| | 4d. | Instrumental <i>-do</i> |
| | 4e. | Privative <i>-nino</i> |
| Enclitic | 5a. | Topical S/A= <i>di</i> |
| | 5b. | Evidential (reported) = <i>ta</i> |

Adjectives that function as intransitive predicates can take verbal suffixes (but not all suffixes that are available for verbs can occur with ‘verb-like’ adjectives). The structure of adjectives as intransitive predicates is shown in Scheme 3.3 below (cf. Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.2).

Scheme 3.3 The structure of Murui adjective (verb-like)

| | | |
|-------|-----|--|
| Root | 0. | Root |
| Affix | 1a. | Become ₁ <i>-nai</i> ‘become to have a feature X’ |
| | 1b. | Become ₂ <i>-tai</i> ‘make become to have a feature X’ |
| | 1c. | Become ₃ <i>-dai</i> ‘make have a feature X’ |
| | 1d. | Causative <i>-do</i> |
| | 2. | Manner <i>-rui</i> ‘(feel like) having a feature X’ |
| | 3. | Past habitual <i>-fĩ</i> |
| | 4a. | Positive attributive <i>-re</i> |
| | 4b. | Negative attributive negative <i>-ni</i> |
| | 5. | ‘Half’ <i>-oi</i> |
| | 6. | Negation <i>-ñe</i> (following position 4a in the speech of young Murui) |
| | 7. | Privative <i>-no</i> (following position 5) |

- 8. Tense (future *-i*)
 - 9a. Linker *-di/-ti*
 - 9c. Nominalizers (with classifiers; also following position 4a-4b)
 - 9d. Conditional *-ia* (following position 8c)
 - 10. Pronominal subject, classifier
- Enclitic
- 11a. Epistemic =*di* (confirmed certainty)
 - 11b. Epistemic =*za* (unconfirmed certainty)
 - 11c. Evidential (reported) =*ta*

3.1.4 Word class-changing derivations

The major word-class changing derivations involve nominalizations (applied to verbs and adjectives). Nominalizations have an array of suffixes, among them also classifiers. Murui has two main nominalization types: those that do not involve classifiers and those that do (Wojtylak forthcoming-e). The latter type involves a word class-changing derivation, but frequently it is not word class-changing.¹²² The main types of nominalizations in Murui are:

A. NOMINALIZATIONS THAT DO NOT INVOLVE CLASSIFIERS - includes agentive S/A and event nominalizations.

A1. AGENTIVE S/A NOMINALIZATIONS - they take the agentive nominalizer *-rai* which is obligatorily followed by a special form of an animate classifier to determine gender of the referent. An example of an agentive S/A nominalization with *-rai* is given (3.17).

(3.17) [bi-e ri-ño]_{vcs} [kai zeda-rai-ño]_{vcc}
 this.CTS-ANA-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F 1pl take.care-AGT-CLF:DR.F
 ‘This woman is our care taker (lit. this woman - our (female) care-taker).’

Murui agentive S/A nominalizations can denote an entity which habitually carries out the action. This is a morphological process where the agentive nominalization suffix *-rai* is

¹²² See Wojtylak (2016a) for details.

preceded by the durative verbal marker *-ri*, as in *mano-ri-rai-ma* (heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M) ‘healer (one who has been healing for a long time)’. Agentive S/A nominalizations can retain their arguments. This is illustrated in (3.18), where *fue* ‘mouth’, marked with the locative *-mo*, and is an argument of the nominalized verb *fai(te)* ‘throw’:

- (3.18) *nai-mie*_{VCS} [*fue-mo*_{LOC} *fai-rai-ma*]_{NP:VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M mouth-LOC throw-AGT-CLF:DR.M
 ‘He is the initiator (lit. he - (male) thrower into the mouth)’

A2. EVENT NOMINALIZATIONS - event nominalizations are used to encode any kind of event, action or state that is viewed and focused on as a whole. Deverbal event nominalizations anchor events along the lines of time. We distinguish between nominalizations which are non-future oriented (marked with *-a/-ya/-ja/-na*), such as *zeda-ja* (take.care-E.NMZL) ‘(action of) taking care’ and those which are (marked with *-ye*). Frequently, the future oriented nominalizations are synchronically fully lexicalized, such as *gui-ye* (take.care-FUT.EN.NMLZ) ‘food (lit. future action of eating)’. Event nominalizations share many verbal properties:

- a) they can be negated, as e.g. *gui-ñe-na* (eat-NEG-E.NMLZ) ‘not eating’;
- b) roots can be reduplicated indicating intensity (also reiteration of an action, event), such as *gui~gui-na* (eat~RED-E.NMLZ) ‘(action of) not eating’;
- c) they can occur with verbal aspect markers, such as the inceptive *-kai*, such as *jaai~jai-kai-ya* (go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ) ‘(action of) starting to go and go’;
- d) unless they take classifier classifiers (see below), they cannot be pluralized;
- e) event nominalizations show verbal argument structure.

This is illustrated in (3.19), where the clause ‘healing other sicknesses’ is nominalized and, as such, it functions as the object of the transitive verb *uiño-* ‘know’.

- (3.19) *jiaï-mie*_A [*jiaï-e* *duiko manua-na*]_{NP:O} *uiño-t-e*_{PR:ED}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Another (man) knows healing other illnesses.’

Event nominalizations have also nominal properties: a) they can take classifiers, such as *ñai-ya-re-di-ñaiño* (speak-E.NMLZ-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) who is characterized by speaking’, *izi-rui-ya-fue* (admire-MANNER-E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY) ‘a story about love (admiring)’, *fino-yi-kino* (do-FUT.E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS) ‘a story of something that will be done’, *komui-ta-ti-ñaiño* (grow-CAUS-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘caretaker (lit. female who makes grow)’; b) they cannot take any cross-referencing S/A pronominal suffixes; c) they can be marked for case, as in (3.19) above. Syntactically, they typically function as S or O arguments, never A.

Event nominalizations can be independently used as ‘stand-alone’ predicates. Such nominalizations have discourse specific functions that have to do with backgrounding and setting the stage of an event. This is illustrated in example (3.20), where the nominalized *zuri~zuri-na* ‘(bird) announcing (lit. singing bad news)’ is backgrounding an event. It describes the state of affairs (i.e. the announcement of the bird) while the main action is going on: the mission of which the evil elder Jobai sent Jitoma and Kechatoma. In the story, Jobai cheated the boys; he gave them an empty package to carry with them on a journey, to ‘test’ their obedience.

- (3.20) [[*bi-e* *uzu-ma* *Jobai*]_A *bu-e-nao*
 this.CLS-CLF:G grandparent-CLF:DR.M Jobai Q1-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
*joone-ñe-d-e*_{PR:ED} *ie* *bi-eA* *ñee* *koko*_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 put-NEG-LK-3 CONN this.CTS-CLF:G FILLER 1du.m
*zuri~zuri-na*_{PR:ED}
 bird.sing.bad~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘The grandfather Jobai did not put anything [into our bag]! This is what the bird is announcing to us (lit. the announcement of bad news to us!)’

Event nominalizations are highly productive as adverbial clauses (of time, consequence, sequence, and purpose), and as a complementation strategy (Murui lacks a ‘prototypical’

complement clause construction) (see also Chapter 12). An example of an adverbial clause of time is given in (3.21), where the nominalized verb *i-ya* ‘being, existing, living’ functions as adverbial modification. (3.22) shows a future event nominalization used as a purposive construction that encodes the goal and purpose of an event.

(3.21) [kue_S Nofiko-mo_{LOC} i-ya fakai] eo kue_S bi-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg Chorrera-LOC exist-E.NMLZ time very 1sg come-DES-LK-1sg
 [aki kue]_{OBLIQUE}
 AUDIT 1sg
 ‘As for me, during my life (lit. existing) in La Chorrera, I really wanted to come back (here, to the Tercera India community), as I say.’

(3.22) airi-fai-ti-kue_{PRED} [[kue raa]_O ri-ye]_{PUR}
 scrape-CLF:CHACRA-LK-1sg 1sg thing plant-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘I scraped (the jungle garden) for planting my plants (lit. things).’

B. NOMINALIZATIONS THAT INVOLVE CLASSIFIERS - include S/A agentive, O-based ‘object’, and instrument nominalizations. Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations that involve classifiers can be used as word class-changing derivations, e.g. *zeda-di-ñaiño* (take.care-LINK-CLF:PR.F) ‘the one (female) who takes care (of something/somebody)’ and *ebi-re-di-ñaiño* (nice-ATT-LINK-CLF:PR.F) ‘the nice (female) one’, but can also function as non-word class-changing derivations, such as those that involve nouns, e.g. *jo-fo-ñaiño* (house-CLF:PR.F) ‘house-wife’, *aiyo-ko* (big-CLF:REP.DOG) ‘big dog’, *bi-foro* (this.CLS-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘this palm leaf’ (see Chapter 4).

B1. NOMINALIZATIONS INVOLVING BARE ROOTS AND CLASSIFIERS - they apply to bare verbal roots covering O nominalizations. It is not a productive mechanism in the language. They lack tense, aspect, or modal affixes; they can be pluralized and case-marked as well as modified. Some examples include *dobe-ño* (crush-CLF:DR.F) ‘yucca basin’, *mame-ki* (name-CLF:INHER) ‘name’.

B2. NOMINALIZATIONS INVOLVING BARE ROOTS AND *-ra* - nominalized by means of the classifier *-ra* ‘thing’ (from the free noun *raa* for ‘thing’) where the noun represents the O-Instrument with [-human] referents. These types of nominalizations are very frequent in Murui, and include e.g. *jiro-ra* (drink-CLF:THING) ‘thing to drink with (e.g. glass)’, *kio-ra* (see- CLF:THING) ‘thing to see with (e.g. glasses)’, *jiti-ra* (dark- CLF:THING) ‘something dark (e.g. dawn)’. The classifier *-ra* can further function as a ‘place holder’ for other classifier to follow, e.g. *to-ra-fo* (flow-CLF:THING-CLF:CAV) ‘water drain’.

B3. NOMINALIZATIONS INVOLVING ‘LINKERS’ AND CLASSIFIERS - these are nominalizations which employ various types of predicate markers. Depending on the predicate marker, each nominalization type has its own semantics. Only those derivations that are used with animate classifiers can have [+human] referents. Depending on the predicate marker, we distinguish:

a) event nominalizations that can further take abstract classifiers such as *-kino* (CLF:NEWS) and *-fue* (CLF:STORY), as in (3.23-24), or are animate classifiers, as in (3.25).

(3.23) *fino-yi-kino*
do-FUT.E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS
‘a story of something that will be done’

(3.24) *izi-rui-ya-fue*
admire-MANNER-E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY
‘a story about love (admiring)’

(3.25) *yofue-yi-ñaiño*
teach-FUT.EVENT-CLF:PR.F
‘(female) student, applicant (the one who will be taught)’

Another type of productive nominalizations involving classifiers are those which have verbal and adjectival roots as their base followed by either the linker *-di/-ti* or the passive marker *-ka/-ga*, and a classifier. Compare the meanings of the following examples (3.26-27):

(3.26) *feto-di-no*
 choose-LK-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘the ones (group) who choose’

(3.27) *feto-ka-ñaiño*
 choose-PASS-CLF:PR.F
 ‘the one (female) who was chosen’

Nominalizations involving the linker *-di-/-ti* involve all types of adjectives and of verbs.

Many occur with some optional verbal and adjectival suffixes (such as semelfactive *-no*, attributive *-re*, durative *-ri*, causative *-ta*, negative *-ñe*, and directional andative *-ai* and ventive *-aibi*), as in (3.28-29).

(3.28) [kai komui-ta-ti-ñaiño]_s jo-fo-mo_{LOC} i-ñe-d-e=za_{PRED}
 1pl grow-CAUS-LK-CLF:PR.F house-CLF:CAV-LOC exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘Our caretaker (lit. female who makes grow) is not home.’

(3.29) jadi! [kaka-i-ñe-di-mie]_s dino-mona_{ABL} bi-ya!_{PRED}
 this.CTH hear-NEG-LK-CLF:PR.M AT.CLF.SP.PLACE-ABL come-E.NMLZ
 ‘Look! A deaf man (lit. male who does not hear) came from there!’

Such nominalizations can occasionally retain their arguments. The sentence in (3.30), illustrates the nominalization *jibi-e du-ti-mie* ‘the one who chews coca’, where the nominalized verb *du-* ‘chew’ retains its argument *jibi-e* ‘coca’:

(3.30) [[jiibi-e]_o [du-ti-mie]]_{NP:S} fimai-d-e_{PRED}
 coca-CLF:G chew-LK-CLF:DR.M fast-LK-3
 ‘The one who chews coca, fasts.’

Nominalizations that contain the passive markers *-ka/-ga* can involve transitive verbal roots.

Similarly to those nominalizations described above, they can take a variety of verbal markers, as in (3.31).

(3.31) [nai-ñaiño]_{vs} [kue jika-no-ga-ñaiño]_{vcc}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F 1sg ask-SMLF-PASS-CLF:PR.F
 ‘She was my girlfriend (lit. she - my the one female who was asked for).’

3.2 Semi-closed word classes

Murui adverbs, time words, and number words belong to the semi-closed word classes (see also Table 3.5 in §3.4).

3.2.1 Adverbs

Murui adverbs constitute a semi-closed word class. They are modifiers to verbs and predicates (never used as predicate heads); the majority cannot take case marking (but some can be marked for the topical non-S/A marker *-na*). The majority of Murui adverbs are of adjectival origin (where deadjectival forms function like adverbs; these constitute an open word-class); other types form closed word classes. Another distinguishing property of adverbs is that they answer the question *nizeze?* ‘how’, rather than *bue?* ‘what’ or *nie?* ‘which’ (see §3.3.4). Murui distinguishes between adverbs of manner and place. These are discussed in turn.

A. ADVERBS OF MANNER - on morphological grounds, adverbs of manner can be divided into a number of classes.

A1. OPEN CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF ADJECTIVAL ORIGIN MARKED WITH *-re* - most of these manner adverbs are of adjectival origin (and as such can be used as heads of intransitive predicates). They belong to an open class and cannot take case marking. This is illustrated in (3.32), where the adjective *jea-* ‘dirty’, followed by the attributive positive suffix *-re*, modifies the verb *eruai(de)* ‘look’.

(3.32) *bi-ko_s* *jea-re* *eruai-d-e_{PRED}*
 this.CLS-CLF:REP.DOG dirty-ATT look-LK-3
 ‘This (dog) looks badly.’

This is a very productive way of deriving adverbial (deadjectival) modifiers.

A2. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF ADJECTIVAL ORIGIN MARKED WITH *-re* - a small group of adjectives, which have the attributive positive suffix *-re* as a part of the root (rather than a suffix, see §3.1.3), obligatorily take the topical non-S/A marker *-na* in adverbial position. This is illustrated in (3.33), with the adjective *mare* ‘good’ modifying a verb.

(3.33) [kue jiko]_s mare-na joruaɪ-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg dog good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP seem-LK-3
 ‘My dog seems well (lit. good-ly).’

A3. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF ADJECTIVAL ORIGIN - there is a small group of adjectival roots which can function as adverbs and quantifiers (see §3.1.3). These are *komo* ‘new (recent)’ and *aiyo* ‘big (a lot)’. Similarly to other adjectives, they take classifiers to form ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, e.g. *aiyo-ko* (big-CLF:REP.DOG) ‘big (dog)’. Underived, they function as adverbs and quantifiers. This is illustrated in (3.34-35) (see also §3.3.1 on the quantifier *aiyo* ‘a lot’). They can be further modified with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’.

(3.34) eo aiyo i-t-e_{PRED}
 very a.lot exist-LK-3
 ‘There is a lot (of it!)’

(3.35) komo rii-d-e_{PRED}
 recently arrive-LK-3
 ‘(He) has just arrived.’

Interestingly, when they take the general classifier *-e* obligatorily followed by the non-topical S/A marking *-na*, they can also occur in the adverbial position, as in (3.36). Although there is no apparent difference between the *aiyo* and *aiyuena*, and the two structures co-exist, among the Murui elders the underived form *aiyo* is used more frequently.

(3.36) eo aiyue-na i-t-e_{PRED}
 very big.CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3
 ‘There is a lot (of it!)’

A4. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF VERBAL ORIGIN MARKED WITH *-re* - a small group of adverbs of manner which have verbal origin. When marked with *-re*, they cannot take case marking. An example of *jarire* ‘quickly’ (from the verb *jari(de)* ‘vapor’), is given (3.37).

- (3.37) [kue uzu-ño]_S [jo-fo jerei-mo]_{LOC} jari-re
 1sg grandparent-CLF.DR.F house-CLF.CAV inside-LOC quick-ATT
 maka-fi-re-d-e_{PRED} rii-tai-ya-no_{SEQ}
 walk-PAST.HAB-3 angry-BECOME₂-E.NMLZ-SEQ
 ‘My grandmother, after becoming angry, used to walk quickly (lit. like vapor) inside the house.’

A handful of lexicalized manner adverbs of verbal origin show some archaic derivational processes which are synchronically not productive in the language. Such adverbs do not take *-re*, but the unproductive suffix *-ki* and the topical non-S/A marker *-na*.¹²³ Compare *jarire* ‘quickly’ in (3.37) with *jarikina* in (3.38). There appear to be no difference in meaning between *jarire* and *jarikina*.

- (3.38) kue_A [da-je jiko]_O jariki-na tooi-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg one-CLF:G dog quick-N.S/A.TOP grow-DES-PRED-1sg
 ‘I want to grow my dog quickly.’

A5. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS WITH UNKNOWN ROOTS MARKED WITH *-re* - a small class of lexicalized adverbs; their roots are no longer transparent and can be either adjectival or verbal in origin (but not adverbial). They retain the attributive *-re*, e.g. *raire* ‘fast’, and cannot take case marking. In (3.39), *raire* is modified with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’.

- (3.39) [bi-e uru-e]_S eo raire kazi-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CLS-CLF:G child-CLF:G very fast.ATT wake.up-LK-3

¹²³ The unproductive *-ki* might have been a classifier at some earlier stage. It is homophonous with the classifier *-ki* for ‘round, cluster, and inherent objects’). The topical non-S/A marker *-na* is multifunctional and is used on various types of oblique arguments in Murui.

‘This child wakes up very fast.’

A6. CLOSED CLASS OF ADVERBS CONTAINING *-ze* - two manner adverbs that contain the simulative suffix *-ze*, such as *raize* ‘well, correctly’ in (3.40), and *feekuize* ‘slowly’. They cannot take case marking.

(3.40) *raize* *yo-iti-o!*_{PRED}
 well.SIMIL *tell-FUT.LK-2sg*
 ‘Tell well! (lit. You will tell well!)’

The suffix *-ze* is productive with nouns, and it has the equative-like meanings that refer to size (see §9.X). Nominal modifiers with *-ze* have simulative-like meanings, as in *ni-e-ze* (Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘how?’ in (3.41) and *bi-e-ze* (this.CTS-CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘like this’ in (3.42).¹²⁴ Such adverbs can be further accompanied by a predicate marker, and function as intransitive predicate. This is illustrated in (3.120) in §3.3.4.

(3.41) *ni-e-ze* *i-ti-o?*_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL *exist-LK-2sg*
 ‘How are you? What happened?’

(3.42) *mare* *mei... kai bi-e-ze* *i-ya*_{PRED}
 good.ATT *so* *1pl this.CTS-CLF:G-SIMIL* *exist-E.NMLZ*
 ‘(It’s) good to live (lit. living) like that.’

¹²⁴ The Murui equal size marker occurs with all types of nouns, regardless of their animacy; see also Wojtylak (forthcoming-b). The Murui simulative marker is comparable to the simulative in the Cariban languages. In the Cariban languages the simulative *-me* has adverbial functions as well as ‘depictive’, marker of ‘secondary predication’, and grammaticalised aspectual meaning (Carlin, 2006: 328).

A7. CLOSED CLASS OF UNDERIVED ADVERBS - a few manner adverbs, such as *feeko* ‘slowly’ in (3.43), *mai* ‘let’s’, *eo* ‘very’, are underived forms. They cannot take case marking. In (3.44) *mai*, with hortative meaning, modifies the verb ‘go’ (see also §11.X).¹²⁵

(3.43) [bi-e nokae]_o feeko_o fino~fino-di-kue_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G canoe slowly make~RED-LK-1sg
 ‘I make this canoe slowly.’

(3.44) yo-ga-kai=za_{PRED} mai jaai!_{PRED}
 tell-PASS-1pl=UNCERT HORT go.IMP
 ‘We have been invited (lit. told), let’s go!’

Some of these adverbs can serve as basis for further derivations. For instance, *feekuize* ‘slowly’ (see A6 above) is clearly related *feeko* ‘slowly’, as in (3.43) above. Synchronically, *feekuize* and *feeko* are co-existing forms, and are used interchangeably.

B. ADVERBS OF PLACE - there is a small class of demonstrative adverbs, which structurally can be divided into:

B1. UNDERIVED ADVERBS OF PLACE - a very small closed word class containing *feei* ‘downhill, (lower part of land)’ and *aa* ‘up, above’, *foo* ‘inside’, *jino*¹²⁶ ‘outside’, *jerei* ‘inside’.

B2. ADVERBS THAT CONTAIN FORMATIVE ELEMENTS - these are three adverbs, *afai* ‘upriver’, *ari* ‘uphill (upper part of land)’, *fuiriri* ‘downriver’, *ana* ‘down, below’. Interestingly, *ari*, *afai*,

¹²⁵ The Murui form *mai* might be related to *mâa* in Tucano (the Tariana (Arawak) *ma*: for ‘let’s go’ is possibly also a borrowing from Tucano) (Aikhenvald, 2003: 78). In Murui, *mai* is different from the enclitic *mei* ‘so, later’, although both might be related.

¹²⁶ Synchronically, *jino* is an underived adverb but it seems to contain what might have been the classifier for specific place *-no*.

and *ana*¹²⁷ share the element *a-* (cf. *aa* ‘up, above’ in B1). So is the term for ‘maloca’ *ananeko*. It literally translates as ‘a place from above which is covered’. Adverbs of place can contain various unproductive suffixes. The elements *ari* ‘uphill’ and *fuir* ‘downriver’ contain the element *-ri*, which has locational meanings. Adverbs containing the unproductive *-ri* can take on the classifier ‘side’ *-fe* (CLF:SIDE), as in *ari-fe* (uphill-CLF:SIDE) ‘uphill (side)’.

Locational demonstratives that take *-ne* (cf. §3.3.3) can be cliticized to them, as in *ari=bene* (uphill=HERE.LOC:NSP) for ‘uphill here’.

3.2.2 Time words

Murui time words also constitute a semi-closed word class. They originate mostly in demonstratives (see §3.3.3), just as *ja-* ‘near (close to the hearer)’ and *na-* (a special form of the anaphoric specific demonstrative *nai-*), and number words, such as *da-* ‘one, alone’. A few time words contain the formative *-jiza* with emphatic readings.¹²⁸

Murui time words can be divided into a number of semantic classes (following Dixon 2012:20), such as DURATION (*dayu* ‘for a short while’), FREQUENCY (e.g. *jaka* ‘always, never’), SPECIFIC TIME SPANS (*aiyi* ‘a brief moment ago’, *naiyi* ‘later’, *jae* ‘in the past’, *jitiramo* ‘in the morning, at dusk’, *nai*(*na*) ‘at night’, *ikare* ‘tomorrow’), and TIME SPECIFICATION WITH RESPECT TO EXPECTATIONS such as *jai* ‘already’, *jaive* ‘some time ago’, *jaa* ‘soon’, *iko* ‘in the future’, *irai* ‘at once’. Some time words take the classifier *-e* (CLF:G),

¹²⁷ The adverb *ana* ‘down, below’ contains the element *aa*, as in *a-na* (up-ABL), which translates as ‘from above’.

¹²⁸ These are: *dayu* ‘for a short while (between 5-30 minutes)’ > *dayujiza* ‘for a very short while (only a few minutes)’, *aiyi* ‘in a short moment’ > *aiyijiza* ‘right now’, *naiyi* ‘later’ > *naiyijiza* ‘much later’, *iko* ‘in the future’ > *ikojiza* ‘one day in the future’.

as *jae/jaie* ‘in the past’, or the classifier ‘side’ *-fe, jaife* ‘in the past (on the side of the past)’. Time words contain also forms that occur with the attributive *-re*, as in *ikare* ‘tomorrow’, *nare* ‘yesterday’, *are* ‘long (time)’. A few can take the topical non-S/A subject *-na*, such as *naio* ‘night’ and *naiona* ‘at night’.¹²⁹ In (3.45) *naio* is topical and receives the *-na* marking.

(3.45) *jaa naio-na yo-ye!*_{PRED}
 soon night-N.S/A.TOP tell-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘It will (have to) be told soon, tonight!’

One suffix *-kaño* is used to derive words from number words for ‘once’ (*da-kaño*) and ‘twice’ (*menakaño*).¹³⁰ Nominal modifiers can take classifiers and have temporal meanings, such as *bi-rui* (this.CLS-CLF:DAY) ‘today’, *jiaí-mona* (other-CLF:SEASON) ‘next year’ (see Chapter 4). Unlike other time words, nouns referring to time take the nominal morphology, as in *bi-rui-ai* (this.CLS-CLF:DAY-PL) ‘nowadays (lit. these days)’. A number of such nouns are lexicalized expressions that obligatorily occur with the locative case marking *-mo*, such as *jiti-ra-mo* (dark-CLF:NEUT-LOC) ‘at dusk’. Their free forms are not longer used.

¹²⁹ It is interesting to notice that *-na* occurs with time words in Murui, such as *naio* ‘night’ > *naio-na* ‘at night’. The suffix *-na* on time words in Murui is homophonous with topical S/A marker *-na*. This is similar to the language Tucano, a language spoken by the Murui neighbours to the north. In the Tucanoan languages the form *-re* is used as a suffix marking O, oblique arguments, locative as well as temporal nominals (Stenzel, 2004: 229-230). This is similar to the form *=nuku* in Tariana (Arawak), a language which has been in contact with Tucano (Aikhenvald, 2003).

¹³⁰ Interestingly, in one instance, *komo-fue-ño* (new-CLF:STORY-TIME) ‘the first time’, the suffix is *-ño*, rather than *-kaño*. Note also that in Murui number words ‘one’ and ‘two’ have underived forms, unlike from ‘three’ onwards, see §3.2.3. There is also an unanalyzable form *nano* ‘(for) the first time’, glossed as (FIRST.TIME), possibly containing a variant of *-ño*, the element *-no* (cf. example (4.X) in Chapter 4). *Nano* can take the focus marker *-ka*, as in *nano-ka*.

3.2.3 Number words

A system with a small set of number words, such as the one in Murui, has been identified in the literature as a ‘restricted numeral system’ (Comrie, 2005: 214).¹³¹ Nowadays, the usage of Murui number words in the everyday speech is correlated with the age and the knowledge of the speakers. There is also a considerable variation in the forms from ‘five’ onwards, with each clan counting somewhat differently. I discuss here number words as used by the *Ereiai* clanolect (Cara-Paraná).

The Murui count using their fingers and toes.¹³² They start with a closed fist of the left hand bending the little finger called *irai-kai* (last-CLF:STICK) towards the back of the hand. This indicates the number ‘one’. The counting is continued by using the ring finger *jano-kai* (small-CLF:STICK), middle finger *moto-kai* (centre-CLF:STICK) or *are-kai* (long-CLF:STICK), index finger *uida-ra-kai* (signal-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STICK), and, finally, the thumb *ri-ño-bini-kai* (woman-clf:dr.f-CLF:SHORT.THICK-CLF:STICK) for the number ‘five’. Counting from ‘six’ to ‘ten’ is done with the thumb of the right hand, and continues up to the little finger which has the value of ‘ten’. To count from ‘eleven’ to ‘twenty’, one uses toes called *ei-kai* (foot-CLF:STICK) (toes do not have separate names, unlike fingers). The ‘toe counting’ begins with the little toe of the left foot and proceeds to the little toe of the right foot.

The language employs several ‘counting systems’ or ‘numeral strategies’ for

¹³¹ The diversity of Murui numeral strategies (a-b) could possibly indicate different stages of development of the numeral system induced by areal diffusion; see also Epps (2006a).

¹³² Murui has a verb which designates the process of counting - the verbal root *faka-* ‘try, think, dismiss’ followed by the causative *do-*. In fact, *fakado-* can have multiple meanings, one of which is ‘to count’.

- (3.50) *jae* *oo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED} *dane* *jika-di*_{OPRED}
 PAST 2sg give-LK-1sg ONCE request-LK-2sg
 ‘I’ve given (it) to you earlier, (and now) you are asking (me) again...’

B. FRATERNAL NUMBER WORDS ‘THREE’ AND ‘FOUR’ - the second numeral strategy involves a minimal system that works in ‘pairings’, and consists of two numbers: ‘three’ and ‘four’.

These numeral terms are analyzable periphrastic ‘fraternal’ expressions that are etymologically transparent and convey an idea of ‘having a brother’ (based on the classificatory kinship term *aama* ‘brother, ego masculine’). Both fraternal number words are highly lexicalized in Murui. This system is subtractive rather than additive.

The Murui term for ‘three’ is *da-(je) aama-ni*, where *aama* ‘brother’ is suffixed by the privative *-ni* ‘without’, the NP is further modified by the bound form *da-* ‘one’ and a classifier (usually the general *-e*). *Daje aamani* can be translated as ‘one brother-less’ or ‘one without brother’. In (3.51-52), the number word *daje aamani* ‘three’ modifies a noun within an NP:

- (3.51) [*da-be* *aama-ni*]_{NP:O} *jai* *kue-ti*_{OPRED}
 one-CLF:LEAF brother-PRIV already write-LK-2sg
 ‘You have already written three pages.’

- (3.52) [*da-mie* *aama-ni*]_{NP:O} *diga* *mai-ji-di-kai*_{PRED}
 one-CLF:PR.M brother-PRIV WITH work-LK-1PL
 ‘We work with three men.’

The term ‘four’ is *naga aama-ga* ‘four’ where *aama* ‘brother’ is suffixed by the agreeing quantifier suffix *-ga* (classifier-like morpheme meaning ‘all’, ‘each’, or ‘every’, see §3.3.1); *aama* ‘brother’ is modified by *naga*. The term ‘four’ roughly translates as ‘all brothers (lit. all

of each brothers)'.¹³³ The example of the number word *naga amaga* 'four' modifying a noun within an NP is given in (3.53):

- (3.53) jo-fo-mo_{LOC} [naga ama-ga jiko]_{NP:S} i-t-e_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC EACH brother-QUANT dog exist-LK-3
 'There are four (lit. all of each brothers) dogs in the house.'

The fraternal number word 'four' can occur classifiers and repeaters. Compare examples

(3.54-55) below:

- (3.54) [kue ai]_S [naga ama-ga ogodo]_{NP:O} ati-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg wife EACH brother-QUANT banana bring-LK-3
 'My wife has brought four bananas.'

- (3.55) uzu-ños [naga ama-ga-godo]_{NP:O}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F EACH brother-QUANT-CLF.REP:BANANA
 roko-i-aka-d-e_{PRED}
 cook-EMPH-DES-LK-3
 'The grandmother wants to cook four bananas.'

C. COMPLEX NUMBER WORDS (EXPRESSIONS) FROM 'FIVE' ONWARDS - from number 'five'

onwards Murui employs yet another system of numeral expressions. It is a limited quinary (base-five) system for numbers ranging from 'five' through 'twenty'. These numeral forms are complex expressions that contain classifiers as derivational markers, and are based on the

¹³³ Fraternal number words are typologically unusual. For 'Witoto' Nipode, Torres (1988) attempts to interpret 'Witoto' fraternal number words. He relates them to the structure of 'Witoto' maloca and its division into four fundamental load-bearing studs (see example 1.10 in T1 in Appendix).

nouns meaning ‘hand’ and ‘foot’. For instance, the number word *dabekuiro* ‘five’ translates as ‘one (hand’s) leaf palm’; ‘ten’ is interpreted as ‘all (hand’s) leaf palms’.¹³⁴

(3.56) da-be-kuiro_{NP}
 one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL
 ‘five (lit. one (hand’s) leaf palm)’

(3.57) naga-fe-be-kuiro_{NP}
 EACH-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL
 ‘ten (lit. all of each (hand’s) leaf palm)’

Word structure of Murui complex number words is clearly transparent in that there is no morphophonological reduction that usually occurs if lexicalization or grammaticalization is present. This system is used in combination with two previously described systems: the basic number words ‘one’ and ‘two’ (strategy A), and the fraternal number words ‘three’ and ‘four’ (strategy B). For instance, the number word *dabekuiro emodomo mena* ‘seven’ literary translates as ‘one hand’s leaf palm above two’ where ‘two’ is the basic number word *mena*, as in the example (3.58):

(3.58) [da-be-kuiro emodo-mo mena]_{NP}
 one-CLF:LEAF-CL:PALM above-LOC two
 ‘seven (lit. one leaf side above (more) two)’

The series of the numerals ‘six’ - ‘nine’, ‘eleven’ - ‘fourteen’, and ‘sixteen’ - ‘nineteen’ are formed by using the ‘base’ number words ‘five’, ‘ten’, and ‘fifteen’:

¹³⁴ When referring to quantities greater than ‘five’, the Murui speakers are not always ‘exact’. For instance, to refer to ‘six cups’, the speaker will sometimes say ‘five cups’. R. M. W. Dixon (2012: 75) points out that in societies which do not have large systems with a full set of number words, ‘quantities may be indicated in approximate fashion’.

five > five + one - five + two, five + three, five + four
ten > ten + one, ten + two, ten + three, ten + four
fifteen > fifteen + one, fifteen + two, fifteen + three, fifteen + four

Depending on the intended meaning of the number, the ‘base’ number words are followed by either basic or fraternal number words (that is, to express the number ‘thirteen’, one says ‘ten - three’). Additionally, the ‘base’ number words are followed by *emodo-mo* (back-LOC) that translates as ‘above, over, on top’, as in (3.59):

(3.59) [da-be-kuiro emodo-mo [naga ama-ga]]_{NP}
 one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL above-LOC EACH brother-QUANT
 ‘nine (lit. one leaf palm above four)’

When the number word surpasses ‘twenty’, elders usually say: *fakado-ni-d-e* (think-NEG.ATT-LK-3) ‘one cannot count’, *eo jai aiyuena i-t-e* (very already a.lot-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3) ‘it is already very much’, or *jaka uiz̃i rii-ñe-d-e* (always eyes arrive-NEG-LK-3) ‘the eyes are not able to see (anymore) (lit. the eyes do not come to see)’.¹³⁵ Some elders say that there is no other option in Murui for values higher than ‘twenty’ than using Spanish numbers. Other elders (and younger people) maintain that one could count beyond ‘twenty’ by recapitulating the same counting process used for enumerating ‘one’ to ‘twenty’ using fingers and toes. The facts that there is no consensus whether counting beyond ‘twenty’ exists at all, and there is no lexicalization of number words beyond ‘twenty’ followed by a great variability of ways of

¹³⁵ Additionally, numbers ‘ten’ and ‘twenty’ are frequently accompanied with the verb *fui(te)* ‘end, finish’. This possibly has to do with the fact that the number of fingers and toes is finite (Wojtylak, 2015b). Numbers ‘six’ up to ‘nine’, ‘sixteen’ up to ‘nineteen’ occur with the verb *jaai(de)* ‘go’. This way of describing finger and toe counting movements, where number words are accompanied by verbs like ‘go’ and ‘end, finish’, is also very similar to Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2003: 218). It could be an indication of some kind of contact that groups who lived close to the Caquetá (Japurá) River might have had in the past.

counting might suggest suggest that the Murui numeral system may have been ‘developed’ fairly recently.¹³⁶

3.3 Closed word classes

Given their functional and derivational possibilities, we can recognize ten closed word classes for Murui (see also Table 3.4 in §3.4). These are:

1. QUANTIFIERS AND INTENSIFIERS - a very small class including *nana* ‘all’, *naga* ‘every, each’, *aiyo* ‘a lot’, *jeenino* ‘little’ and *diga* ‘many’, and *eo* ‘very’; they cannot be used as heads of intransitive predicates.
2. PRONOUNS - a closed class that distinguish between singular, dual, and plural number; can be used as heads of intransitive predicates.
3. DEMONSTRATIVES - bound forms; can be used as heads of intransitive predicates.
4. INTERROGATIVES - bound forms *bu-* ‘who’ and *ni-* ‘which’; as nominal modifiers, they can also be used as heads of intransitive predicates.
5. CONNECTIVES - a small class, with a fixed position within a clause; cannot be used as predicate heads (with the exception of the connective *ie* which can occur in the argument position).
6. ADPOSITIONS - a small class of postpositions that head adpositional noun phrases; some can occur in the pre-head positions.

¹³⁶ Possibly in the time of the Rubber Boom during which they were forced to gather latex of approximately 300 rubber trees a day. The number word system might have developed out of necessity to be able to count the required number of rubber trees.

7. INTERJECTIONS - a number of conventionalized emotional exclamations and discourse markers that cannot occur as heads of predicates .

3.3.1 Quantifiers and intensifiers

The forms of quantifiers include *nana* ‘everything, all’, *naga* ‘every, each’, *aiyo* ‘a lot’, *jeenino* ‘little’ (which contains the privative marker, as illustrated in example (6.61) in §6.2.1.5), and *diga* ‘many’ (see §3.3.6). Murui has also a general quantifier affix *-ga* that occupies the same slot as classifiers (cf. *ni-no* (Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘which place?’ and *ni-ga* (Q₂-QUANT) ‘how much, how many’; *ni-ga-no* (Q₂-QUANT-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘how many places?’, see §3.3.4).¹³⁷ The quantifiers *nana* and *naga* cannot function as heads of predicates (*naga* can head an intransitive predicate only if it takes a classifier, see further this section). *Nana* can occur as an argument, as in (3.60), in a post-head position, as in (3.61). Occasionally, they can also occur in a pre-head position, as in (3.62).

(3.60) ua nana jin_{OLOC} o-ga_{PRED}
 really ALL outside get-PASS
 ‘(One) takes everything outside (out of the house)’

(3.61) ua [komini nana]_S ua kaima-re i-t-e_{PRED}
 really people.CLF:DR.GROUP ALL really happy-ATT exist-LK-3
 ‘Really, all the people are happy.’

(3.62) [kue ai]_O yo-ti-kue_{PRED} [nana kue nabai-na]_O yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg wife tell-LK-1sg ALL 1sg neighbour-N.S/A.TOP tell-LK-1sg
 ‘I tell my wife, I tell all my neighbours.’

Unlike *nana* ‘everything, all’, *naga* ‘each, every’ can neither occur as an argument nor be used after the head. In (3.63) *naga* is used in the pre-head position. In (3.64) this form

¹³⁷ For ‘my two eyes’, one says *kue naga uizi* (1sg EACH eye) ‘my each/every eye’. This may be the case also for other paired objects (body parts). Cf. the number word *nagafebekuiro* ‘ten (lit. each, every (hand’s) leaf palm)’ (see §3.2.3).

combines with classifier *-rui* for ‘day’. This is similar in (3.65) where, additionally, it is followed by a case marker.

- (3.63) [naga kome]_S koni-ma-na_{NP:RECIP} izi-rui-t-e_{PRED}
 EACH person each.other-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP adore-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘Each person loves one another.’
- (3.64) okaina-na_O jaka kai_A naga-rui ri-ti-kai_{PRED}
 animal-N.S/A.TOP always 1pl EACH-CLF:DAY eat.meat-LK-1pl
 ‘Everyday we ate animals.’
- (3.65) jai jaka bi-rui=ua naga-fe-be-do_{INS}
 already always this.CTS-CLF:DAY=really EACH-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-INS
 jeno-di-kai=za_{PRED}
 search-LK-1PL=UNCERT
 ‘And nowadays we really search (for work) from every angle (in all the way we can).’

The adjective *aiyo* ‘big’ can also function as a quantifier manner adverb (discussed in §3.2.1) with quantitative meanings ‘a lot’. *Aiyo* can be further modified with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’, as in *eo aiyo i-t-e* (very a.lot exist-LK-3) ‘there is very much/a lot!’

The intensifier *eo* ‘very’ can occur in the adverbial position (modifying verbs and adjectives), as in (3.66-67), a modifier to an adverb (3.68-69) and a nominal modifier (those which have an adjective as their base), as in (3.70).

- (3.66) eo uiño-ti-o_{PRED}
 very know-LK-2sg
 ‘You know very much!’
- (3.67) eo rozi-nai-ya jira ‘uzu!’ rei-t-e_{PRED}
 very cold-BECOME₁-E.NMLZ REASON grandfather.VOC say-LK-3
 ‘Because of (his body) becoming very cold, he said ‘Grandfather!’’
- (3.68) uai-za! bene-do_{INS} eo feekuize nooi-ye=za_{PRED}
 fall-APPR HERE.LOC:NSP-INS very slowly.SIMIL bathe-FUT.E..NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘Be careful! One has to bathe here very slowly...’
- (3.69) ie jaka eo mare jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 CONN always very good.ATT house-clf:cav-LOC
 ‘And so, its always so good at home.’

- (3.70) [kue jito]_{NP:VCS} eo mare-to_{NP:VCC}
 1sg son very good.ATT-CLF:REP.SON
 ‘My son is very good, handsome (lit my son - very good, beautiful (son)).’

Murui has two frequent intensifiers *ua* ‘really’ and *erua* ‘really (when asking for visual confirmation)’. While *erua* is a free form, *ua* is enclitic that can occur in any position in the clause. Both are frequently used to form tag questions (see §11.2.3). Examples of *ua* and *erua* are given in (3.60-65) and T2.17, T.2.24, T.2.70, T2.78 and T2.85 in the Appendix. The intensifier *jamei* ‘only’ is illustrated in examples T1.7 and T4.29.

3.3.2 *Pronouns*

Independent pronouns (for animate referents) distinguish three numbers (singular, dual, and plural) and three persons (first, second, and third). In addition, Murui differentiates between masculine and feminine gender for the third person singular, and first, second, and third person dual. In pronouns, the masculine gender is the functionally unmarked form in the dual (cf. §3.1.1 - showing masculine animate classifiers being the functionally unmarked

gender).¹³⁸ There are no gender distinctions in plural number. The third person pronouns are bound forms (originally animate classifiers) that have the closed word class of demonstratives as their base (see also Chapter 4). Murui personal pronouns are presented in Table 3.2:

Table 3.1 Personal pronouns in Murui

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural |
|---|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------------------|--------|
| | Masculine | Feminine | Masculine | Feminine | |
| 1 | kue | | koko | kaiñai ¹³⁹ | kai |
| 2 | oo ¹⁴⁰ | | omiko | omiñoi | omoi |
| 3 | -mie | -ñaiño | -aimai | -aiñuai | -maki |

The most common bases for third person pronouns are the anaphoric demonstratives *i-* and *nai-* (§3.3.3), e.g. *nai-mie* (ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M) ‘he (specific)’, *i-mie* (ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M) ‘he (unspecific)’. Other types of demonstratives can also be used as third person pronouns, e.g. *bi-aimai* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.M.PL) ‘they (two males) (lit. those, close to speaker, two males)’. Ethymologically, the third person dual masculine and feminine are cases of double marking (cf. the plural marker *-ai*, see Chapter 5 §5.2).¹⁴¹ Interestingly, the third person dual masculine and feminine forms can occur with the number word *da-* ‘one (lit. alone)’ (cf. §3.2.3). With the first syllable being monophthongised, the forms are *daimai* ‘(only) they two (males or a male and a female)’ and *daiñuai* ‘(only) they two (females)’. In the everyday

¹³⁸ There is no exclusive vs. inclusive distinction, unlike in other neighbouring languages, such as Bora.

¹³⁹ In the rapid speech, the second feminine dual pronoun is pronounced as *kañai*. The final element *-i* might be an older way of speaking. For instance, while in Murui the first person masculine dual is *koko*; in Minika it has the form *kokoi*.

¹⁴⁰ The second person singular *oo* can be followed by a special ‘attention’ suffix *-re*. It frequently follows the noun *moo* ‘father’. *Oore* has honorific readings (see examples T4.2, T4.11, and T4.15 in the Appendix).

¹⁴¹ Occasionally speakers omit the first instance of the plural marker *-ai*. In such cases, the third person dual masculine and feminine have forms *-mai* and *-ñuai*.

speech, the third person singular feminine form *-ñaiño* can also be used as a free form *ñaiño*.¹⁴² The phonological reduction can occur also with the third person masculine dual. In rapid speech *-aiṃaiṃ* is frequently pronounced as *-aiṃie*, as in example (3.X).

Independent pronouns and verbal cross-referencing suffixes share the same forms for all the persons. Unless the animacy, gender, and number are important in the context, the third person is always cross-referenced with the S/A pronominal suffix *-e* (cf. Table 3.1 in §3.1.2). This third person cross-referencing suffix, used for low animate and inanimate referents, has the form of the general classifier *-e*. This indicates that the person system is based on the opposition first/second person (pronouns) versus third person (which are in fact noun-like forms which contain classifiers as derivational devices). That the third person forms are different morphologically from the first and the second person pronouns is shown by their morphosyntactic behaviour:

A. The first and second person, which are SAP, and third person (non SAP) do not form one paradigm. The first and the second person pronouns can be suffixed with the third person bound forms (that is, the third person pronoun forms behave in the same manner as other classifiers), but not other way around. For instance, the first person plural *kai* can take the third person plural *-maki*, as in *kai-maki* (1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN) ‘us (all inclusive)’. *Kaiṃmaki* can also be expressed by a noun phrase *kai-zie i-maki* (1pl-CLF:CLAN ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN) ‘member of our clan (lit. group of our clan)’.

¹⁴² Glossed in the examples as free form CLF:PR.F. Note that also *-ño* and *-ma* can occur as free forms *ño* and *mi* (glossed as CLF:DR.F and CLF:DR.M) as endearment forms for the family members of the same sex as ego. Interestingly, the form *mi* undergoes vowel centralization here, a process which is very common elsewhere in the language, e.g. distance calls and in songs (see Chapter 1).

B. Unlike the third person pronouns, the first and the second person pronouns can take the genitive marking *-ie* (see Chapter 5).

C. Unlike first and second person pronouns, the third person dual forms *-aimaiai* (masculine) and *-aiñuui* (feminine), are complex forms that include the plural *-ai* and the animate masculine classifier *-ma* (masculine). As shown above for dual pronouns, the masculine gender is functionally unmarked in Murui. This is similar for the third person marker *-maki* that contains the animate masculine classifier *-ma* and the classifier *-ki* which has various meanings in the language. One of them is to refer to an object that consists of many smaller inherent parts. An example can be *rua-ki* (sing.E.NMLZ-CLF:CLUSTER) for ‘ensemble, repertoire of songs’, or *ono-ki* (hand-CLF:CLUSTER) for ‘hand (consisting of a set of fingers)’. In such fashion, one could interpret *-maki* as a group, set of people (*-ma* and *-ki*).

D. The third person dual forms are unusual in that they can take the (verbal) emphatic plural participants suffix *-zi* when following the quantifier *naga* ‘each, every’ (see §3.3.1), as in *naga-zi-aimaiai* ‘each of them, both’; cf. *maka-zi-t-e* (walk-EMPH.PP-LK-3) for ‘both walked’.

There is some indication that Murui may be on its way to develop an impersonal pronoun *kome* meaning ‘somebody, person, a man or a woman’.¹⁴³

- (3.71) bi-rui-do_{INS} kome_S jai iyi-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED} [riai
 this.CLS-CLF:DAY person already garden-LOC go-NEG-LK-3 non.Witoto.PL
 raa]_O iba-d-e_{PRED}
 thing buy-LK-3
 ‘Nowadays, one doesn’t go to jungle gardens anymore. They buy Western (lit. non-Witoto) things.’

¹⁴³ *Komo* ‘person’ might be cognate with *komo* ‘recent, new’ (as in ‘new person’).

Possessive pronouns are discussed in Chapter 5. Murui lacks bound pronouns to express grammatical relations (Murui reflexive is based on the nominal modifiers *da-ma* (one-CLF:DR.M) ‘one (male) alone’, *da-ño* (one-CLF:DR.F) ‘one (female) alone’, and *da-ni* (one-CLF:DR.GR) ‘one (group human) alone’. Frequently, clauses like *da-ño joko-d-e* (one-CLF:DR.F wash-LK-3) can be interpreted as either ‘(she) washes herself’ or ‘she washes alone’.¹⁴⁴ Reciprocal constructions are expressed by *koni-* followed by animate classifiers (*-ma*, *-ño*, and *-ni*) that agrees with the the A argument and the O argument of underlying clauses, see examples (3.63) and (9.X) in §9.X.¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 8 for details.

3.3.3 Demonstratives

Murui has two kinds of grammatical elements that have deictic function: nominal demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives. Both types of demonstratives encode two degrees of distance (‘close’ vs. ‘far’). Unlike the adverbial demonstratives, the nominal demonstratives make an additional distinction between ‘close to speaker’ (glossed as CTS) and ‘close to hearer’ (glossed as CTH). Nominal demonstratives distinguish also between what is perceivable and what is not (visible, audible vs. anaphoric, non-perceivable). Nominal demonstratives are bound forms that occur with classifiers (as nominal modifiers; within an NP they take the general classifier *-e*). Adverbial demonstratives are free forms that share their base forms with nominal demonstratives.

¹⁴⁴ This ambiguity is frequently resolved by specifying what part of the body is being washed; see also Petersen de Piñeros (1998).

¹⁴⁵ In fact, *koni* is a type of a locative adposition (see §3.3.3), e.g. *Leticia=koni* ‘in Leticia’, that might be related to the word *konirue* ‘youngster, fellow (female, male)’ (cf. *-rue* for CLF:THINGS). Occasionally, Murui speakers interpret the reciprocal *koni(-ma/-ño/-ni)* as a locational preposition in Spanish *entre* for ‘between’.

A. NOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES - Murui has a multi-term demonstrative system. Nominal demonstratives differentiate between what is perceivable (either visible or audible) and what is not. The visible distinction involves distance to speaker and hearer showing thus the proximal - distal opposition. All Murui demonstratives are anaphoric in function. The non-perceivable demonstratives *i-* and *nai-* are used for participant anaphora (the connective *ie* generally used as a textual anaphora, see §3.3.5). The Murui nominal demonstratives are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.2 Murui nominal demonstratives

| | | PERCEIVABLE | | | | NON-PERCEIVABLE, ANAPHORIC | |
|----------|---------------------------------|--------------|--|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| | | VISIBLE | | AUDIBLE | | UNSPECIFIC | SPECIFIC |
| PROXIMAL | close to speaker | <i>bi-</i> | gestures expressed by pointing (only with spatial reference) | <i>aki-</i> | gestures expressed by head tilt | <i>i-</i> | <i>nai-</i> |
| | close to hearer | <i>jadi-</i> | | | | | |
| DISTAL | distant from speaker and hearer | <i>bai-</i> | | | | | |

The bound form *di-* might also have formed a part of this system in the past. Synchronically, there are only a few lexicalized forms that have *di-* as their base, e.g. the postposition *dine* (AT.LOC:NSP) ‘there (non-specific place)’, *dino* (AT.CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘there (specific place)’, and *die-ze* (AT.CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘that much’.¹⁴⁶

The nominal ‘visible’ demonstratives are frequently accompanied with gestures, eye-gaze, or lip-pointing (see §2.9 on nonverbal communication and deictic gestures). Some

¹⁴⁶ This possibly includes the postposition *diga* ‘with’ (see §3.3.6).

examples are given in (3.72-74) below. In (3.72-73) the nominal demonstrative *bi-* ‘this (close to speaker)’ and *jadi-* ‘this (close to hearer)’ occur with the general classifier *-e*, and they function as nominal modifiers within an NP. (3.74) illustrates the nominal modifier *baibi* ‘that (thick substance)’, that contains the demonstrative *bai-* ‘that (distant from speaker and hearer)’ followed by the classifier *-bi* for ‘thick substance’.

- (3.72) [bi-e ïï-ma]_{NP:S} jaziki-mona_{ABL} bi-ya_{PRED}
 this.CLS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M jungle-ABL come-E.NMLZ
 ‘This man (close to me) came back from the jungle.’ (a woman is looking in the direction of an approaching man)
- (3.73) [jadi-e rozi-yi]_{NP:O} Kata-mo_{O:RECIPIENT} ine!_{PRED}
 this.CTH-CLF:G pineapple-CLF:FRUIT Kata-LOC give.IMP
 yi-aka-ye-na_{PRED}
 eat.fruit-DES-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Give this (pointing u) pineapple to Kata for her to eat!’ (while telling this to her daughter, a woman is pointing with her hand at the pineapple)
- (3.74) bai-bi_{NP:O} jiro-ñeiye!_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:SUBS drink-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘This (*cahuana* drink) is not to be drunk!’ (a woman is talking to her son and lip-pointing at a pot filled in with *cahuana*, while having her hands occupied with feeding a baby)

The proximal visible demonstrative *jadi-* can have semantic extensions, and is not accompanied by gestures.¹⁴⁷ The previous context of (3.75) below, Rubio, a son of Lucio, asked his father to lend him money. He finishes his plea with:

¹⁴⁷ Diachronically, the proximal visible demonstrative *jadi-* might have been a complex form, consisting of *ja-* and the topical S/A marker *-di*, that became fused with the demonstrative root.¹⁴⁷ Compare the structure of *ja=dine* ‘at, over there (close to the hearer), for some unspecified place close to the hearer’ with other demonstratives, such as e.g. *aki=dine* (AUDIT=AT.LOC:NSP) ‘at, over there (as heard), for some unspecified place heard e.g. in a story’. Note that **jadi=dine* is ungrammatical in Murui.

- (3.75) moo... jadi-ki_{NP:O} jikano-ti-ku_{PRED}
 father this.CTH-CLF:NEWS ask-LK-1sg
 ‘Father... I ask this of you (this plea that is now with you)’

This is similar in (3.76). At the end of a gathering to discuss financial matters of the community, elder Justino proposed a new investment. Elder Lucio was unwilling to support Justino’s idea. To close the matter, he asked the gathered crowd:

- (3.76) [jadi-ki_{NP:LOC} eki-mo] jia_i-ki_{NP:LOC} i-ñe?_{PRED}
 this.CTH-CLF:NEWS angle-LOC other-CLF:NEWS exist-NEG
 ‘In addition to this proposal (a story that is now with you), isn’t there another idea?’

The auditory demonstrative *aki-* ‘this/that (as heard)’ is occasionally accompanied with a head tilt gesture. An example is presented in (3.77). It comes from a conversation in a jungle gander, when Walter, the healer of the Tercera India community, is advising his son to gather dry branches. Upon hearing a bird squeak, Walter slightly tilts his head and utters (3.77). The auditory *akie*, which contains the general classifier *-e*, modifies the noun *ziyi* ‘bird’ within an NP. In addition, the nominalized *ñaiia* ‘speaking’ is complementation strategy where it functions as a core argument O (marked with the core case marker *-na*) of the verb *kaka(de)* ‘hear, understand’.

- (3.77) [[aki-e ziyi]_{NP:O} ñai-a-na]_{Cl:Comp} kaka-di-o?_{PRED}
 this.AUDIT-CLF:G bird.type speak-E.NMLZ hear-LK-2sg
 ‘Do you understand (lit. hear) what this bird says (lit. speaking of the bird)?’
 (accompanied by a head tilt)

The auditory demonstrative occurs frequently in the discourse, especially in the narrative genre. Murui narrations end with a number of formulaic expressions, each containing *aki-*, as in (3.78-79).

- (3.78) aki-e_{NP:O} yo-ti-ku_{PRED}
 this.AUDIT-CLF:G tell-LK-1sg
 ‘I told you this (the story you have just heard).’ (ending a ritual narration)

- (3.79) aki-e_{NP:O} izoi-d-e_{PRED}
 this.AUDIT-CLF:G similar-LK-1sg
 ‘It is this way (like this as you have just heard).’ (ending a mythological narration)

The non-perceivable demonstratives *i-* and *nai-* function as markers of participant anaphora, and are never accompanied by any type of gestures. While *i-* refers to virtually any unspecified referent understood in the context, *nai-* is used as an anaphoric marker that refers to a specific referent (or a clause) which is mentioned earlier in the context. The function is to ‘re-activate’ the referent in the discourse (see also Chapter 13 on bridging functions of the connective *ie*, that is formed with the unspecified anaphoric *i-* and the general classifier *-e*). Neither *i-* nor *nai-* have a spatial reference.¹⁴⁸

An example of the unspecified anaphoric demonstrative is given in (3.80), which is a request a woman, Ana Lucia, made to her elderly mother. Ana Lucia became involved in our documentation project and was collecting stories of the community (K. T. Lupinski & Wojtylak, 2014). She wanted her mother tell her any story in order for her to record it. Ana Lucia’s mother was hesitant, and Ana Lucia became impatient. The referent of the O NP in (3.80) is a story (marked with a classifier), but it is not specified which story exactly. The O NP is further marked with *-na*, to indicate that it is topical in the discourse.

- (3.80) i-kino-na_{NP:O} yo-no_{PRED} maa!
 ANA.NSP-CLF:NEWS-N.S/A.TOP tell-IMP mother.Sp
 ‘Mother, tell any story!’

¹⁴⁸ Although all nominal demonstrative forms contain the element /i/ (*bi-*, *jadi-*, *bai-*, *aki-*), there is at least some indication that there is some relation between the specific anaphoric *nai-* and the unspecified *i-*. The unproductive bound root *na-* which occurs elsewhere in the grammar, such as *naga* ‘each, every’ and *nana* ‘everything, all’ (§3.3.1). Another example is *nafue(te)* ‘heed, pay attention’ (cf. *fue* for ‘mouth’) which may be interpreted as ‘follow (one’s) mouth’ (cf. the (lexicalized) verbal root *fueo(te)* ‘learn (lit. gain one’s mouth)’ which makes a reference to the ability of speaking during gatherings in the *malocas* (cf. *o(te)* ‘get, gain’). In ritual discourse the anaphoric *naa* can occur as a free form.

in the underived adverbs *bii* ‘here’ and *baa* ‘there’. The underived adverbial demonstratives are rarely used. The most common context of their occurrence are fixed ceremonial forms: upon gifting an object, it is customary to say either *bii* (understood as ‘here it is, take it’) or *baa* (for ‘there is it, take it’); cf. with the question *nii?* ‘which, what are you giving me?’ in similar contexts, §3.3.4). Neither the adverbial demonstratives nor the interrogative *nii* take classifiers in such situations. The adverbial *bii* and *baa* can also be used as interjections in the discourse (see Chapter 13).

B2. LEXICALIZED ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES - these are lexicalized forms which contain unproductive affixes. Four of these adverbial demonstratives point to a place, and one makes an auditory reference (with no distance distinction):

- *bene* ‘here (near speaker)’
- *jadi* ‘here (near hearer)’
- *baai* ‘there (far from speaker)’
- *aki* ‘auditory there (no distinction in distance)’

Examples below illustrate some examples of adverbial demonstratives, *bene* in (3.84), *jadi* in (3.85), *baai* in (3.86-87), and *aki* in (3.88-89). In (3.86) it is used as a modifier to a noun within an NP. It can also extend to refer to future events, as in (3.87). (3.88) illustrates the use of auditory *aki*, which can be extended to cover the realm of dreams as well. (3.89) is an excerpt from a dream story.

- (3.84) [kai ñai-a-kino...]NP baa ua mei
 1pl speak-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS ATTENTION really so
 uru-iai=diNP:A [kai uai-na]NP:O ebi-rui-ñe-d-ePRED
 child-CLF:G.PL=S/A.TOP 1pl word-N.S/A.TOP nice-MANNER-NEG-LK-3
 jai bene ua kome-kiS faka-ñe-d-ePRED
 already HERE.LOC:NSP really heart-CLF:SMALL.ROUND think-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Our (way of) speaking... Well, our children don’t find our words nice. (Their) hearts here don’t think (this anymore).’ (speaker is showing at his heart)

- (3.85) ai! jadi da-ño jaai-d-e_{PRE}
 INTERJ HERE.CTH alone-CLF:DR.F go-LK-3
 ‘Ah, (so) she went there alone...’
- (3.86) ie-ri [kai komini=di]_{NP:O} [baai
 CONN-BENEF.CAUS 1pl person.CLF:HUMAN=S/A.TOP THERE
 i-mie]_{NP:O} kueno-ka=za_{PRE}
 ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M finish-PASS=UNCERT
 ‘That is why our people were killed off (lit. finished) by him (a man from there).’
- (3.87) are kue jooi-aka-ia_{PRE} baai baa kue ua [riai
 long.ATT 1sg put-DES-COND THERE ATTENTION 1sg really non.Witoto.PL
 maiyo-mo]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue-na_{PRE} jaai-di-kue_{PRE} [jiai kue]_{OBLIQUE}
 middle-LOC go-LK-1sg-EMPH go-LK-1pl also 1sg
 ‘If I live long enough (lit. if I want to be put over there into the future), I would
 go (to cities of) the white people (lit. in the middle of the non-Witoto), me too.’
- (3.88) jiiibe taai-noo yo-t-e_{PRE} ana aki ie=di_A
 just in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-3 below AUDIT CONN=S/A.TOP
 ‘(From) below (the tree), he only told the lie.’
- (3.89) ie=mei du-ñe-d-e_{PRE} [aki kue]_{OBLIQUE}
 CONN=SO chew.coca-NEG-LK-3 AUDIT 1sg
 ‘And then he didn’t chew the coca, according to my dream (lit. me)’

(3.90) illustrates a frequent way Murui elders end narration, where the auditory adverbial demonstrative is followed by the enclitic *dino* (AT.CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘there (referring to a specific place)’.

- (3.90) ie aki=dino-ri yo-ti-kue_{PRE}
 CONN AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-BENEF.CAUS tell-LK-1sg
 ‘And that is why I advise (you).’

The adverbial demonstratives share forms with the nominal demonstratives (these are: *bi-*, *ja-*, *ba-*, and *aki-*). With the exception of *bene* ‘here (near speaker)’, all these adverbials can also be followed by the locative postposition (enclitic) *dine* ‘at (unspecified location)’ (see §3.3.6), as illustrated in (3.91) below. The form *dine* can also occur as a free form that can be translated as ‘over (here, there)’ (see §3.3.6).

(3.91) *baai=dine* (THERE=AT.LOC:NSP)
denoting unspecified location far from both hearer and speaker

aki=dine (AUDIT=AT.LOC:NSP)
denoting unspecified location of a sound or something said, or heard

The adverbial demonstrative *jadi* ‘here (near hearer)’ can be followed only by *-ne*.¹⁴⁹ That the form *bene* is morphologically complex is shown in (3.92). Interestingly, the adverbial demonstrative *be-* cannot be followed by any other classifier but *-no* (CLF:SP.PLACE), that is inherently locational.

(3.92) *bene* (HERE.LOC:NSP) for unspecified location close to speaker
beno (HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE) for specific place close to speaker

Adverbial demonstratives are different from adverbs of place (§3.2.1). Firstly, they take neither the inherently locational *-fe* (CLF:SIDE) nor the unproductive marker *-ri*. Secondly, the form of the ablative marking is *-na* with adverbial demonstratives (unlike *-mona* with nouns and nominal modifiers). This is the same form as the N.S/A.TOP marker elsewhere (which is subject to DOM, see §6.X):¹⁵⁰

(3.93) *bene-na* (HERE.LOC:NSP-ABL) for unspecified location close to speaker
beno-mona (HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL) for specific place close to speaker

The ablative *-na* occurs with two adverbs of place *fuiri* ‘downriver’ and *afai* ‘upriver’.

3.3.4 Interrogatives

Murui distinguishes between content, polar, tag, and alternative. All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic of them, such as different intonation

¹⁴⁹ In fact *-ne* in an unproductive locational suffix, which occurs with the demonstrative *bene* ‘here’, the postposition *dine* ‘at’ (see §3.3.6), the interrogative *nine* ‘where (unspecified location)’, and the number word *da-* ‘one, alone’ as in *dane* for ‘again, once more’ (see Chapter 4 §4.X).

¹⁵⁰ In the neighbouring Kotiria (East Tucano) the O marker *-re* has also ablative meanings (Stenzel, 2013).

patters (see §11.2). This section focuses on interrogative words.

Murui interrogative words fill an argument slot in content questions. There are two free interrogative forms: *buu* ‘who’ and *nii* ‘which’. With classifiers (as nominal modifiers), they have other meanings, for instance ‘when’ is expressed as *nii-rui* (Q2-CLF:DAY) ‘lit. which day’. Unlike *nii*, the interrogative *buu* (and its derivations) can have indefinite meanings.

Murui interrogative words are summarized in Table 3.4.

Table 3.3 Murui interrogative words and their derivations

| Type | Form | | Meaning |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--|--|
| <i>buu</i> (Q ₁) | free | <i>buu</i> | ‘who’ |
| | as modifier | with a classifier: <i>bu-mie</i> (Q ₁ -CLF:G) <i>bu-e</i> (Q ₁ -CLF:G) <i>bu-rue</i> (Q ₁ -CLF:THINGS) etc. with a classifier within a nominalized verb: <i>bu-e-ñe-(ye)</i> (Q ₁ -CLF:G-do- FUT.E.NMLZ) | ‘who (man)’ ‘what (thing)’ ‘what (things)’ ‘why (lit. do do what)’ |
| <i>nii</i> (Q ₁) | free | <i>nii</i> | ‘which’ |
| | as modifier | with a classifier <i>nii-e</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:G) <i>nii-mie</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:PR.M) <i>nii-rui</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:DAY) <i>nii-no</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:SP.PLACE) etc. with a classifier and the similative <i>-ze</i> , as in <i>nii-e-ze</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:G-SIMIL) with the classifier-like <i>-ga</i> and <i>-ne</i> : <i>nii-ga</i> (Q ₂ -QUANT) <i>nii-ne</i> (Q ₂ -LOC:NSP) | ‘which (one)’ ‘which (male)’ ‘which (day)’ ‘which (specific place)’ ‘how (lit. in which way)’ ‘how much (lit. which quantity)’ ‘where (lit. which (unspecified) location)’ |

A. INTERROGATIVE WORD *buu* - the reference of *buu* is inherently human.¹⁵¹ Examples (3.94-96) are verbless clauses with a human referent, where *buu* is used as an argument. Example (3.97) is an example of the interrogative form *buu* functioning as head of an intransitive predicate.

(3.94) [oo mame-ki]_{VCS} buu?_{VCC}
 2sg name-CLF:INHER Q₁
 ‘What is your name (lit. your name - who)?’

(3.95) bi-e_{VCS} buu?_{VCC}
 this.CTH-CLF:G Q₁
 ‘Who is this? (lit. this - who)?’

(3.96) buu=dine jaai-di-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-2sg
 ‘Where are you going? (lit. at whose place you go)’

(3.97) buu-di-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁-LK-2sg
 ‘Who are you?’

In (3.98), *buu* is followed by the reported evidential, the enclitic =*ta*.

(3.98) buu-ta_Ajadi-e-ze oo-na_O rai-t-e!_{? PRED}
 Q₁=REPTTHIS.CTH-CLF:G- SIMIL 2sg-N.S/A.TOP say-LK-3
 ‘Who told you this (way)?’

Buu can also be followed by the optional focus marker *-ka*, as in (3.99). The focus marker *-ka* is a very rarely occurring suffix, which codes information that is new, see §13.X).

(3.99) buu-ka_A aki=dino-mo_{LOC} kue_O fai-no!_{PRED}
 Q₁-FOC AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 1sg throw-SMLF
 ‘Somebody (who will!) bring me there (to the place where the sound is coming from).’

¹⁵¹ According to the myth of origin, the question word *bue* ‘what’ was the first word uttered by first ancestor Muruima. It is nowadays also used as an equivalent of name of the Murui language (autonym).

(3.100) illustrates a possessive construction where *buu*, followed by the connective *ie*, functions as a possessor (cf. possessive constructions for third person referents in §5.X):

- (3.100) *bi-e*_{VCS} [*buu ie?*]_{NP:VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G Q₁ CONN
 ‘To whom does this belong? (lit. this - whose)’

The interrogative word *buu* (and the forms based on it) can take further case markers, as illustrated in (3.101-102):

- (3.101) *buu-mona*_{ABL} *jadi-kino*_O *fueo-ti-o?*_{PRED}
 Q₁-ABL this.CLH-CLF:NEWS learn-LK-2sg
 ‘From who did you learn those news?’

- (3.102) *mai* *kue-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *yo-no*_{NPRED} *bu-e-ri* *bi-ñe-di-omoi?*_{PRED}
 HORT 1sg-LOC tell-IMP Q₁-CLF:G-BENEF.CAUS come-NEG-LK-2pl
 ‘Well, tell me, why (lit. because of what) didn’t you come?’

Form with animate reference based on *buu* (and also *nii*) contain pronominal classifiers

-mie (masculine) and *-ñaiño* (feminine) (never the derivational *-ma* and *-ño*, see §4.X), as in

(3.103).

- (3.103) *pero* *i-kino*_O *yo-t-e*_{NPRED} *bu-mie?*_A
 but.Sp ANA.NSP-CLF:NEWS tell-LK-3 Q₁-CLF:PR.M
 ‘What is the name of the man telling the story?’

Buu frequently combines with inanimate classifiers, especially the classifiers *-e* (CLF:G) and *-rue* (CLF:THINGS), with the meaning ‘what (thing)’ and ‘what (things)’. It can also occur with other types of classifiers as well, such as in *bu-do?* (Q₁-CLF:POINTED) that can be translated as ‘of what fruit is this seed (pointed object)’. In (3.104-3.105) *bue* and *burue* function as arguments of a predicate.

- (3.104) *bu-e*_O *ikare* *ñe-iti-o?*_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:G tomorrow.ATT do-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘What will you do tomorrow?’

- (3.105) bu-rue_o gui-ti-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:THINGS eat-LK-2sg
 ‘What (lit. what things) did you eat?’

Buu (as well as *nii*) can also function as ‘fillers’, which ‘fill’ a pause while the speaker intends to remember the desired lexeme (see Chapter 13), as illustrated in (3.106).

- (3.106) buu-mie_s eo riire aizi-d-e..._{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:PR.M very strong.ATT run-LK-3
 ‘He (what is his name?) runs very quickly...’

Another interrogative word which contains *buu* is *bueñe*(*ye*) ‘why (lit. to do what)’.

Bueñe(*ye*) is a semi-grammatialized expression, with *bue* ‘what (thing)’ followed by the verbal root *ñe-* ‘do’ (that occasionally takes the future nominalizer *-ye*), becoming one unit.

In (3.107) *bueñe* forms one phonological word. Occasionally, in the speech of some elders, it still can form two separate phonological words, as in (3.108-109).

- (3.107) bueñe [bi-e jiko]_{PRED} oo_{OBLIQUE} fa-ga?_{PRED}
 WHY this.CLS-CLF:G dog 2sg hit-PASS
 ‘Why was this dog hit by you?’

- (3.108) [bu-e ñe-ye] raire bi-ñe-di-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:G do-E.NMLZ quick.ATT come-NEG-LK-2sg
 ‘Why didn’t you come quickly?’

- (3.109) jadi-e_{VCS} [bu-e ñe-ñe-na-kino]_{VCC}
 this.CTH-CLF:G Q₁-CLF:G do-NEG-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS
 ‘This is a story of what not to do (lit. this - what not doing story)’

The language shows also certain associations between interrogative and indefinite words

| INTERROGATIVE WORD | | INDEFINITE SENSE |
|--------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>buu</i> ‘who’ | > | <i>buu</i> ‘somebody, nobody’ |
| <i>bu-e</i> ‘what’ | > | <i>bu-e</i> ‘something, nothing’ |

The interrogative words with indefinite meanings frequently take the N.S/A.TOP marker *-na*.

In the following examples, the interrogative *buu* ‘who’ can read either as ‘somebody’, as in

(3.110), or as ‘nobody’, as in (3.111). This interpretation depends on the polarity of the verbal

predicate. With the positive value of the predicate, the meaning is ‘somebody’; with the negative, it is ‘nobody’.

(3.110) buu-na_o kue_{O:ADDRESSEE} akata_{PRED} kue uiño-ye-na
 Q₁-N.S/A.TOP 1sg show.IMP 1sg know-E.NMZL.FUT-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Show me somebody for me to know (lit. for my knowing).’

(3.111) bi-rui-do buu-na_o jo-fo-mo_{LOC} i-ñe-d-e=di_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS Q₁-N.S/A.TOP house-clf:cav-LOC exist-NEG-LK-3=CERT
 ‘Today there is nobody home.’

Nominal modifiers that contain interrogative *buu* behave in a similar fashion. This is illustrated in (3.112-113).

(3.112) bu-e-na_o kue_{O:ADDRESSEE} ine_{PRED} kue gui-ye-na
 Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give.IMP 1sg eat-E.NMZL.FUT-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Give me something for me to eat (lit. for my eating).’

(3.113) jae=di Ikato-mo_{LOC} i-gabe_s i-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 PAST=TOP El.Encanto-LOC ANA.NPS-CLF:LONG.LEAF exist-NEG-LK-3
 bu-e-na i-ñe-na_{PRED} dino-mo_{LOC}
 Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-NEG-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘In the past there was no port in El Encanto. There was nothing there.’

B. INTERROGATIVE WORD *nii* - the interrogative word *nii* has a distributive reading, and, in a free form, is best translated as ‘which?’, and occasionally ‘where?’, as in (3.114).

(3.114) nii oo_s yo-ga?_{PRED}
 Q₂ 2sg tell-PASS
 ‘Which (one), did you say?’

Nominal modifiers that contain the interrogative *nii* specify an unknown referent from a known set (usually non-human), e.g. *ni-e* (Q₂-CLF:G) ‘which (thing)?’, *ni-rue?* (Q₂-CLF:THINGS) ‘which (things)?’, *ni-do* (Q₂-CLF:POINTED) ‘which (seed)?’, *ni-rui* (Q₂-CLF:DAY) ‘which (day)?’, *ni-bi?* (Q₂-CLF:SUBS) ‘which (drink)?’, *ni-ñaiño?* (Q₂-CLF:PR.F) ‘which

(female)?'.¹⁵² This is unlike the interrogative *buu* 'who' (and its derivations) that refers to an unknown referent. Some examples are given in (3.115-116):

- (3.115) *nī-no-mona*_{NP:ABL} *kaka-dī*_{OPRED} *nai-naiño*_A [Rata
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL hear-LK-2sg ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F Rata
dīga] *jīfanua?*_{PRED}
 WITH play.E.NMLZ
 'Where (lit. which place) did you here that she played with Rata?'
- (3.116) *nī-rui-do*_{NP:INS} [*dane abido*] *kai*_S *gairi-dī-kai?*_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-INS ONCE AGAIN 1pl gather-LK-1pl
 'When (lit. which day) will we gather again?'

The interrogative *nīi* frequently occurs with the general quantifier suffix *-ga*, as in *nī-ga* (Q₂-QUANT) 'how many, how much', where it can also modify a noun within an NP, as in (3.117), and can further take classifiers, as in (3.118) below.

- (3.117) *nī-ga* *raifi-d-e?*_{PRED} [*nī-ga* *peso?*]
 Q₂-QUANT have.value-LK-3 Q₂-QUANT peso.Sp
 'How much does it cost?'
- (3.118) *nī-ga-ñaiño?*_{NP}
 Q₂-QUANT-CLF:PR.F
 'How many (of females)?'

When accompanied by the general classifier *-e* for 'which (thing)', *nīi* can also take similitive the *-ze*, as in (3.119). As such, it can be further used predicatively, as in (3.120). This is unlike the interrogative word *buu* (*bue*) which cannot occur with the similitive *-ze*.

- (3.19) *nī-e-ze* *nai-mie*_A *oo*_O *fie-no-kai-d-e?*_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-SIMIL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 2sg leave-SMLF-INCP-LK-3
 'How did he leave you?'

¹⁵² Among the Murui, it is customary to ask *nīi?* 'which' upon receiving a gift, as a marker of downgrading the imposition on the person who offers the gift. In such cases, *nīi* does not take a classifier (that would refer back to the physical property of the object that is given).

- (3.120) *ni-do-ze-d-e?*_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:POINTED-SIMIL-LK-3
 ‘Of which (seed) size is it?’

The interrogative words containing *nii* might have indefinite meanings, as in (3.121).

Interrogative forms with *nii*, however, are most commonly used in exclamations, frequently followed by the focus marker *-ka*; cf. *buu-ka* in example (3.99). This is illustrated in the dialogue in (3.122), where the function of *nii-ka* is similar to that of *buu-ka* elsewhere.

- (3.121) *ni-no*_o *i-ñe-d-e*_{PRED} [kai i-ya-no] *izo-i-d-e*_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE exist-NEG-LK-3 1PL exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE similar-LK-3
 ‘(There is) no place similar to ours (lit. whichever place is similar of our place of living).’

- (3.122) L: *kue-ka*_s *jaie=koni* *rao-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 1sg-FOC **before**=LOCAL₁ hunt-LK-1sg
 ‘I used to hunt in the past...’

- A: *ua* *nii-ka...* *ie=ta* *oo*_s *rao-vui-ya*_{PRED}
 really Q₂-FOC CONN=REP 2sg hunt-REM.PST-E.NMLZ
 ‘Really... Whichever (animal)! And so you say you used to hunt!’

3.3.5 *Connective*

Functionally, Murui has one special lexicalized connective that is usually used for textual anaphora, and that cannot be used as a modifier (see Chapter 13).¹⁵³ The connective *ie* ‘and, thus’ can occasionally function as an argument, and can be followed by a variety of nominal markers. As a textual anaphora, it can occur with case markers, e.g. *ie-mo* (CONN-LOC) ‘in this’, *ie-na* (CONN-N.S/A.TOP) ‘from’, *ie-ri* (CONN-BENEF.CAUS) ‘because of this’, *ie=za* (CONN=UNCERT) ‘(so) that’, *ie-ze* (CONN-SIMIL) ‘this way’, *ie=ta* (CONN=REP) ‘so (as said)’,

¹⁵³ The connective *ie* originates in the anaphoric *i-* and the general classifier *-e*. Synchronically, *ie* behaves as a word class on its own right (differently from other demonstratives (Wojtylak, forthcoming-a)).

as well as with the adpositions (see §3.3.6). In (3.123) *ie* refers back to the event of eating, and it takes the locative *-mo*; this can be translated as ‘in this, in this situation, moment’:

- (3.123) *gui-ti-kue*_{PRED} *ie-mo*_{NP:LOC} *rii-d-e*_{PRED} *moo-tiai*_S
 eat-LK-1sg CONN-LOC arrive-LK-3 father-PL.KIN
 ‘I ate, in this (moment) the fathers came.’

The addition/contrast *iadi* ‘but, although’ originates in *ie* followed by the S/A.TOP = *di*, used to express contrastive focus (see Chapter 6).

3.3.6 Adpositions

Murui has a small class of adpositions (postpositions). They cannot be modified. We can distinguish the following types of postpositions:

A. POSTPOSITIONS CONTAINING *di* - there are the postpositions free forms *diga* ‘with, together with’ (cf. *niga* ‘how much’ in §3.3.4 and *naga* ‘each, every’ §3.3.1) and *dine* (cf. the unproductive suffix with locative semantics *-ne* in §3.3.3), which often occur as enclitics. An example of post-head *dine* was given in (3.94), (3.91), and (3.74). *Dine* can also occur as a free form meaning ‘there’; it functions similarly to lexical adverbial demonstratives (§3.3.3).

As such, it can be followed by case markers, as in (3.124):

- (3.124) *dine-na*_{ABL} *bi-ye=za*_{PRED} *kakarei!*_{PRED}
 AT.LOC:NSP-ABL come-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT hear.TH
 ‘(They) have to come back from there, do you hear (me)?!’

The postposition *diga* ‘with, together with’ was shown in (3.115) and (3.52). In emphatic constructions, it can occur as a pre-head position as a modifier to a noun meaning ‘many’, as (3.125), which is a casual exchange between two elders during a gathering in a maloca:

- (3.125) A: [*ni-ga ra-niai*]_{NP:S} *i-t-e!*_{PRED}
 Q2-QUANT thing-COLL exist-LK-3
 ‘There is so many things (lit. how many things there are!)’ (exclamation)

L: [diga raa]_{NP:S} (i-t-e!)_{PRED} erua?
 MANY thing exist-LK-3 see.really
 ‘(There are) so many things! Right...?’ (exclamation)

B. UNDERIVED POSTPOSITIONS - such as *jiai* ‘too (another)’, *daa* ‘the same’, *izoi* ‘like, similar’, *meino* ‘later’, and the enclitic *mei* ‘so, later’, as in (3.126-127).

(3.126) [kue jiai!]
 1sg too
 ‘Me too!’

(3.127) oo [kue izoi]
 2sg 1sg similar
 ‘You are like me.’

Murui has a special adposition locative emphatic *koni*, which can occur in various positions in the clause, as in (3.128) as a clitic; and as a free form in (3.129), and the reciprocal pronoun *koni(-ma/-ño/-ni)* (cf. §3.3.2) in (3.130) and in (3.62).

(3.128) aki dino=koni_{LOC} kome_S mei ua bi-ya_{PRED}
 AUDIT AT.LOC:NSP=LOCAL₁ person so really come-E.NMLZ
 ‘So this way one comes right here.’

(3.129) ie da-ni_S ie uai-do_{INS} oo koni uri-ti-kue_{PRED}
 CONN one-CLF:DR.GR CONN word-INS 2sg LOCAL₁ sit.still-LK-1sg
 ‘And so, with their word alone, I sit still next to you.’

(3.130) dakaiño [ñeniño [yaiño diga]]_S koni-ma-mo rii-d-e_{PRED}
 one.time armadillo chucha WITH each.other-CLF:DR.M-LOC arrive-LK-3
 ‘One time the armadillo and the chucha met (each other).’

D. DERIVED ADPOSITIONS - can be combined with case markers =*di*, *-na*, *-ri*, and the similative *-ze*, such as *jira(di)*, *jira(ri)* ‘because’, *muido(na)* ‘for that reason (lit. on top)’ (see example T2.14 in Appendix), *fakai(na)* and *fakai(ze)* ‘at time/moment that’ (see example T3.29), *emodo(mo)* ‘on top of’, *eki(na)* ‘at the side’, *ruika(na)* ‘(at the other) side (commonly, of the river)’. An example of the postposition *muido* ‘reason’ is given in (3.131).

- (3.131) [kue jito muido] rii-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg son REASON arrive-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I did not arrive because of my son.’

3.3.7 Interjections

Murui has a number of conventionalized emotional exclamations. The most frequent ones are *jɨ* ‘yes’, *hmm* ‘hm’, and *aa* ‘ah’. They are used to express understanding or recognition, and are frequent in all types of genres in Murui (see §13.3). Another type of an interjection is *oo* that is used to respond to someone’s call. The sound ↓*ih*, used to express a sign of agreement and backchanneling, is used primarily by older speakers of Murui. Another conventionalized interjection in the language is *ai* ‘oh!’ that is used to express various types of surprise or disbelief (it has no special phonological characteristics). The interjection *oo* is used to answer one’s calls, and the interjection *ñee* functions commonly as a filler that gives the speaker time while they get their thoughts together (see §13.4). There are also interjections that are characteristic to Murui songs, such as *jii*, *juu*, and *jaa* (§13.3.3). See also Chapter 13 on the attention getting *baa* as interjections.

Murui interjection stand outside the grammatical, phonological or lexical system of the language. Not only can any morphological processes can apply to them, they involve sounds that generally do not occur in the language, such as the pulmonic ingressive airflow in ↓*ih*.

3.4 Summary

The morphosyntactic characteristics of nouns, verbs, and adjectives with those of the closed classes are compared in Table 3.5 below.¹⁵⁴ If a member of a word-class has to be derived in order to occur in the certain function, it is marked with an asterisk. In Murui, a member of any class can be used as head of an intransitive predicate; however, only verbs can be used as heads of transitive predicates. As such, they can occur with a rich array of verbal suffixes. The occurrence of verbal suffixes with other word classes limited, with adjectives having the most possibilities. Nouns are prototypical heads of an NP; open and closed word classes have to have certain derivational processes applied to them function as heads of an NP (i.e. verbs and adjectives have to be nominalized; the majority of the members of closed word classes have to take a classifier). Adverbs, members of the semi-open word class originate in adjectives, function as modifiers of a verb.

Table 3.4 Comparison between word classes in Murui

| Functions | Open word classes | | | Closed word classes | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----|------|---------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|-----|--------|
| | N | V | Adj | Quant, Intens | Pro | Dem | Inter | Conn | Adp | Interj |
| Head intransitive predicate | * | yes | yes | * | * | * | * | * | no | no |
| Head transitive predicate | no | yes | * | no | no | no | no | no | no | no |
| Verbal morphology | * | yes | some | * | * | * | * | * | * | no |
| Head of NP | yes | * | yes | * | * | * | * | no | * | no |
| Modifier to noun in NP | * | * | yes | yes | yes | * | * | * | no | no |
| Modifier to verb | no | no | yes | yes | no | * | * | * | no | no |

¹⁵⁴ Semi-closed class are not included since their members contain member of both open and closed word classes.

4 Noun structure and classifiers

4.1 Noun structure

The Murui noun phrase (NP) can be defined as a grammatical constituent that function as arguments of a predicate. Murui noun phrases can also head intransitive predicates. The head of a simple NP can be a single noun, which can be modified by other nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and number words. The head of the NP usually follows its modifiers, as illustrated in (4.1-2):

(4.1) [bi-e jiko_{HEAD}]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog
 ‘this dog’

(4.2) [atava ri-ñi_{HEAD}]_{NP}
 chicken woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘(female) chicken’

More complex NPs include so called ‘nominal modifiers’, which are formed from other word classes by means of classifiers (suffixes). This is illustrated with the classifier-repeater *-ko* for ‘dog’ (from *jiko* ‘dog’) in (4.3). These also include nominalizations (see Chapter 3) and possessive constructions (see Chapter 5), as in (4.4).

(4.3) kue-kONP
 1sg-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘my (dog)’

(4.4) jea-re-di-kONP
 dirty-ATT-LK-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘dirty (dog)’

Structurally, Murui nouns are less ‘complex’ than verbs. They allow up to three structural positions, which can be filled simultaneously, and are marked only once. The structural positions are:¹⁵⁵

- (a) Classifiers (discussed in this chapter),
- (b) Number (plural, kinship plural, collective, see Chapter 5),
- (c) Case (topical S/A, topical non-S/A subject, ablative, instrumental, privative, benefactive-causal, see Chapter 6 on grammatical relations).

The structure of Murui noun illustrating structural positions on noun is given in Scheme 3.1 in §3.1.1. Murui nominals are derived from various members of open, semi-closed, and closed word classes by means of classifiers. They can take further number and case marking (see §3.1.1). An illustrative example of a nominal with an adjectival root, followed by an animate classifier and a case marker is given in (4.5). (See also Chapter 9 on NPs with adjectival root).

- (4.5) *mare-ñaiñua-na*_{NP:O} *uiño-t-o?*_{PRED}
 good.ATT-CLF:PR.F.PL-N.S/A.TOP know-LK.2sg
 ‘Do you know (those) beautiful (females)?’

Within a simple NP (that contains a modifier followed by noun), modifiers usually do not agree with the head noun (but see also (5.105) in §5.2.3); modifying elements are always marked with the generic classifier *-e*, regardless the number or animacy, as in (4.6) below:

- (4.6) [*da-je* *nokae*]_{NP}
 one-CLF:G canoe
 ‘one canoe’

¹⁵⁵ There are some dependencies between noun classes, number, and classifier types in their co-occurrence (see §4.2.2.3).

Agreement is indicative of the distinction between an NP and a clause. In Murui classifiers (as well as classifier-repeaters) occur obligatorily as agreement markers in equative clauses (with the verbless copula subject VCS and the verbless copula complement VCC). This is illustrated in (4.7), which is a juxtaposition of two nominal forms in the VCS and VCC function, being therefore a full sentence.

- (4.7) *bi-ya*_{NP:VCS} *mare-ya*_{NP:VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:CRAFT good.ATT-CLF:CRAFT
 ‘This boat is good (lit. this craft - good (craft).)’

Murui has two adpositions, the locational *dine* ‘at’ and the comitative *diga* ‘with’ (see §3.3.6 in Chapter 3). Within an NP, they are always postposed to the head noun, as illustrated in (4.8-9) below:

- (4.8) *Rubio*_S [*Lucio dine*]_{LOCALTIONAL} *i-ñe?*_{PRED}
 Rubio Lucio AT.LOC:NSP exist-NEG
 ‘Rubio isn’t at Lucio’s?’

- (4.9) *Clementinas* [*Lucio diga*]_{COMITATIVE} *jaai-ya*_{PRED}
 Clementina Lucio WITH go-E.NMLZ
 ‘Clementina went with Lucio.’

Murui has no predicative possession (there is no verb ‘have’). Within a possessive NP, a dependent noun (Possessor R) precedes the head noun (Possessed D) (see also Chapter 5 for details). This is illustrated in (4.10), that shows the proper noun *Franciasca* functioning as a modifier within an NP.

- (4.10) [*Franciasca*_S *jo-fo*]_{POSSESSIVE}
 Franciasca house-CLF:CAV
 ‘house of Franciasca’

Alternatively, the D can be expressed by the connective element, where the dependent noun is marked by an enclitic *ie*, as in as in *Franciasca=ie* for ‘Franciasca’s’. Other types of

possessive NP's include the genitive suffix *ie*, as in *kueie* in (4.11), or the classifiers, as illustrated in (4.3) above.

- (4.11) [bi-e jai-ra]_{VSC} kue-*ie*_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G paddle-CLF:NEUT 1sg-_{GEN}
 ‘This paddle is mine.’

There are no conjunctions for coordination of two NPs. Usually, the postposition *diga* or the privative case *-nino* is used for the head noun in the second NP, as in (4.12-13):

- (4.12) [Walter [Tadave diga]]_S bi-ya_{PRED}
 Walter Tadave WITH come-E.NMLZ
 ‘Walter and Tadave (lit. Walter with Tadave) came.’

- (4.13) [[Lucio jiza-nino]_S rii-aka-ñe-d-_e_{PRED}
 Lucio daughter-PRIV arrive-DES-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Lucio doesn’t want to arrive without his daughter.’

The following section focus on the multiple classifier system in Murui (see §4.2). It is followed by a discussion of classifier-like markers in §4.3, classifier stacking in §4.4, and an overview of functions of classifiers in Murui in §4.5.

4.2 Multiple classifier system

A general overview of the Murui multiple classifier system (§4.2.1) is followed by a discussion on various types of classifiers: physical property classifiers (§4.2.2.1), animate classifiers (§4.2.2.2-3), abstract classifiers (§4.2.2.4), concrete classifiers (§4.2.2.5), and classifiers-repeaters (§4.2.2.6-7).

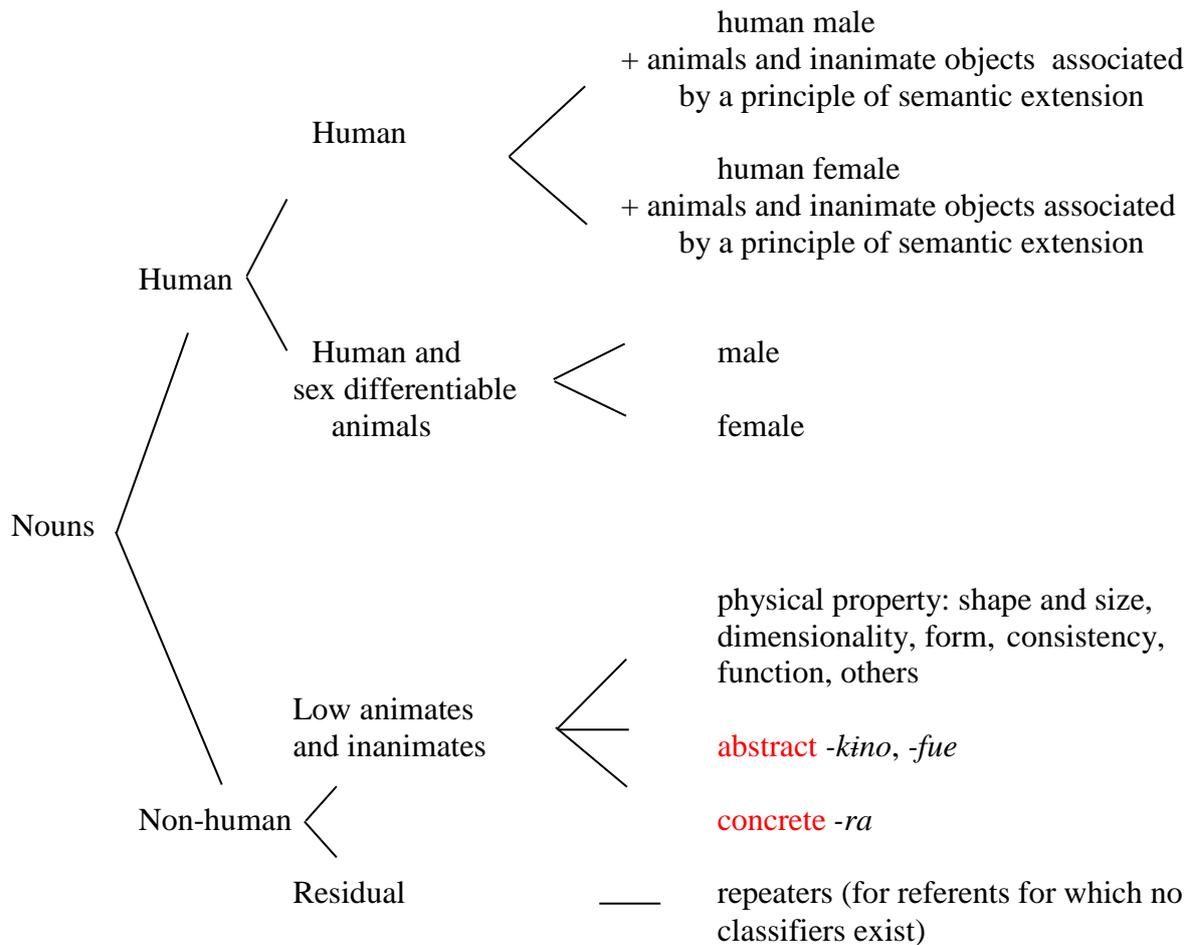
4.2.1 General overview

One of the most salient characteristics of the nominal morphology of Murui is a large multiple classifier system that consists of more than 100 classifiers used in a variety of morphosyntactic contexts. The system is *semi-open* due to the occurrence of repeaters

(partially repeated nouns) that can occur in the classifier slot. All types of classifiers are bound suffixes that can be either mono- or disyllabic in form. Generally, disyllabic forms of classifiers appear to be combinations of monosyllabic classifiers but their meanings are not always compositional.

In terms of classifier semantics, Murui nouns are divided into those that have *human* and *non-human* referents, and *repeaters*. The former category distinguishes between: humans (male-female), humans and sex differentiable animals (male-female), and other human referents (such as collective group of humans). The category of non-humans differentiates between low animals and inanimate objects that characterize their referents in terms of their physical properties and of their abstractness-concreteness. Repeaters are the residual category in that they are a way of referring to nouns for which no classifier is available. They occur in the classifier slot but do not classify nouns. Their interpretations are semantically very limited: each repeater refers to only one particular entity for which no proper classifier exists. The semantic domains of Murui classifiers are presented in Diagram 4.1 below.

Diagram 4.1 Semantics of established classifiers in Murui



In Murui the same (or almost the same) sets of classifier morphemes can occur in numerous morphosyntactic contexts. These include:

- a) (free) nouns, e.g. *cheme-ki* (brain-CLF:INHER) ‘brains’;
- b) (bound) noun roots, e.g. *defo* (nose-CLF:CAV) ‘nose’;
- c) verbs (as nominalizers), e.g. *to-ti-mani* (flow- LK-CLF:BIG.RIVER) ‘(river that) flows’;
- d) adjectives, e.g. *mare-na* (good-CLF:TREE) ‘good (tree)’;
- e) number roots, e.g. *da-na* (one-CLF:TREE) ‘one (tree)’;
- f) pronouns (1st and 2nd person), e.g. *kue-do* (1sg-CLF:POINTED) ‘my (seed)’;

g) demonstrative roots, e.g. *bi-foro* (this.CTS-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘this (feather-shaped palm leaf)’, *i-no* (ANA.NSP-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘any (non-specific place)’;

h) interrogative roots, e.g. *ni-bani* (Q2-CLF:PLANK) ‘which (plank)’.

The classifiers differ in how obligatory they are in those different environments. Table 4.1 at the end of this section offers a brief summary of classifier occurrence in all possible morphosyntactic environments in Murui. Classifiers can have up to three structural positions in the nominal structure (see Chapter 3 §3.1.1), as shown in (4.14) below.

(4.14) da-be-kuiro-kai
 one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL-CLF:STEM
 ‘five (cigarettes)’

Many nouns in Murui can be used as repeaters, e.g. *jiko*¹⁵⁶ *aiyo-ko* (dog big-CLF.REP:DOG) ‘dog is big (lit. dog - big (dog))’, *nokae jano-kae* (canoe small-CLF.REP:CANOE) ‘canoe is small (lit. canoe - big (canoe))’. This is especially visible in the integration of Spanish loans into the Murui language, e.g. Spanish *semana* ‘week’ can be referred to as *da-mana* (one-CLF:REP:WEEK) ‘one week’, *bi-mana* (this.CTS-CLF:REP:WEEK) ‘this (week)’ (see §4.2.2.6-7).

In the discourse classifiers have anaphoric functions, and mark agreement in head-modifier constructions (see §4.1). There is no agreement within an NP, and nominal modifiers are marked with a generic classifier *-e* (with the allomorph *-je*, Chapter 2), regardless of their semantics or number. This is illustrated on a number of nominals modifying head nouns. In (4.X) a nominal with the demonstrative root *bi-* ‘this’ modifies a noun with an animate referent *iima* ‘man’; in (4.X) the demonstrative *bai-* ‘that’ modifies a noun that has an animate referent and is further followed by collective number; in (4.X) a

¹⁵⁶ The translation of *jiko* covers both ‘dog’ and ‘jaguar’.

nominal has the number word *da-* ‘one’ as base, and it modified a noun with an inanimate referent; in (4.X) a demonstrative with a noun with an inanimate referent marked by number:

(4.15) [bi-e ñi-ma]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘this man’

(4.16) [bi-e ñi-ma-ñiai]_{NP}
 this.CTS -CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M -COLL
 ‘these men (general)’

(4.17) [da-je ñeki-na]_{NP}
 one-CLF:G chambira-CLF:TREE
 ‘one *chambira* palm tree’

(4.18) [bai-e ñeki-na-iai]_{NP}
 that.CTS-CLF:G chambira-CLF:TREE-PL
 ‘those *chambira* trees’

Table 4.1 Occurrence of Murui classifiers in different morphosyntactic environments

| Classifier type | | Noun (free and bound) | verbs | Adjectives | Pronouns (1 st and 2 nd) | Demonstratives | Number words | Interrogative words |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|---|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Physical property classifiers | | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Animate classifiers | pronominal | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | derivational | yes | yes (some) | no | no | no | yes | no |
| Abstract and concrete classifiers | | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Repeaters | | yes (specific nouns) | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |

4.2.2 *Classifiers*

Multiple classifier system of Murui has a number of classifier types. Given their semantics, functions and morphosyntactic loci that they occur in, the language distinguishes between the following classifier types:

- PHYSICAL PROPERTY CLASSIFIERS - referents are characterized in terms of their physical properties,
- ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - based on inherent sex-distinction male vs. female distinction for humans and sex differentiable animals,
- ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE CLASSIFIERS - denoting abstract concepts and unspecified concrete objects,
- REPEATERS - partially repeated non-human nouns used for referents for which no classifiers exist.

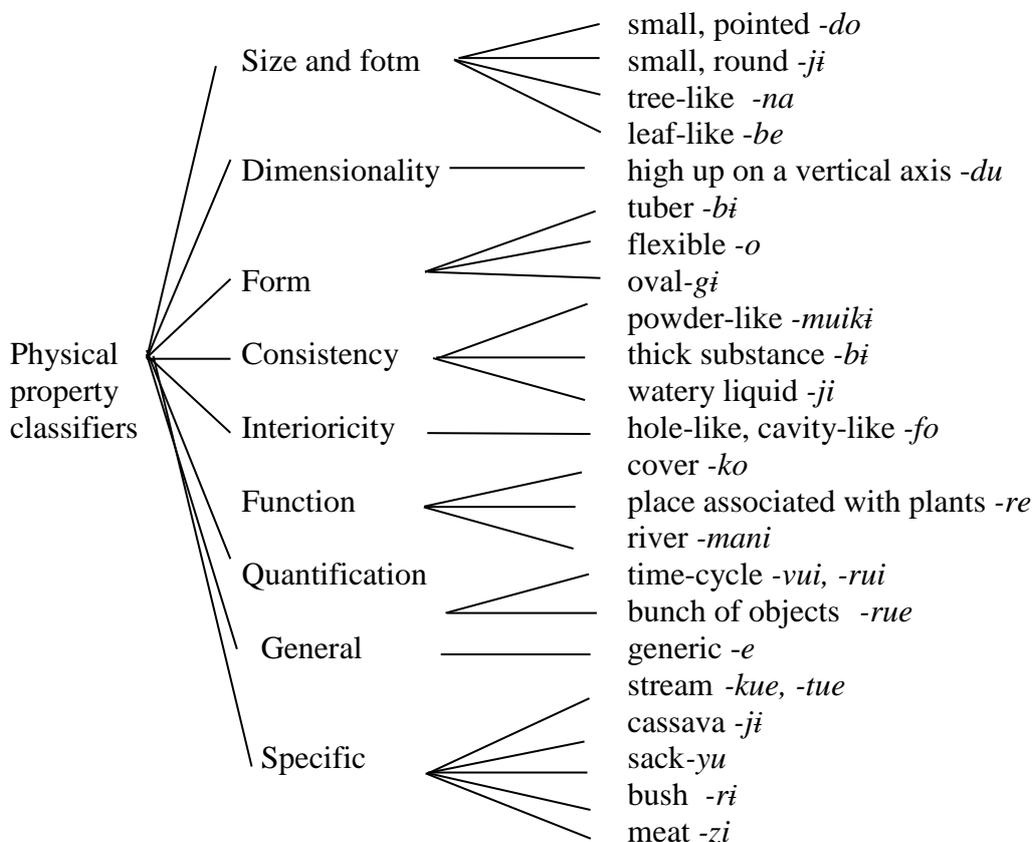
Physical property classifiers form the biggest classifier set in the language. The list of established classifiers consists of at least 100 physical property classifiers. Those classifiers denote primarily physical properties of inanimate objects, such as shape, form, dimensionality, consistency, etc. Murui has also a small set of animate classifiers that have human and sex differentiable animals as their referents. They are based on natural gender distinction that extends beyond human male vs. human female; assignment of gender to non-human referents is related to their mythological associations and properties, such as size, dangerousness, shape, sex-related tasks. There is also a set of animate classifiers with collective meanings. Forms of animate classifiers have some special properties as they interact with morphosyntactic environments they occur in and, more importantly, with number. Abstract and concrete classifiers designate abstract concepts and unspecified concrete objects concepts. The last type of Murui classifiers are repeaters that are considered

a type of classifiers with nonhumans. They do not classify nouns but ‘only’ occur in the classifier slot. Their interpretations are semantically very limited. The existence of repeaters makes the system of multiple classifiers semi-open. Classifiers and repeaters are generally mutually exclusive. We begin with the analysis of the Murui physical property classifiers.

4.2.2.1 Physical property classifiers

Physical property classifiers characterize referents for their shape and size, dimensionality, form, consistency, interioricity, functional properties, interioricity, function, and others physical property-related meanings. The semantics of a sample of Murui physical property classifiers are illustrated in Diagram 4.2 (semantic groupings which have many subcategories, are lumped together under ‘others’).

Diagram 4.2 Semantics of a sample of forms of Murui physical property classifiers



Some physical property classifiers can be *homonymous* in that they have the same form but different semantics, e.g. the classifier *-bi* means either a ‘form of a thick tuber’, as in *maika-bi* ‘stem of sweet yucca *maika-ji*’, or a ‘thick substance’, as in *jaiga-bi* ‘cahuana (type of drink)’. Some classifiers are also semantically related and are *polysemous*, e.g. the classifier *-ko* stands for round things, as in *nofi-ko* ‘rock’, but can also have a meaning of a ‘cover’ and ‘container’, as in *juye-ko* ‘pot (bowl made out of totumo fruit or gourd)’, *taai-ko* ‘empty house’.¹⁵⁷ Semantics of a few classifiers seem to go beyond this. The classifier *-ji* for ‘cassava’ (in the Diagram 4.1 under ‘specific’) could be in fact a subsumed under *-ji* ‘tube-shape’ as classifiers seem to have a certain amount of semantic abstraction related to their physical properties.

On the morphological grounds, physical property classifiers can be divided according to their forms, which can be either mono- or disyllabic. While semantics of monosyllabic forms are more general in nature, meanings of the disyllabic forms are more specific. In many cases, the meanings of disyllabic classifiers are not compositional. There are more than 50 monosyllabic classifiers in Murui; their forms are listed in Table 4.2. The number of disyllabic classifiers is estimated at 45-50; as listed in Table 4.3.

¹⁵⁷ The meaning ‘cover’ is possibly a semantic extinction of the meaning ‘container’.

Table 4.2 Forms and meanings of established monosyllabic classifiers in Murui

| FORM AND GLOSS | MEANING | EXAMPLES |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| CONSISTENCY | | |
| <i>-bi</i> (CLF:SUBS) | thick substance, jelly-like | <i>jaigabi</i> ‘cahuana (type of drink)’; <i>yerabi</i> ‘liquid tobacco when it is thick in form’; <i>rozibi</i> ‘cahuana made of pineapple’; <i>nekabi</i> ‘cahuana drink made of <i>nekazi</i> (type of umarí fruit)’; <i>nemobi</i> ‘cahuana made of <i>nemozi</i> , umarí type’ |
| <i>-ji</i> (CLF:WATERY) | not thick; water-like, sap-like | <i>dioji</i> ‘sap made from tobacco’; <i>booraji</i> ‘gasoline’; <i>gonono-ji</i> ‘aguardiente made of <i>gonono-na</i> (<i>Cinnamomum verum</i>)’; <i>monaiyaji</i> ‘sea’; <i>boyaji</i> ‘urine’ |
| DIMENSIONALITY | | |
| <i>-du</i> (CLF:HIGH.AXIS) | high up on a vertical axis | <i>idu</i> ‘height, hill, peak, mountain’; <i>ukudu</i> ‘stars’ |
| FORM | | |
| <i>-be</i> (CLF:LEAF) | plain and thin objects, similar to common type of leaves (oval, oblong) | <i>jiibibe</i> ‘coca leaf’; <i>diobe</i> ‘tobacco leaf’; <i>muzebe</i> ‘maraca (type of fruit) leaf’; <i>rabe</i> ‘piece of paper’; <i>ukube</i> ‘money (note)’; <i>omabe</i> ‘fish tail’; <i>jogobe</i> ‘chest’ |
| <i>-bi</i> (CLF:STEM.TUBER) | stem of certain trees, tuberous in form | <i>maikabi</i> ‘stem of sweet yucca <i>maikaji</i> ’ |
| <i>-da</i> (CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT) | long, straight stick-like; also a valley (between two hills) | <i>jiguida</i> ‘walking stick, cane’; <i>jigida</i> ‘type of long straight fish trap’; <i>izeda</i> ‘type of long straight fish trap, smaller than <i>jigida</i> ’; <i>ida</i> (in addition can also denote) ‘a valley’ |
| <i>-fai</i> (CLF:SHORT.THICKER) | arm-like shape | <i>yoefai</i> ‘machete’ |
| <i>-gi</i> (CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) | objects with an oval shape, bigger and thicker in form | <i>jebegi</i> ‘belly, stomach (from <i>jebe</i> ‘belly)’; <i>ifogi</i> ‘head’; <i>jigi</i> ‘egg’; <i>jifikogi</i> ‘caimo (type of fruit) pit’; <i>unegi</i> ‘beehive’ |
| <i>-ji</i> (CLF:TUBER) | specific form of roots with a tuber shape | <i>juiyiji</i> ‘yucca tuber’; <i>jakaiji</i> ‘type of yam tuber (<i>ñame</i> in Sp.)’; <i>kioji</i> ‘type of yam tuber (<i>ñame</i> in Sp.)’; <i>refiji</i> ‘batata (type of yam) tuber’ |
| <i>-o</i> (CLF:FLEX) | long, flexible, form of rope, string, cord | <i>unao</i> ‘type of liana (<i>Malpighiaceae Banisteriopsis</i>)’; <i>jaio</i> ‘snake’; <i>nuiio</i> ‘anaconda’; <i>zuruo</i> ‘jungle snake’ |
| FUNCTION | | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| - <i>fe</i> (CLF:STRING.THICK) | line-like, soft, flexible, thick; usually lines used for transporting | <i>jofe</i> ‘long muscles of the back’; <i>jirife</i> ‘transporting lines’; <i>fenafe</i> ‘transporting lines made from <i>fenana</i> ’; <i>izirafe</i> ‘yucca squeezer (Sp. <i>mata frio</i>)’ |
| - <i>kue</i> (CLF:BIG.STREAM) | big streams (also for rivers) | <i>Uiyokue</i> ‘Cara-Paraná river (tributary to Putumayo)’; <i>Minekue</i> ‘river of the clan <i>Meine</i> ’; <i>Bozikue</i> ‘one of the names of the rivers’ |
| - <i>ko</i> (CLF:COVER) | objects that cover | <i>ananeko</i> ‘maloca’; <i>taaiko</i> ‘empty house’ |
| - <i>re</i> (CLF:PLANT.PLACE) | location, opening in the jungle associated with certain plants, field | <i>ñekire</i> ‘place of <i>ñekie</i> , where the chambira palm grows (Sp. <i>chambiral</i>)’; <i>oogore</i> ‘banana plantation’; <i>diore</i> ‘place where <i>diona</i> (tobacco trees) grow’; <i>jifire</i> ‘place where <i>ají</i> grows’; <i>jiibire</i> ‘place where coca grows’ |
| - <i>tue</i> (CLF:RIVER) | small streams (also for rivers) | <i>Kotue</i> ‘Igara-Parana river’ |

INTERIORICITY

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| - <i>ba</i> (CLF:WIDE.CAV) | cavity form, wide, underground | <i>iba</i> ‘hole underground, wide’; <i>jakoba</i> ‘stone axe’ |
| - <i>fo</i> (CLF:CAV) | cavity form, shape of a hole (cf. the adverb <i>foo</i> ‘inside’) | <i>jefo</i> ‘ear’; <i>dofo</i> ‘nose’; <i>jofo</i> ‘house’; <i>kiifo</i> ‘honey hive’ |

GENERIC

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| - <i>e</i> (CLF:G) | unspecified for shape, form, size, generic (can further be pluralized with plural number markers), can have animate as well as abstract meanings | <i>jiibie</i> ‘coca (general, powder)’; <i>enie</i> ‘land, ground’; <i>oogoe</i> ‘(cluster of, bunch of) <i>oogoe</i> banana cluster (general)’; <i>diue</i> ‘tobacco (general)’; <i>ñekie</i> ‘ <i>chambira</i> palm (general)’; <i>kajue</i> ‘rubber (general)’; <i>izie</i> ‘teeth (cf. <i>izido</i> ‘tooth)’; <i>urue</i> ‘child’ (cf. <i>uruki</i> ‘children’); <i>jakie</i> ‘fear’; <i>jofue</i> ‘housing’; <i>nokae</i> ‘canoe (general)’ |
| - <i>rue</i> (CLF:THINGS) | unspecified for shape, form, size; generic, non-singular (can further be pluralized with plural number markers) | <i>Mika rarue</i> ‘things of the Mika people’, <i>enirue</i> ‘grounds, lands’, <i>dirue</i> ‘blood’ |

QUANTIFICATION

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| - <i>ru</i> (CLF:DAY) | time cycle of one day | <i>yera-ru</i> ‘the day when <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco) is sent out to invite for a dance ritual; <i>moo irui</i> ‘the day of the Lord’ |
| - <i>vui</i> (CLF:CYCLE) | time cycle of a month | <i>fivui</i> ‘moon’ |
| - <i>mona</i> (CLF:SEASON) | time cycle of a season, a year | <i>fjemona</i> ‘summer’; <i>jiaimona</i> ‘next year’ |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| -rie (CLF:FEW) | some, a few objects | <i>dakinorie</i> ‘some, a few stories’ |
| -yai (CLF:TOGETHER) | heaped up, piled up together | <i>dioyai</i> ‘tobacco seed heaped up together’; <i>jiibiyai</i> ‘sowed coca piled up’; <i>jeayai</i> ‘dirty (things) piled up’; <i>iniriyai</i> ‘clothes piled up’ |
| Shape and size | | |
| -do (CLF:POINTED) | pointed in shape, typically smaller | <i>eedo</i> ‘thorn, splinter’; <i>nomedo</i> ‘fruit of <i>nomena</i> avocado tree’; <i>izido</i> ‘tooth’; <i>yerado</i> ‘ <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco) shaped as if it was wrapped in a leaf’; <i>muido</i> ‘end point on the roof of a maloca’; <i>beyado</i> ‘corn cob ear of maize’; <i>zikorado</i> ‘penis’ |
| -do (CLF:SMALL.BUNCH) | small and roundish plant, usually small newly growing plants | <i>zirikofu</i> ‘small grape plant (cf. ; <i>zirikona</i> ‘grape tree’) |
| -gai (CLF:NODE) | tree branch, node | <i>diogai</i> ‘branch of tobacco tree’, <i>jiibigai</i> ‘branch of coca tree’ |
| -gai (CLF:CORD.STRING) | form of a string, cord | <i>namobegai</i> ‘cord made from a ripe <i>chambira</i> palm’; <i>fooigai</i> ‘cord of a type of fiber’ |
| -gai (CLF:BASKET) | basket-shaped, knitted | <i>kirigai</i> ‘basket’; <i>jiibigai</i> ‘special basket use to carry coca’; <i>ñekigai</i> ‘special basket made from leaves of <i>chambira</i> palm’ |
| -go (CLF:SKIN.SACK) | leather-like form, also skin-like sack | <i>jebego</i> ‘guts, intestine’ (cf. <i>jebe</i> ‘belly, stomach’) |
| -goi (CLF:SKIN) | skin-like, round, with a hole inside | <i>jiibigoi</i> ‘container to crush coca’; <i>moigoi</i> ‘big round bottom, bum’; <i>merogoi</i> ‘skin of <i>mero</i> peccary’ |
| -ji (CLF:SMALL.ROUND) | small, round, bulb-like forms | <i>komaiji</i> ‘seed of <i>milpesos</i> fruit’; <i>jiñiji</i> ‘testicles’; <i>dioji</i> ‘tobacco bulb (a capsule that includes seeds)’; <i>jifiji</i> ‘round chilli fruit (Sp. <i>aji</i>)’; <i>koniyyiji</i> ‘grain of sand’; <i>jiibiji</i> ‘coca wrapped in a ball-like-form’ |
| -kai (CLF:STEM) | straight, not thick, long in relation to width (mostly stem of certain trees) | <i>gononokai</i> ‘stem of the sweet cane’; <i>eikai</i> ‘toe’; <i>onokai</i> ‘finger’; <i>omakai</i> ‘tail (of an animal)’; <i>diokai</i> ‘cigarette’; <i>riñokai</i> ‘thumb (lit. woman’s finger)’ |
| -ki (CLF:ROUND) | shape of average-sized fruits, round | <i>jagai</i> ‘fruit of <i>jagairai</i> ’; <i>jimeki</i> ‘fruit of peach palm (Sp. <i>chontaduro</i>)’ |
| -ko (CLF:SPHERICAL) | inanimate spherical roundish objects, this category subsumes ‘round containers’ | <i>guirako</i> ‘plate (lit. round thing to eat)’; <i>jiibiko</i> ‘container for tobacco’; <i>yerako</i> ‘container for <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco)’ |
| -rai (CLF:BUSH.NODE) | shape of short bush-like trees, usually vase-shaped, can also be a tree branch | <i>oberai</i> ‘black umarí tree’; <i>jagairai</i> ‘type of tree which gives the <i>jagai</i> fruit (Sp. <i>castaño silvestre</i>)’ |
| -rai (CLF:STUD) | stud, pole-like shape | <i>gogui-rai</i> ‘supporting pole/stud of a maloca’ |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| -ru (CLF:OVAL) | big container or a bag, of any shape | <i>jiibi-ru</i> ‘container (e.g. Sp. <i>totuma</i>) to keep coca powder’; <i>yeraru</i> ‘container to keep <i>yera</i> ’; <i>muzeru</i> ‘container made of the <i>maraca</i> fruit’; <i>boraru</i> ‘yellow container’ |
| -yi (CLF:OVAL) | oval-shaped, big | <i>moiyi</i> ‘bottom, rear’ |
| -yi (CLF:BUSHY) | objects that have a set of smaller objects growing out of something (usually fruits with many leaves, or small palm-like trees); also body parts | <i>roziyi</i> ‘pineapple fruit’; <i>jifikoyi</i> ‘ <i>caimo</i> fruit’; <i>ñekiyi</i> ‘small <i>chambira</i> palm’; <i>onoyi</i> ‘hand’; <i>eiyi</i> ‘foot’ |
| -yu (CLF:SACK) | form of a sack | <i>iniyu</i> ‘sack of clothes (cf. <i>iniroi</i> ‘clothes’); <i>faiyu</i> ‘nest of <i>mochilero</i> birds (<i>Psarocolius</i>) that looks like a sack’; <i>bozayu</i> ‘big sack (cf. <i>bolsa</i> Sp.)’; <i>jebeyu</i> ‘stomach sack (cf. <i>jebe</i> ‘belly’); <i>komaiyu</i> ‘ <i>komaiji</i> fruit in a bag’ |
| -zi (CLF:OVAL.SMALL) | small, short, pointed (usually fruits) | <i>nekazi</i> ‘green umarí fruit’; <i>nemozi</i> ‘black umarí’, <i>razi</i> ‘a piece of a stick, a stick which has been cut’ |

SPECIFIC

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| -bai (CLF:NODE.LEAF) | nodes with small leaves | <i>rabai</i> ‘nodes with small leaves’ |
| -ji (CLF:CASSAVA) | cassava | <i>airiji</i> ‘cassava (prepared)’ |
| -na (CLF:TREE) | tree | <i>amena</i> ‘wood, trees (general)’; <i>zirikona</i> ‘grape tree’; <i>jiibina</i> ‘coca tree’; <i>ñekina</i> ‘ <i>chambira</i> palm tree’ |
| -ro (CLF:STRING) | thin, long, string-like, straight (related to - <i>foro</i> CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) | <i>ñekiro</i> ‘string from <i>chambira</i> palm’ |
| -roi (CLF:CLOTHES) | clothes | <i>iniroi</i> ‘clothes’; <i>iniraroi</i> ‘sleeping sheet’ |
| -ri (CLF:TREE.CLUMP) | clump of trees or smaller bush-like plants | <i>oogori</i> ‘clump of banana plant’; <i>zogori</i> ‘bush and plants that grow at <i>zogoi</i> ‘water pit’; <i>beyari</i> ‘clump of maize plant’ |
| -ta (CLF:METAL) | made out of metal | <i>jiibita</i> ‘can of coca powder’; <i>yoeta</i> ‘machette’; <i>jata</i> ‘metal axe’ |
| -ya (CLF:CRAFT) | referring to a craft (e.g. bote, plane) | <i>raya</i> ‘bote’, <i>yoeya</i> ‘bote made of iron, metal’; <i>feeya</i> ‘airplane’; <i>Kataya</i> ‘boat, plane which is called Kata’ |
| -ye (CLF:RIVER) | river | <i>iye</i> ‘river’; <i>mareye</i> ‘good, nice river’ |
| -zi (CLF:MEAT) | raw meat | <i>merozi</i> ‘meat of <i>mero</i> peccary’; <i>yikizi</i> ‘fish meat (cf. <i>yiki</i> ‘fish)’; <i>jigadizi</i> ‘meat of <i>jigadima</i> tapir’ |

Table 4.3 Forms and meanings of established disyllabic classifiers in Murui

| FORM AND GLOSS | MEANING | EXAMPLES |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| CONSISTENCY | | |
| <i>-bero</i> (CLF:MASS) | dough consistency, small in size, squashed, smashed | <i>juiyibero</i> ‘mass of yucca’; <i>enibero</i> ‘mass of land’; <i>yerabero</i> ‘mass of <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco)’ |
| FORM | | |
| <i>-bani</i> (CLF:PLANK) | long, plain, plank-shaped, wider | <i>biiirabani</i> ‘bench (lit. plank to lay down)’; <i>kuerabani</i> ‘desk (lit. plank to write)’; <i>tigiabani</i> ‘steps to go up to cut (cf. <i>tigi(de)</i> ‘go up to cut’); <i>kodabani</i> ‘a plank for roasting’ |
| <i>-baza</i> (CLF:WIDE) | wide, not long | <i>zapabaza</i> ‘wide shoe (cf. Sp. <i>zapato</i> ‘shoe’) |
| <i>-beyo</i> (CLF:BOX) | box-like form | <i>diobeyo</i> ‘box of cigarettes’ |
| <i>-bogi</i> (CLF:CYLINDRICAL) | cylindrical, round, big, ball-like | <i>farebogi</i> ‘ball of fat’; <i>meebogi</i> ‘heavy ball’; <i>jebobogi</i> ‘big-bellied’ |
| <i>-beko</i> (CLF:FLATTER) | flatter looking objects (not completely round) | <i>omabeko</i> ‘flatter tail (of an animal; not completely round)’; <i>uiyobeko</i> ‘fruit of <i>platanillo</i> plant’ |
| <i>-gobe</i> (CLF:PLATFORM) | platform-like in shape | <i>bigobe</i> ‘this platform, deck’ |
| <i>-tiru</i> (CLF:ROUND.SMALL) | small round; smallness of animates | <i>itiru</i> ‘form like a shot glass’; <i>uruetiru</i> ‘small children’ |
| FUNCTION | | |
| <i>-beji</i> (CLF:SIDE.WATER) | side of the river | <i>bibeji</i> ‘this side of the river (cf. <i>bibezi</i> in Minika)’ |
| <i>-kuiro</i> (CLF:PEEL) | peel, skin, rind | <i>onokuiro</i> ‘gloves (lit. hand’s skin)’; <i>oogokuiro</i> ‘banana peel’; <i>eiyi ikuiro</i> ‘sock (lit. foot’s skin)’; <i>uikuiro</i> ‘upper eyelid’; <i>dofokuiro</i> ‘trunk, snout of an animal such as anteater (lit. nose’s skin)’ |
| SHAPE AND SIZE | | |
| <i>-beño</i> (CLF:PLAIN.SMALL) | plain and small in form | <i>izibeño</i> ‘plain small tooth’ |
| <i>-biki</i> (CLF:LONG.NARROW) | small, narrow, form of a table, hard | <i>rairabiki</i> ‘bench (lit. table to sit down)’; <i>omabiki</i> ‘flat tail (of an animal) (lit. table-like)’; <i>rabiki</i> ‘small table’ |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| - <i>dozi</i> (CLF:STICK) | thin, slender, round stick-like form, node | <i>jiibidozi</i> ‘node, stick of a coca tree (tree node after coca leaves have been picked)’; <i>radozi</i> ‘wooden stick’; <i>ñekidozi</i> ‘node, stick of <i>chambira</i> plant’; <i>yoedozi</i> ‘metal, iron rod’ |
| - <i>dugu</i> (CLF:STUNTED) | stunted, shortened | <i>omadugu</i> ‘tail (e.g. of a dog, of a maned wolf)’; <i>onodugu</i> ‘hand part that remains after amputation’ |
| - <i>durai</i> (CLF:BULGE) | bulged-forms | <i>moidurai</i> ‘buttocks’, <i>komaidurai</i> ‘a form that remains when the milpeso plant becomes rotten (and what remains is a bulge above ground)’ |
| - <i>duri</i> (CLF:BALL.SMALL) | form of a small ball-like shapes | <i>dioduri</i> ‘tobacco bran that looks like a ball’; <i>onoduri</i> ‘form of a (hand’s) paw of an animal’ |
| - <i>fako</i> (CLF:LONG.SOFT) | long, soft, small | <i>omafako</i> ‘tail (of a lizard or a <i>mico</i> monkey)’ |
| - <i>foro</i> (CLF:FEATHER) | feather-like shape (especially palm leaves-like) | <i>ñekiforo</i> ‘ <i>chambira</i> palm leaf’; <i>jimeforo</i> ‘chontaduro palm leaf’; <i>kineforo</i> ‘canangucho palm leaf’; <i>neforo</i> ‘asaí leaf’ |
| - <i>kada</i> (CLF:LONG) | object that is long and starts wide but ends narrow, hard | <i>dofokada</i> ‘snout of an animal such as <i>caiman</i> ’; <i>nofikada</i> ‘long stone’; <i>eikada</i> ‘long foot’; <i>zapakada</i> ‘long shoe (cf. Sp. <i>zapato</i> ‘shoe’) |
| - <i>kairo</i> (CLF:LONGISH.FLEX) | long, flexible | <i>omakairo</i> ‘tail (of a monkey)’ |
| - <i>kiji</i> (CLF:SMALL.WATER) | small, round, liquid | <i>erekiji</i> ‘a drop of water that falls from the <i>erebe</i> leaves’ |
| - <i>kobe</i> (CLF: ROUND.LEAF) | small, round, leaf-like | <i>onokobe</i> ‘finger nail’; <i>eikobe</i> ‘toe nail’; <i>dorokobe</i> ‘leaf of <i>dorokoyi</i> plant’; <i>ruizikobe</i> ‘leaf of <i>ruizikori</i> plant’ |
| - <i>koji</i> (CLF:COVER.SMALL) | very small, round container | <i>jiibikoji</i> ‘very small coca container’; <i>taaikoji</i> ‘small empty container’ |
| - <i>koño</i> (CLF:SMALL.PLAIN) | small, usually plain | <i>nofikoño</i> ‘small, usually plain stone’; <i>enikoño</i> ‘small piece of ground (usually considered as debris)’ |
| - <i>mani</i> (CLF:BIG.RIVER) | big wide river | <i>Uifidimani</i> ‘(one of the names for) the Putumayo river’; <i>Kudumani</i> ‘(one of the names for) the Putumayo river’; <i>Kaimani</i> ‘(one of names for) the Caquetá river’; <i>Uidodomani</i> ‘(one of names for) Amazon river’ |
| - <i>nigi</i> (CLF:PLAIN.THICK) | plain, longish roundish in form, thick | <i>rabenigi</i> ‘tick book (such as e.g. Bible)’ |
| - <i>niko</i> (CLF:PLAIN.THIN) | plain, longish roundish in form, thin | <i>rabeniko</i> ‘thin book, notebook’ |
| - <i>nita</i> (CLF:ELONGATED) | long, thin (usually in <i>Minika</i>) | <i>ranita</i> ‘mat used for sieving’ |
| - <i>roji</i> (CLF:TINY.ROUNDISH) | very small, roundish | <i>dioroji</i> ‘seed of tobacco’; <i>jiibiroji</i> ‘coca powder (wrapped) in a small package’; <i>yeraroji</i> ‘ <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco) wrapped in a shape of a ball-like package’, <i>juiyiroji</i> ‘tuber of yucca but unusually small’ |

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| - <i>roki</i> (CLF:BUSH) | small plant, shrub, bush (in the jungle) | <i>dioroki</i> ‘growing tobacco plants’; <i>jiibiroki</i> ‘growing bush of coca plant’; <i>jiziroki</i> ‘growing small rubber plant’; <i>raroki</i> ‘any type of small plant growing in the jungle’ |
| - <i>ruda</i> (CLF:POINTED.OVAL) | small pointed, oval | <i>omaruda</i> ‘tail (of e.g. a wasp)’ |
| - <i>ruño</i> (CLF:PLAIN.SQUARE) | small, plain object, square | <i>eniruño</i> ‘piece of land, small, square in form’ |
| - <i>tiko</i> (CLF:SMALLER) | small size than the usual object; roundish in form | <i>kiritiko</i> ‘small basket’; <i>juyetiko</i> ‘small <i>totumo</i> container’; <i>juidotiko</i> ‘small <i>umarí totumo</i> container’ |
| - <i>tobi</i> (CLF:SHORT.PARTED) | short and parted (parts of plants) | <i>diotobi</i> ‘parts of tobacco, short and parted’ |
| - <i>tofe</i> (CLF:NODE) | node, branch (can be extended to mean ‘generation’) | <i>jizitofe</i> ‘yucca node’; <i>fuiatofe</i> ‘node of poisonous roots’; <i>airitofe</i> ‘piece of cassava’; <i>jiatofe</i> ‘other node, generation’; <i>ana baitofe</i> ‘former generation (lit. that generation below)’ |

QUANTIFICATION

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|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| - <i>yeba</i> (CLF:BUNCH) | bouquet of, bunch of, closely put | <i>dioyeba</i> ‘bouquet of tobacco plants’ |
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SPECIFIC

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| - <i>begi</i> (CLF:FLAT.POT) | pot-like; also truck after being picked | <i>zibegi</i> ‘pot’; <i>ibegi</i> ‘truck (e.g. yucca) after being picked’ |
| - <i>biri</i> (CLF:SITE) | enclosed area, site, location, courtyard | <i>jiibibiri</i> ‘ground inside the maloca for men to gather at night and take in coca’; <i>nairairibi</i> ‘ground in front of maloca’; <i>komuiyabiri</i> ‘place where ancestors grew’; <i>dakobiri</i> ‘small stubble jungle garden’ |
| - <i>buku</i> (CLF:LONG.BASKET) | form of an average-sized basket, elongated | <i>kiribuku</i> ‘elongated, average-sized basket’ |
| - <i>chaki</i> (CLF:MID.LEAF) | mid part of leaves that gives fruit | <i>jimechaki</i> ‘mid-part of the <i>chantaduro</i> node’ |
| - <i>cheko</i> (CLF:PART.PLANT) | part of a plant that has been picked | <i>diocheko</i> ‘part of the tobacco plant that has been picked’ |
| - <i>dodo</i> (CLF:MOSQUITO) | mosquito | <i>uidodo</i> ‘mosquito’, <i>iudodo</i> ‘mosquito (red, yellow type)’; <i>azidodo</i> ‘mosquito type (which frequently accompanies a jaguar)’; <i>zurudodo</i> ‘mosquito type (which frequently accompanies <i>zuruma</i>)’ |
| - <i>doro</i> (CLF:PINEAPPLE) | pineapple plant | <i>rozidoro</i> ‘pineapple plant, petiole (cf. <i>roziyi</i> ‘pineapple fruit)’ |
| - <i>gaba</i> (CLF:DRIED.OUT) | a tree which has dried out but still has its nodes | <i>duigaba</i> ‘tree which has out but still has its nodes’ |
| - <i>gido</i> (CLF:SPLINTER) | splinter | <i>yoegido</i> ‘metal, iron splinter’ |

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|---|--|---|
| - <i>giri</i> (CLF:NODE.PEELED) | node or stick that remains after having picked it | <i>oogogiri</i> ‘node of banana tree that remains afterhaving picked it’; <i>beyagiri</i> ‘stick node of maiz tree that remains afterhaving picked the corn’ |
| - <i>giro</i> (CLF:WORM) | worm | <i>igiro</i> ‘type of worm’; <i>izigiro</i> ‘tooth carries’ |
| - <i>kiri</i> (CLF:SMALL.DOG) | small animate non-human | <i>jikokiri</i> ‘small dog’ |
| - <i>koro</i> (CLF:FROM.LEAF) | an object made specifically from leaves, usually a basket | <i>taaikoro</i> ‘a basket which is empty’; <i>rakoro</i> ‘an object made from leaves’ |
| - <i>korai</i> (CLF:EMPTY) | an empty object, with a hole in the middle | <i>rakorai</i> ‘rotten trunk’; <i>duikorai</i> ‘rotten tree trunk (empty on the inside)’ |
| - <i>kuri</i> (CLF:SMALL.LONG.CANOE) | canoe, long but small | <i>nokakuri</i> ‘small, long canoe’; <i>jaikuri</i> ‘another (small, long canoe)’ |
| - <i>kuru</i> (CLF:FOR.PLANT) | parts of objects ready to be planted; can also extend to cover animate beings | <i>juzikuru</i> ‘part of yucca plant ready to be sowed’; <i>jiibikuru</i> ‘part of coca plant ready to be sowed’ <i>janokuru</i> ‘small children’ |
| - <i>muiki</i> (CLF:POWDER) | powder-like | <i>jiibimuiki</i> ‘coca powder’ |
| - <i>rofe</i> (CLF:STRING.THIN) | thin string | <i>nomarofe</i> ‘bark made of the <i>nomana</i> tree used to tie on one’s head’ |
| - <i>tiru</i> (CLF:SMALL) | small animate | <i>uruetiru</i> ‘small children’ |
| - <i>tiko</i> (CLF:AMOUNT) | a lot of, animate beings | <i>riamatiko</i> ‘a lot of non-Witoto’ |
| - <i>tirai</i> (CLF:FUR) | hair, fur | <i>ifotirai</i> ‘hair of the head’; <i>uizi itirai</i> ‘eyelash (lit. eye’s hair)’ |
| - <i>yobe</i> (CLF:SET) | set, a package of objects (usually plants) | <i>ereyobe</i> ‘a set of the erebe leaves’ |
| - <i>yoai</i> (CLF:HOLD.FRUIT) | part of the plant leaves that hold fruit (in palms); also bunch of objects hand up | <i>jimeyoai</i> ‘part of the leaves that hold <i>chontaduro</i> fruits’; <i>kineyoai</i> ‘part of the leaves that hold <i>canangucho</i> fruits’; <i>ereyoai</i> ‘erebe leaves hang up’ |
| - <i>zaro</i> (CLF:OLD.CLOTHES) | old fabrics | <i>inizaro</i> ‘old clothes and other fabrics’; <i>igoizaro</i> ‘animal’s skin’ |
| - <i>zeko</i> (CLF:SKELETON) | objects (of which only parts remain); skeleton | <i>kirizeko</i> ‘usually interepreted as an old basket’; <i>kiraizeko</i> ‘rib carcass’ |

The mono- and disyllabic classifiers form one system: there is no difference between them in terms of their morphosyntactic occurrence. The examples (4.19-20) illustrate a mono- and a disyllabic classifier with a noun root; (4.21-22) show both types of classifiers occurring on an adjective, e.g.:

(4.19) *jiibi-ru*
 coca.powder-CLF:OVAL
 ‘container to keep coca powder’

(4.20) *rozi-doro*
 pineapple-CLF:PINEAPPLE
 ‘pineapple plant, petiole’

(4.21) *ebi-re-di-no*
 nice-ATT-LK-CLF:SP.PLACE
 ‘good (lit. nice) news’

(4.22) *zuu-re-di-mani*
 sad-ATT-LK-CLF:BIG.RIVER
 ‘sad river’

In terms of the composition of disyllabic classifiers, some of their forms appear to be akin to a combination of monosyllabic classifiers. However, there are different degrees of semantic transparency of Murui disyllabic classifiers. For instance, in (4.23), the classifier *-beko* for ‘flatter looking objects’ consists of the classifiers *-be* ‘leaf-like’ and *-ko* ‘spherical roundish objects’, but synchronically *-beko* behaves as one morpheme, e.g.:

(4.23) *oma-beko*
 tail-CLF:FLATTER
 ‘flat tail (of an animal)’

The apparent origin of disyllabic classifiers (at least the ones which diachronically seem to have originated in monosyllabic classifiers), could very well explain why in some cases disyllabic classifiers appear to be an ‘elaboration’ of monosyllabic classifiers, and somehow ‘narrowing down’ their semantics. In (4.24), the disyllabic classifier *-koji* ‘very small, round

container’ is certainly related to the classifiers *-ko* ‘spherical roundish objects (that also subsume container)’, as in (4.23) and *-ji* ‘small, round’ (see Table 4.2):¹⁵⁸

(4.24) *jiibi-koji*
 coca-CLF:CONTAINER.SMALL.ROUND
 ‘small round coca container’

In other cases, the composition of disyllabic classifiers is not transparent anymore.¹⁵⁹ Let us take for instance the disyllabic classifier *-tiko* ‘very small’. While synchronically there is a classifier *-ko* for either ‘container’, ‘cover’, or ‘inanimate spherical objects’, there is no classifier that would have a form *-ti*.¹⁶⁰

Disyllabic classifiers tend to share compositional structures of two monosyllabic classifiers that differ from disyllabic forms of repeaters. Repeaters tend to have a different structure, one that does not have monosyllabic classifier in origin. For instance, while the structure of the disyllabic classifier for specific objects *-doro* ‘pineapple’ is not transparent anymore, one might see the monosyllabic elements *-do* ‘pointed objects’ and *-ro* for ‘string-like objects’. For repeaters, this is not possible.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Since disyllabic classifiers behave synchronically as one morpheme, they are treated on par with the monosyllabic classifiers. In some cases, however, disyllabic classifiers can slightly vary in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour, that is, they differ in how ‘separable’ speakers consider them to be and how they are used in different morphosyntactic contexts. Occasionally, some speakers perceive disyllabic classifiers as being either monosyllabic or disyllabic. Such ‘inseparability’ suggests a certain degree of grammaticalization through functional and formal fossilization of disyllabic classifiers and is possibly indicative of different stages of their development.

¹⁵⁹ This could be possibly due to their different morphological composition.

¹⁶⁰ In addition to the classifier *-tiko* for ‘small sized roundish objects’, there is also another disyllabic classifier that contains the element *-ti*, the classifier *-tiru* for ‘small animate’. This suggests that the element *-ti* might have had some diminutive semantics. Synchronically, Murui has no diminutive affixes.

¹⁶¹ Murui classifiers and repeaters do not appear to have distinct phonological features or prosodic status. Such difference could be more clearly notable in Minika than in Murui due to the stress difference between Murui and Minika. In other languages in the area repeaters and classifiers do differ. In Tucano, when a noun is used as a repeater and then loses its pitch; in Tariana it acquires a secondary stress (Aikhenvald, p.c.).

The compositional difference between monosyllabic classifiers and monosyllabic repeaters is less evident and in a few cases, there is no formal difference but just semantic one. For instance, *-ko* can either be interpreted as a classifier denoting ‘container’, ‘cover’, or ‘inanimate spherical objects’, or a repeater for ‘dog’ (from *jiko* ‘dog’). Therefore, depending on the context, (4.25) can have various interpretations.

- (4.25) oo-ie aiyo-ko
 2sg-GEN big-CLF:CLF:COVER/CLF:SPHERICAL/CLF:REP.DOG
 ‘Yours (house, round object, dog) is big (lit. your - big).’

The generic classifier *-e* (and its allomorph *-je* that occurs after the low vowel /a/) and *-rue* are somewhat different from other physical property classifiers. It denotes objecthood without specifying its physical properties.¹⁶² In (4.26) the referent *izi-* ‘tooth’ is specified for ‘pointed shape’; in (4.27) it is not. It is ‘general’ in its semantics, and can have any form, consistency, and refers to ‘teeth’. Note that *izi-do-e* in (4.28) is ungrammatical.

- (4.26) izi-do
 teeth-CLF:POINTED
 ‘tooth’

- (4.27) izi-e
 teeth-CLF:G
 ‘teeth’

- (4.28) *izi-do-e

This is similar in the example (4.29) where the referent *jiibi-* ‘coca’ is specified for ‘tree-like shape’. This is unlike in (4.30) where ‘coca’ has a ‘general’ meaning.

¹⁶² In Minika the generic classifier *-e* can also have non-singular readings, such as *iyi* ‘jungle garden’ becomes *iyie* ‘jungle gardens’, *jofo* ‘house’ becomes *jofo-e* ‘houses’.

(4.29) *jiibi-na-iai*

coca-CLF:TREE-PL
‘coca trees’

(4.30) *jiibi-e-nao*

*kue*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *ine!*_{PRED}
coca-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give.IMP
‘Give me coca (general, in any form; usually in powder)!’

The classifier *-e* is homophonous with the default pronominal subject marker cross-referencing S/A of all types. It occurs in the same structural position as other classifiers, i.e. in the classifier slot on the nominalized verbs following the linker *-ti/-di* (see Chapter 3).

Historically, they might have had the same origin. In the example (4.31), a human referent is cross-referenced with *-e*. Compare this structurally with *jaai-di-kino* (go-LK-CLF:NEWS) ‘story of going’.

(4.31) *nai-ñaiño_s*

*jo-fo-mo*_{LOC} *bi-t-e=di*_{PRED} *pero ni-no*
ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F house-CLF:CAV-LOC come-LK-3=CERT but.Sp Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE
*i-t-e?*_{PRED}
‘She came home, but where is she (how is it possible she is not here)?!’

The classifier *-e* is a default form on nominal modifiers, e.g. *da-je* (one-CLF:G) ‘one’ (see Chapter 3 §3.1.1), and it forms the connective *ie* which can function in the position of an argument of a clause, a marker of a possessive construction, as well as a ‘bridging’ element (see Chapter 3, 5, 12, and 13). Note that *ie* denotes objecthood without specifying its physical properties.

4.2.2.2 *Animate classifiers*

Animate classifiers distinguish natural gender: male and female; gender is thus an inherent part of the classifier system in Murui. There is no general animate classifier in the language.

While physical property classifiers have the same form in all the morphosyntactic environments, animate classifiers vary in form when they occur in different contexts. There are restrictions on their co-occurrence: depending on their morphosyntactic loci, we

distinguish between *derivational* and *pronominal* animate classifiers.¹⁶³ These animate classifiers that occur on nouns (noun root followed by a classifier), on the number word *da-* ‘one’, and as certain types of nominalizers on verbs, are referred to as ‘*derivational*’. These that are used in other contexts, i.e. as (full) nouns, adjectives, number words, demonstratives, interrogatives, and on verbs as nominalizers (relativization), are called ‘*pronominal*’.

The number word *da-* ‘one’ can occur with both types of animate classifiers but when this happens there is a difference in its function. In (4.32) *da-* with the animate classifier *-ño* translates as ‘alone, by his own’ and functions as an autoreflexive pronoun. The number word *da-* followed by the animate classifier *-ñaiño* forms a nominal, as in (4.33). (4.33) cannot be interpreted as ‘(She) stayed there on her own’.

(4.32) aa jadi da-ño_{AUTOREFLEXIVE} jaai-d-e?_{PRED}
 INTERJ HERE.CTH alone-CLF:DR.F go-LK-3
 ‘Ah, did (she) go there alone, by her own?’

(4.33) da-ñaiño_S beno-mo_{LOC} fiebi-t-e_{PRED}
 one-CLF:PR.F HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC stay-LK-3
 ‘One (female) stayed here.’

That the autoreflexive reading is not available for forms such as (4.32), is further illustrated by (4.34), where *dañaiño* occurs as in an O NP function.

(4.34) ñaiño_A da-ñaiño_O fa-t-e_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F one-CLF:PR.F kill-LK-3
 ‘She killed one (female).’

The forms of animate classifiers are shown in Table 4.4. The following sections focus on the derivational and pronominal animate classifiers as well as classifiers with animate referents.

¹⁶³ ‘Derivational’ animate classifiers are not referred to as word class changing mechanism (they do not necessarily change the class of words in Murui). The term ‘derivational’ is merely used here to contrast them with ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers and their functions.

Table 4.4 Murui animate classifiers

| FORM | TYPE | SEMANTICS | | MORPHOSYNTACTIC LOCI | EXAMPLES |
|--------------------------------|----------------|---|---|--|--|
| <i>-ma</i> (CLF:DR.M) | ‘derivational’ | singular | human with natural gender distinction; some animals and inanimate objects by association* | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - noun roots - number word ‘one’ - nominalized verbs with the event nominalization suffix, the agent nominalization <i>-rai</i>, and directly on verbs (archaic) | <i>iiima</i> ‘man’ |
| <i>-ño</i> (CLF:DR.F) | | | | | <i>jigadima</i> ‘tapir’ |
| <i>-ni</i> (CLF:DR.GR) | | plural | | | <i>manoraïma</i> ‘(male) healer’ |
| | ‘pronominal’ | singular | natural gender distinction: female vs. male, and sex differentiable animals | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - full nouns - adjectives - demonstratives - interrogatives - number words - nominalized verbs (relativization) | <i>riño</i> ‘woman’ |
| <i>-mie</i> (CLF:PR.M) | | | | | <i>ueño</i> ‘frog’ |
| <i>-ñaiño</i> (CLF:PR.F) | | <i>dobeño</i> ‘basin (to crush yucca in)’ | | | |
| <i>-no</i> (CLF:PR.GR) | | <i>riaño</i> ‘non-Witoto (female)’ | | | |
| | plural | | | | <i>Gidoni</i> ‘the <i>Gidoni</i> clan’ |
| <i>** -maki</i> (CLF:PR.GR.AN) | | | | | <i>Nogoni</i> ‘the <i>Nogoni</i> clan’ |
| | | | | | <i>komini</i> ‘people’ |
| | | | | | <i>bimie</i> ‘he (this male)’ |
| | | | | | <i>fiiðimie</i> ‘(male) who robbed’ |
| | | | | | <i>jofomie</i> ‘(male) house owner’ |
| | | | | | <i>baiñaiño</i> ‘she (that female)’ |
| | | | | | <i>fetokañaiño</i> ‘chosen one (female)’ |
| | | | | | <i>jofoñaiño</i> ‘house owner (female)’ |
| | | | | | <i>komuidino</i> ‘those who grew up’ |
| | | | | | <i>jiaïno</i> ‘other (group)’ |
| | | | | | <i>nimaki</i> ‘others’ |
| | | | | | <i>kaimaki</i> ‘us (all inclusive)’ |

* Nouns with non-human referents can also have a gender distinction: semantic assignment is not always transparent (see further this section)

** On verbs the classifier *-maki* (CLF:PR.GR.AN), functions as a pronominal subject marker glossed as , e.g. *bi-ti-maki* (come-LK-3pl) ‘they came (not ‘those who came’)

A. DERIVATIONAL' ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - the forms of 'derivational' animate classifiers are *-ma* for male and *-ño* for female. They occur on nouns (noun root + classifier), the number word *da-* 'one', and on nominalized verbs. Examples are given in Table 4.4. Certain kinship terms have a special property where these classifiers can be dropped in vocative forms (like in Tariana but unlike Tucano) (see Chapter 3 §3.1.1), e.g.: *eiño* > *ei!* for 'mother'.

The referents of animal classifiers *-ma* and *-ño* are generally human. However, animals and inanimate objects can also be assigned to a gender by their perceived physical properties (size and shape: bigger (male) vs. smaller (female); dangerousness: dangerous (male) vs. harmless (female); sex-related tasks: these belonging to the real of men vs. these to women) and their mythological associations (by anthropomorphising animals and objects). Examples of inanimate beings assigned to natural gender by their properties are: *dobe-ño* (crush-CLF:DR.F) 'basin (to crush unprocessed yucca)', which is a women-only task, *ñeñoño* (armadillo.CLF:DR.F) 'armadillo', which is not considered to be a dangerous animal, and *yoe-ma* (metal-CLF:DR.M) 'ax', as tree-cutting is considered to be a task of men¹⁶⁴. Nowadays, with the increasing influence of Christianity, and subsequent decrease of the traditional knowledge, it has become more difficult to understand the linguistic ideology behind gender assignment for animals and inanimate objects. Unclear gender assignment can be only explained in terms of Murui legends, beliefs and perceived physical properties as it is the case for other languages, e.g. for Dyirbal in Australia (R. M. W. Dixon, 2015). Some body parts are given gender possibly on a taboo principle, e.g. *yikoma* 'clitoris' (cf. *yí-* 'suck'). This could be similar to some Australian languages where male and female body parts are given the opposite gender (Evans, 1994). The majority of the body parts in Murui are referred to in terms of their physical properties, e.g. shape, form and interiority, *ifo-gi* (head-

¹⁶⁴ See also Wojtylak (2015).

CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) ‘head’, *ono-kai* (hand-CLF:STEM) ‘finger’, *moi-fo* (rear-CLF:CAV) for ‘vagina’.

The natural gender distinction for sex-differentiable animals is made with the independent nouns *riño* ‘woman’ and *iima* ‘man’, which function as modifiers to the head noun within an NP (see §4.1):

(4.35) [jigadi-ma ri-ño]_{NP}
 tapir-CLF:DR.M woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘(female) tapir’

(4.36) [atava ri-ño]_{NP}
 chicken woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘(female) chicken’

(4.37) [jigadima ïï-ma]_{NP}
 tapir.CLF:DR.M man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘(male) tapir’

(4.38) [atava ïï-ma]_{NP}
 chicken man.CLF:DR.M
 ‘(male) chicken’

The modifier can also occur in the position of a repeater and form a nominal. This is illustrated in (4.39) where the independent noun *riño* ‘woman’ is modified by the repeater *-dima* ‘tapir’ (from *jigadima* for ‘tapir’):

(4.39) ri-ño-dima
 woman-CLF:DR.F-CLF.REP:TAPIR
 ‘(female) tapir’ (from *jigadima* ‘tapir’)

In such structures, the animate classifier *-ma* is not included.¹⁶⁵ This is shown in (4.40-41).

(4.40) ïï-me
 man-CLF.REP:PACA
 ‘(male) paca’ (from *ime* ‘lowland paca’)

¹⁶⁵ This indicates that the root *ïï-* is inherently masculine, unlike *riño* (derived from the verbal root *ri-* ‘eat meat’).

- (4.41) [daje ði-gui]_{O:NP} yi-no-ti-ku_{ePRED} nai-guis
 one-CLF:G man-CLF.REP:AGOUTI hold-SMLF-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF.REP:AGOUTI
 mare-na jaye-d-_{ePRED}
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP smell-LK-3
 ‘I’ve caught a (male) agouti, it (that agouti) smells nice.’

The independent *riño* ‘woman’ and *ðima* ‘man’ can serve as basis for further derivations, e.g. *ri-ño-chara* (woman-clf:dr.f-CLF.REP:SPOON) ‘woman’s spoon’ (cf. Sp. *cuchara* ‘spoon’).

To refer to a mixed group (of men and women), the animate classifier *-ni* is used (see Table 4.4). The classifier *-ni* (CLF:DR.GR) have animate reference (with no natural gender distinction) that denote collective groups. It is similar to the animate classifiers *-ma* and *-ño*, it has a slightly different morphosyntactic environments. It can occur in the position of an animate classifier on noun roots, verbs, adjectives, number word ‘one’, and nominalized verbs, with the meaning of a group of people, a clan, e.g. *gidoni* ‘the *Gidoni* (cricket) clan’, *naimeni* ‘the Sweet clan’, *dani* ‘a group alone, by their own’, *nimairaini* ‘wise (men)’ (see also Wojtylak 2015). The classifier *-ni* cannot be considered on par with the animate *-ma* and *-ño*, however. Note that *-ni* cannot mark number on nouns. The example (4.42) shows that the classifier *-ni* cannot occur in the slot of the animate classifiers *-ño* and *-ma*. The plurality meaning is obtained in those contexts with the plural number *-ai*, the collective *-niai*, and the kinship plural *-tiai* (see Chapter 5).

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| (4.42) SINGULAR | PLURAL/COLLECTIVE | UNGRAMMATICAL WITH <i>-ni</i> |
| <i>ri-ño</i> ‘woman’ | <i>riñuai</i> ‘women’ | * <i>rini</i> |
| <i>ðima</i> ‘man’ | <i>ðima-niai</i> ‘men (collective)’ | * <i>ðini</i> |
| <i>uzuma</i> ‘grandfather’ | <i>uzu-tiai</i> ‘grandparents (kinship)’ | * <i>uzuni</i> |

B. PRONOMINAL ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - the forms of pronominal animate classifiers are *-mie* for male and *-ñaiño* for female referents. Similarly to ‘derivational’ animate classifiers, the pronominal animate classifiers also make the natural gender distinction for sex-differentiable animals. They are in paradigmatic opposition with derivational animate classifiers and are used in different environments:

- on full nouns, e.g. *jo-fo-ñaiño* (house-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) house owner’ (cf. *jofo ñaiño*),
- with adjectives, e.g. *jano-ñaiño* (small-CLF:PR.F) ‘small (female)’,
- demonstratives, e.g. *bi-ñaiño* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.F) ‘she (lit. this female)’,
- number words (including *da-* ‘one’), e.g. *da-mie* (one-CLF:PR.M) ‘one (male)’,
- interrogatives, e.g. *bu-mie* (Q1-CLF:PR.M) ‘who? (lit. what male)’,
- nominalized verbs (relativization strategy), e.g. *fii-ka-ñaiño* (rob-PASS-CLF:PR.F) ‘the one (female) that was stolen’.

Murui pronominal animate classifiers may historically have originated from derivational animate classifiers. There is certain relatedness between these forms:¹⁶⁶

(4.43) *-ño* (CLF:DR.F)
-ñaiño (CLF:PR.F)

(4.44) *-ma* (CLF:DR.M)
-mie (CLF:PR.M)

Murui has also an additional classifier *-no* which has animate reference but do not have the natural gender distinction.¹⁶⁷ It denotes a group of animate beings, subsuming the animate classifiers *-ñaiño* and *-mie*, e.g.:

(4.45) *rii-re-di-no* (angry-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘those who are angry’
nifo-di-no (nifo.speakers-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘those who are Nifode’
Polonia-ti-no (Poland-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘those who are Polish’

¹⁶⁶ According to Seifart (2007) such ‘animate classifiers’ originate possibly from full nouns. The CLF:PR.M *-mie* might have originated in CLF:DR.M *-ma* (which underwent the vowel centralization process, that is very common in the language, see Chapter 2, and was followed by the generic classifier *-e*).

¹⁶⁷ Its form is homonymous with the classifier *-no* ‘specific place’ that is used in all the other morphosyntactic contexts. They seem to be different morphemes, e.g. *da-no* (one-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘one place’, *beno* (HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘here’, and *taai-no* (in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘nothingness, place with nothing’.

The classifier *-no* for ‘group’ is very limited and has two morphosyntactic contexts it can occur in. These are on nominalized verbs and adverbs, as in (4.46).

(4.46) bi-ti-mie > bi-ti-no
 come-LK-CLF:PR.M come-LK-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘one (male) who came’ ‘those who came’

(4.47) nooi-ta-yi-no
 bathe-CAUS-FUT.PASS- CLF:PR.GR
 ‘those who will be bathed’

(4.48) jiai-no
 other-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘others’

To refer to a group of animate referents, in all other morphosyntactic contexts, *-maki* (CLF:PR.GR.AN) is used (see Table 4.X, and §3.3.2 in Chapter 3).¹⁶⁸ (4.49) illustrates an example of *-maki* used with the interrogative word *ni-* ‘which’:

(4.49) ni-maki
 other-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘others’

4.2.2.3 *Animate classifiers and number*

In Murui, classifiers interact with number marking in a variety of ways. The system seems to have many irregularities. As discussed in Chapter 3 §3.3.2, Murui non-singular pronominal subject markers are de facto classifiers (at least in their origin) that make number and gender distinctions. This section focuses on notable dependencies between Murui animate classifiers and number. Number is an inherent property of animate classifiers that have human and sex-differentiable animals as referents. Depending on the animate classifier type, number marking paradigm is split. Prenominal animate classifiers have a tripartite number system that distinguishes three numbers, singular (male - female), dual (male - female) and plural. In

¹⁶⁸ With verbs the classifier *-maki* (CLF:PR.GR.AN) functions as a pronominal subject marker, and, as such, it is glossed here as (-3pl).

plural gender is neutralized. Examples include *gui-ti-mie* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘eater (lit. one (male) who eats)’, *gui-ti-aiñuái* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.DU.F) ‘eater (lit. two females who eat)’, and *gui-ti-no* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘eaters (lit. ones (group) who eat)’ (see also Table 4.3 in Chapter 3 §3.3.2). Derivational animate classifiers distinguish singular number; plural is formed by separate plural markers such as *-ai*, the collective *-niai* or the kinship plural *-tiaí*, e.g. *ri-ño* (woman-clf:dr.f) ‘woman’, *riñuái* (woman-clf:dr.f.PL) ‘women’, *ri-ño-niai* (woman-clf:dr.f-COLL) ‘women’.¹⁶⁹ This split number system is outlined in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Animate classifiers and split number system

| ANIMATE CLASSIFIER TYPE | GENDER | SINGULAR | DUAL | PLURAL |
|-------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|--------|
| DERIVATIONAL | feminine | -ño | - | - |
| | masculine | -ma | | |
| PRONOMINAL | feminine | -ñaiño | -aiñuái | -no |
| | masculine | -mie | -aimaiaí | |

In Murui, singular is a formally and functionally unmarked form; its non-singular reading is determined by context. In the following story, Izmael Tejada from La Chorrera is telling narrating a story about hunting and what types of animals are usually killed. While the nouns *eimo* ‘pig’, *jidadíma* ‘tapir’ and *okaina* ‘animal’ are not marked with plural number(s), they have a clear non-singular reading:

- (4.50) $dino-mo_{LOC}$ $nai-mie_A$ $eimo_O$ $fa-t-e_{PRED}$ $jigadi-ma_O$
 AT.CLF.SP.PLACE-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M pig kill-LK-3 tapir-CLF:DR.M
 $fa-t-e_{PRED}$ $nana_S$ $aki-e-ze$ $okaina_O$ $ati-a_{PRED}$
 kill-LK-3 ALL AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL animal bring-E.NMLZ
 ‘There (in the jungle, he) kills pigs, kills tapirs. Everybody brings animals this way (as said).’

¹⁶⁹ The marker *-maki* (CLF:DR.GR) is not included here, given that it only functions of the pronominal subject marker on verbs. The classifier *-ni* is further excluded as it does not function as a non-singular equivalent of the derivational markers *-ño* and *-ma*

There are three forms of non-singular number markers on nouns and nominal forms: the plural affix *-ai* (with allomorph *-iai*), the morpheme *-niai* marking collective, and the kinship plural *-tiaï* (see also Chapter 5). Marking number distinctions on nouns that have low animals and inanimate objects as referents is not frequent. Also, classifiers that refer to low animates and inanimates have no natural gender distinctions.

Nouns that take the derivational animate classifiers *-ño* and *-ma* show an unusual behaviour in non-singular: *-ño* and *-ma* can be ‘replaced’ by certain plural marking. The number marking and the omission of animate classifiers is related to how high referents are in the nominal hierarchy, as well as how important focus the plurality of their referents is a given moment. (4.51-53) illustrate non-singular form of *ofoma* (bird.type-CLF:DR.M) ‘bird (type)’ with the non-singular markers. Note the optional omission of the animate classifier *-ma* in (4.51a), and the ungrammaticality of (4.52b). The noun *ofoma* cannot occur with kinship plural, as it is not a kinship noun.

(4.51) *with plural markers*

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------|
| a. ofo-ma-iai | b. ofuai |
| bird.type-CLF:DR.M-PL | bird.PL |

(4.52) *with collective markers*

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| a. ofo-ma-niai | b. *ofo-niai |
| bird.type-CLF:DR.M-COLL | bird.type-COLL |

(4.53) *with kinship plural markers*

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| a. *ofo-ma-tiai | b. *ofo-tiai |
| bird.type-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL | bird.type-KIN.PL |

This is similar with the noun *jimo-ma* (Yagua-CLF:DR.M) ‘Yagua man’ in (4.54-56). The difference between *ofoma* ‘bird (type)’ above and *jimoma* ‘Yagua man’ below is the collective marker *-niai*, available for *ofoma* but not *jimoma*.

(4.54) *with plural markers*

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| a. jimo-ma-iai | b. jimuai |
| Yagua-CLF:DR.M-PL | Yagua.PL |

(4.55) *with collective markers*

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| a. *jimo-ma-niaï | b. *jimo-niaï |
| Yagua-CLF:DR.M-COLL | Yagua-COLL |

(4.56) *with kinship plural markers*

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| a. *jimo-ma-tiaï | b. *jimo-tiaï |
| Yagua-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL | Yagua-KIN.PL |

(4.57-59) show the interplay between number and classifiers on the kin term *ooi-ma*

(sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M) ‘sister’s husband’. The noun *ooima* is a kinship term, and therefore it occurs with the kinship plural, rather than the (general) plural marker *-ai*. The collective number marking is not available.

(4.57) *with plural markers*

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| a. ooi-ma-iaï | b. ooi-iaï |
| sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M-PL | sisters.husband-PL |

(4.58) *with collective markers*

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. *ooi-ma-niaï | b. *ooi-niaï |
| sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M-COLL | sisters.husband-COLL |

(4.59) *with kinship plural markers*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| a. ooi-ma-tiaï | b. ooi-tiaï |
| sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL | sisters.husband-KIN.PL |

4.2.2.4 *Abstract classifiers*

Murui has two types of classifiers that designate abstract concepts. They are used frequently in the Murui every-day discourse. Although they do occur in morphosyntactic loci of other classifiers, their typical function is deverbal and deadjectival nominalization with abstract and concrete meanings. They are disyllabic in form, and their morphological compositions are not fully transparent. They have only one position available and cannot occur with other classifiers. These are the classifier *-kino* with the meaning of ‘narrative, new, instruction, oral transfer’ and the classifier *-fue* ‘story, dance’.

The classifier *-kino* is commonly used as a conventionalized question used upon greeting somebody, *ni-ga-kino?* (Q₂-QUANT-CLF:NEWS) ‘what are the news (lit. how many

news?)'. An example with *-kino* is presented in (4.60-61). (4.62) illustrates that such forms can further take plural number markings (such uses not very common).

- (4.60) *izi-rui-ya-kino*
 admire-MANNER-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS
 'love (lit. story of become admired)'
- (4.61) *mai-ji-ra-kino*
 work-CLF:NEUT-CLF:NEWS
 'work instruction (lit. story of working)'
- (4.62) *jea-ni-di-kinuai*
 ugly-NEG.ATT-LK-CLF:NEWS.PL
 'stories which are not bad (lit. dirty)'

The morphological composition of the classifier *-kino* is not semantically transparent, that is, *-kino* does not have a meaningful linear sequence of two monosyllabic classifiers.

Another classifier that denotes abstract concepts is the classifier *-fue*. It has a recognizable origin from the free form *fuue* meaning 'mouth', and it shows how at least some of Murui classifier must have historically originated in full independent nouns, c.f. *i-ye fuue* (ANA.NSP-CLF:RIVER mouth) 'river mouth'.¹⁷⁰ The meaning of *-fue* is 'story, narration,' and can be further extended to cover 'dance rituals, celebration', called *ra-fue* (thing-CLF:STORY) in Murui.¹⁷¹ Some examples of *-fue* include:¹⁷²

- (4.63) *ua-fue* (really-CLF:STORY) 'truth'; cf. *ua-kino* (really-CLF:NEWS) 'news that are true'
moni-fue (abundance-CLF:STORY) 'nourishment, economy'
irai-fue (bon.fire-CLF:STORY) 'household'
yeta-ra-fue (advise-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY) 'advice (lit. story of advising)'
ebi-re-di-fue (nice-ATT-LK-CLF:STORY) 'nice story, legend'
riidua-fue (defend.E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY) 'defendance'

¹⁷⁰ Similarly to the origin of classifiers in Yagua (Peba-Yagua), Miraña (Bora) and other languages in Northwest Amazonia (Aikhenvald, 2000, 2007; D. L. Payne, 2007; Seifart, 2007; Seifart & Payne, 2007) .

¹⁷¹ *Rafue* is also an important 'power-discourse' in Murui, see (Echeverri 1997) and (Wojtylak 2017).

¹⁷² In terms of phonetics, when *fue* occurs in the classifier slot, there is a change in its syllabic structure: disyllabic *fue* in slow speech [fu.e] becomes [fwe] when it functions as a classifier (see Chapter 2).

Nominals that take the classifier *-fue* can further be followed by plural marker (this is very rare), e.g. *moni-fuiiai* (abundance-CLF.STORY.PL) ‘nourishments, economies’.

4.2.2.5 Concrete classifier

The neutral classifier *-ra* originates in an independent noun *raa* meaning ‘concrete thing, inanimate object’, and has various derivational and linker-like functions. A free form is illustrated in (4.64).

- (4.64) [baai-no-d-e raa]NP:O ati!PRED
 die-SMLF-LK-3 thing bring._{IMP}
 ‘Bring the thing that kills (e.g. poison, gun).’

The free form *raa* can be derived by classifiers of all types, as illustrated in (4.65-66). Note the meaning change FORM > CONCRETE THING when the anaphoric nonspecific demonstrative *i-* and the form *raa* occurs in the root position, and is further followed by a classifier.¹⁷³

- (4.65) *ra-be* (thing-CLF:LEAF) ‘leaf, page’
ra-rue (thing-CLF:THINGS) ‘things’
ra-fue (thing-CLF:STORY) ‘story, narration, dance rituals, celebration’

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| (4.66) <i>i-be</i> | ‘a form of a leaf’ | <i>ra-be</i> | ‘a leaf’ |
| <i>i-foro</i> | ‘a feather-shaped leaf-form’ | <i>ra-foro</i> | ‘a feather-shaped leaf’ |
| <i>i-gi</i> | ‘a thick trunk shape’ | <i>ra-gi</i> | ‘a thick trunk’ |
| <i>i-ki</i> | ‘a round form’ | <i>ra-ki</i> | ‘a round fruit’ |
| <i>i-dozi</i> | ‘a stick-like form’ | <i>ra-dozi</i> | ‘a stick’ |
| <i>i-o</i> | ‘a flexible rope-like form, long’ | <i>ra-o</i> | ‘a liana’ |
| <i>i-gai</i> | ‘a form of a rope’ | <i>ra-gai</i> | ‘a rope’ |
| <i>i-bani</i> | ‘a form of a plank’ | <i>ra-bani</i> | ‘a plank’ |

¹⁷³ A few of the physical property classifiers cannot occur with *raa*. For instance, while *i-bogi* (ANA.NSP-CLF:CYLINDRICAL) ‘a form of a ball’ is a perfectly grammatical form, **ra-bogi* is not. This further extends to other specific classifiers of the physical property classifier class (§4.X.X), such as *-ji* ‘cassava’, as well as animate classifiers (§4.X.X) and repeaters (§4.X.X). In many cases it is related with animacy of referents (cf. **ra-tava* with the repeater *-tava* for ‘chicken’) but not always (cf. *ra-kae* with the repeater *-kae* for ‘canoe’ and **ra-zo* with the repeater *-zo* for ‘path’).

As a classifier, *-ra* can function as a linker that follows verbal and adjectival roots and is followed by other classifiers, as in (4.67); it can occur in the position of bound modifiers deriving pro-forms, as in (4.68).

- (4.67) *jaai-ra* (go-CLF:NEUT) ‘ladder’
mano-ra (heal-CLF:NEUT) ‘tablet, pastille’
nai-ya-ra (speak-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEUT) ‘topic (lit. speaking thing)’
nai-ye-ra (speak-FUT.E.NMLZ-CLF:NEUT) ‘future topic (lit. future speaking thing)’
- (4.68) *mano-ra-ko* (heal-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER) ‘hospital’
jifano-ra-biri (play.SMLF-CLF:NEUT-CLF:SITE) ‘court, football field’
to-ra-fo (flow-CLF:NEUT-CLF:CAV) ‘water drain’
yeta-ra-fue (advise-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY) ‘advice (lit. story of advising)’

4.2.2.6 Repeaters

Murui has a semi-open set of repeaters that are not used to classify nouns but to occur in the classifier slot filling the ‘blank’.¹⁷⁴ Interpretations of repeaters are semantically very limited: each repeater refers to only one particular entity. The majority of nouns with a non-human referent can be used as repeaters in Murui. This excludes proper names, such as *Colombia* or *Bogotá*. Furthermore, only nouns with no additional nominal morphology can be used as repeaters. A list of a sample of Murui repeaters is given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Selection of Murui repeaters (non-Spanish in origin)

| FORM AND GLOSS | MEANING | EXAMPLES |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>-kae</i> (canoe) | from <i>nokae</i> | <i>aiyokae</i> ‘big (canoa)’ |
| <i>-ko</i> (dog) | from <i>jiko</i> ‘dog’ | <i>biko</i> ‘this (dog)’ |
| <i>-nie</i> (land) | from the word <i>enie</i> ‘land’ | <i>nainie</i> ‘that (land)’, <i>binie</i> ‘this (land)’ |
| <i>-rai</i> (bon.fire) | from <i>irai</i> ‘bon fire’ | <i>diorai</i> ‘(bon fire used for cooking) tobacco’ |
| <i>-tava</i> (chicken) | from <i>atava</i> ‘chicken’ | <i>baitava</i> ‘that (chicken)’ |

¹⁷⁴ The existence of repeaters have been reported for other Amazonian languages, such as Tariana (Arawak), Tucano (East Tucanoan), Bora and Miraña (Boran), as well as Guahibo languages (Aikhenvald, 2000: 222; Seifart, 2005). Repeaters also occur in Southeast Asian and some Micronesian languages (Aikhenvald, 2000: 361).

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--|
| -ziki (jungle) | from <i>jaziki</i> ‘jungle’ | <i>biziki</i> ‘this (jungle)’; <i>arineziki</i> ‘outside the jungle’; <i>taaziki</i> ‘empty jungle (no animals)’ |
| -zo (path) | from <i>naizo</i> ‘path’ | <i>bai-zo</i> ‘that path’ |
| -yari (jaguar) | from <i>janayari</i> ‘jaguar’ | <i>meroyari</i> ‘jaguar that eats <i>mero</i> peccary’ |

Morphologically, the ‘source of origin’ of repeaters are underived nouns with a non-human referent and no additional nominal morphology. The most obvious repeaters are these that have loan words as their source, and for which, most certainly no classifiers exist in Murui. Depending on the source noun, repeaters can have either a monosyllabic or a disyllabic structure. It is important to note here that repeaters with a disyllabic structure are much more frequent in the discourse, than those with the monosyllabic structure. Some examples of repeaters are presented in (4.69):

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| (4.69) NOUNS USED AS REPEATERS | REPEATERS |
| jiko ‘dog’ | > -ko (monosyllabic) |
| atava ‘chicken’ | > -tava (disyllabic) |
| grabadora ‘recorder (Sp.)’ | > -dora (disyllabic) |

Murui has only a few monosyllabic nouns (the great majority is disyllabic, see Chapter 3), and these are not used as repeaters.¹⁷⁵

Although the majority of Murui repeaters are partial repeaters, full repeaters of disyllabic nouns do occur. Such full repeater forms are used to further clarify a referent, in a context that there might be a certain ambiguity. For instance, as illustrated in (4.70), the repeater of *copa* for ‘cup’ in Spanish can either be partial, or full.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (4.70) mena-pa (two-CLF.REP:CUP.Sp) | ‘two cups’ |
| mena-kopa (two-CLF.REP:CUP.Sp) | ‘two cups’ (very specific) |

¹⁷⁵ Note however that Murui monosyllabic nouns include *raa* ‘thing’. This suggests that in fact neutral classifier *-ra* in Murui (§4.2.2.4) might have been a repeater at some stage.

This is not the case with the majority of the native words such as *jiko* ‘dog’ or *efa* ‘parrot, macaw bird (Sp. *guacamayo*)’. When used as repeaters in nominals, they never have full repeater forms, as in (4.71):

- (4.71) *jiai-fa* (red-CLF.REP:MACAW) ‘red macaw’
mogo-fa (blue-CLF.REP:MACAW) ‘bluw macaw’

Reasons why Murui speakers do prefer to use the full repeaters forms with many of the Spanish loanwords which are disyllabic, are discussed further in this section.

In the discourse, nominals that take repeaters are found somewhat less often than such forms occurring with classifiers. This is possibly due to the fact that Murui repeaters have two formal ‘possibilities’: the actual full noun they originate in, and the ‘headless’ form.

Nominals that take classifiers have only one such possibility - have no full noun form and, as bound forms, necessarily have to occur with a nominal root.

Murui repeaters are used in the same morphological environments as those of classifiers (excluding those of full and bound nouns). This shows how repeaters are in fact developing into classifiers in Murui, and are the source for the large system of classifiers in the language. Similarly to classifiers (see §4.2), repeaters can occur in numerous morphosyntactic contexts, that include:

- a) verbs (with repeaters as nominalizers), e.g. *bi-ti-vio* (come-LK-CLF.REP:AIRPLANE.Sp) ‘(airplane that) came (in)’,
- b) adjectives (with repeaters as nominalizers), e.g. *mare-chera* (good.ATT-CLF.REP:LIGHTER.Sp) ‘well-working (lit. good) (lighter)’,
- c) pronouns (1st and 2nd person), e.g. *kue-fono* (1sg-CLF.REP:PHONE.Sp) ‘my (phone)’,
- d) demonstrative words, e.g. *bi-dio* (this.CTS-CLF.REP:RADIO.Sp) ‘this radio’, *nai-taro* (ANA.SP-CLF.REP:TROUSERS) ‘(any) trousers’,

- e) number words, e.g. *da-misa* (one-CLF.REP:SHIRT.Sp) ‘one (shirt)’,
- f) interrogative words, e.g. *ni-chera* (Q₂-CLF:REP.LIGHTER.Sp) ‘which lighter’.

Murui repeaters, similarly to classifiers, can be marked only once in a nominal structure.

There is no repeater stacking with only one structural position available for a repeater.

Additionally, while repeaters can be followed by classifiers (but not other way around. An example is given in (4.72), with the repeater *-pato* (from the Spanish *zapato* for ‘shoe’).

- (4.72) *da-pato-kada*
 one-CLF.REP:SHOE-CLF:LONG
 ‘one (long shoe)’

The same noun root cannot be referred to with a repeater and with an established classifier.

This shows that Murui repeaters are not fully integrated into the classifier system. (4.73)

shows that repeaters and classifiers cannot occur in on the same nouns:

- (4.73) GRAMMATICAL WITH A CLASSIFIER:
ñeki-na (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘*chambira* palm (tree)’
ñeki-foro (chambira-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘leaf of a *chambira* palm’
- UNGRAMMATICAL WITH A REPEATER:
 **ñeki-zo* intended meaning for ‘path (made of, with) *chambira* palm’
 **ñeki-kae* intended meaning for ‘canoe (made of, with) *chambira* palm’

Loan words (with non-human referents) are easily incorporated into Murui as repeaters, not all can function as repeaters. There are a number of reasons for this:

- a) a traditional word is preferred over the Spanish loanword. A case in point is the loanword from Spanish *hospital* for ‘hospital’, which is not used in the repeater position. Rather the native *manorirako* ‘healing house’ is used instead.
- b) a form of a repeater is the same as of a classifier. This is the case for *-ro* (CLF:STRING) and *-ro* as a possible source of a repeater of *rero* ‘watch’ (from Spanish *reloj*). (In such cases, the

disyllabic forms are preferred. In case of *rero*, it is e.g. *da-rero* (one-CLF.REP.WATCH) ‘one watch’.)

c) under specific circumstances, forms of certain repeaters (which in terms of their semantics have unique referents), are ambiguous. This is the case for instance the repeater *-dora* from Spanish for either *computadora* ‘computer’ or *grabadora* ‘recorder’. To disambiguate, in a situation where both objects are present, a full noun is used instead.

There is a few Spanish nouns that cannot occur as repeaters (possibly for cultural reasons) that include among others *musica* for ‘music’.

Similarly to classifiers, within an NP, repeaters do not occur on modifiers when a head noun is present (as there is no agreement within an NP in Murui, see §4.1). In (4.76), the noun is modified with the numeral *da-* ‘one’, followed by the allomorph of the generic classifier *-e* (with the allomorph *-je*). There is no agreement with the head noun *jano-tava* ‘small chicken’.

(4.74) [da-je jano-tava-na]_{NP:O} atɨ-d-e_{PRED}
 one-CLF:G small-CLF.REP:CHICKEN-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-3
 ‘(She) brought one small (chicken).’

Similarly to classifiers, **the independent nouns** *riño* ‘woman’ and *iiima* ‘man’ can be followed by repeaters to mark natural gender distinctions:

(4.75) *ri-ño-tava* (woman-CLF:DR.F-CLF.REP:CHICKEN) ‘female (chicken)’

(4.76) *ii-tava* (man-CLF.REP:CHICKEN) ‘male (chicken)’

Compare these examples with (4.77-78) below, where *riño* ‘woman’ and *iiima* ‘man’ have the same semantic function but formally are NPs where the headnouns *riño* and *iiima* are modified by *atava* for ‘chicken’:

(4.77) *atava ri-ño* (chicken woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘female chicken’

(4.78) atava ñi-ma (man-CLF:DR.M-CLF.REP:CHICKEN) ‘male chicken’

4.2.2.7 *Repeaters and specific classifiers*

The distinction between classifiers and repeaters can often difficult to be made all these forms have similar morphosyntactic loci they occur in. Moreover, Murui does not have a specific mechanism of marking agreement which would require repeaters to occur on modifying elements, the usual role repeaters have in other neighbouring languages (Aikhenvald, 2000: 222). Nevertheless, there are a number of distinct properties of such bound forms that differentiate them from ‘prototypical’ classifiers. Although both repeaters and classifiers have similar morphosyntactic environments, they are used under different conditions. Classifiers are used for nouns that fall into particular semantic categories which is grammatically established to be a classifier; repeaters are used as a residue class for nouns whose referents cannot be classified in terms of a ‘dedicated’ semantic category, such as the Spanish concept of the ‘week’.

In terms of their semantics, repeaters have one unique single referent and speakers know immediately from which noun the repeaters ‘come from’; this is unlike the classifiers for which speakers do not know their ‘origin’. This is visible in loans for which repeaters are used as loans for concepts and objects which are not naturally classifiable. Notably, in Murui (Spanish) loans cannot be referred to with established classifiers. In terms of their morphosyntactic possibilities, another important difference between classifiers and repeaters is morpheme stacking - possible with classifiers (classifier + classifier) but not with repeaters (*repeater + repeater). Repeaters can be followed by classifiers but not other way around. Main differences between classifiers and repeaters are outlined in Table 4.7. Given their functional and formal properties of repeaters, Murui repeaters show appropriate properties of classifiers as a noun categorization mechanism in the language.

Table 4.7 Established classifiers vs. repeaters

| PARAMETER | ESTABLISHED CLASSIFIERS | REPEATERS |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| morphosyntactic properties | usually used with anaphoric bound forms and <i>ra</i> ‘thing’ | appear not to be used with <i>ra</i> ‘thing’ |
| phonological properties | no independent stress | |
| semantics | specific (with certain amount of abstraction) | a unique single referent |
| double marking | no | |
| stacking | classifier + classifier: yes classifier + repeater: no | repeater + repeater: no repeater + classifier: no (in traditional Murui, but used by younger speakers) |
| availability of referents | [+human] [+animate] [+inanimate] | [-human] [+animate] [+inanimate] |
| others | speakers do not know the origin of the word | speakers know immediately what word they originate from |

In some cases that are however settle distinction between classifiers and repeaters. This is due to the fact that is some cases repeaters are apparent origin of classifiers. For instance, the classifier *-vui* (CLF:CYCLE) ‘time cycle of usually a month, also covers season’ seems to have originated in *fivui* ‘moon’ (which subsequently extended its meaning to ‘season’).

Synchronically, *-vui* is treated on par with classifiers as it occurs in the same morphosyntactic contexts as classifiers do, but diachronically, it might have been a repeater. This is the case for some other classifiers as well. Such forms straddle the boundary between classifiers (that have specific semantics) and repeaters.

The difference between repeaters and specific classifiers, as least synchronically, is in terms of their morphological structure: bound forms appear to originate in ‘fixed’

unanalyzable full nouns (further referred to as ‘source nouns’), as in *nokae* ‘canoe’. Although such bound forms in Murui allow two alternative interpretations - repeaters or classifiers - I choose to analyse them as ‘repeaters’, given their distinct morphological structures, the fact that they refer back to a unique single entity which is always [-human].

4.3 Classifier-like markers

There are a few markers that satisfy the definition of classifiers but do not occur in all morphological contexts. They are particular type of quantification and location markers that appear to be somewhat separate categories in the language, in addition to classifiers and repeaters.

4.3.1 Quantification markers

Murui has a general quantifier affix *-ga* that occupies the same slot as classifiers (see §3.3.1), and occurs with interrogative root *ni-* ‘which’ as in *ni-ga* (Q₂-QUANT) ‘how much, how many’. *Ni-ga* can be further followed by classifiers, as in *ni-ga-no* (Q₂-QUANT-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘how many places?’. The general quantifier affix occurs also elsewhere, but with being grammaticalized into a ‘dedicated’ quantifier *naga naga* ‘each, every’ and the modifier *diga* for ‘many’.¹⁷⁶ Further, the marker *-ga* can occur on the noun *ama* ‘brother’ some nouns. In (4.X), *-ga* occurs on the noun *ama* ‘brother’, when it is used as a fraternal lexical number words for ‘four (lit. all if each brothers)’ and for ‘ten’ and ‘twenty’ (Chapter 3 §3.2.3). The

¹⁷⁶ *Naga* can be traced back to the special form of what seems to be the anaphoric demonstrative bound root *nai-* (Chapter 3 §3.3.3) followed with *-ga*. Note also that *diga* ‘many’ has the same form as the adposition with commitative meanings *diga* ‘with’ (see Chapter 3 §3.3.6).

form *ama-ga* is always preceded by *naga*, as in (4.79-80), and can be further followed by classifiers and repeaters, as well as other nominal morphology (case, number).¹⁷⁷

- (4.79) [naga ama-ga ama]_{NP}
 EACH brother-QUANT brother.CLF:DR.M
 ‘four (lit. all of each brothers) brothers’
- (4.80) [naga ama-ga-dima-na]_{NP} ati!_{PRED}
 EACH brother-QUANT-CLF.REP:TAPIR-N.S/A.TOP bring.IMP
 ‘Bring four tapirs!’

Occasionally, to express number ‘four’, speakers omit the modifying *naga*, as in (4.81).

- (4.81) ama-ga-da_s i-ñe?_{PRED}
 brother-QUANT-CLF.LONG.STRAIGHT exist-NEG
 ‘Isn’t there four (walking canes?)’

For numbers ‘ten’ and ‘twenty’, *naga* combines with classifiers, as illustrated in (4.82-84).

- (4.82) [(ono-yi) naga-fe-be-kuiro]_{NP}
 hand-CLF:BUSHY EACH-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL
 ‘ten (lit. all of each (hand’s) leaf palm)’
- (4.83) naga-fe-be-kuiro-rui i-ya-no bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 EACH-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL-CLF:DAY exist-E.NMLZ-SEQ come-LK-1sg
 ‘After being there ten days, I came (back).’
- (4.84) [ei-yi naga-fe-be-yi]_{NP}
 foot-CLF:BUSHY EACH-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-CLF:BUSHY
 ‘twenty (lit. all of each feet’s leaf objects that contain a set of smaller objects)’

As illustrated above, the morpheme *-ga* can also combine with various types of classifiers, as in (4.85).

- (4.85) ni-ga-mie abi yoze-d-e?_{PRED}
 Q2-QUANT-CLF:PR.M body hairy-LK-3
 ‘How many men are hairy?’

¹⁷⁷ Such constructions seem to resemble agreement, elsewhere absent in the language (see §4.1). See also the example (4.82) for ‘ten’. In terms of its occurrence with the noun *ama*, the use of *-ga* on could be either expanding or decreasing. That the lexical number word *naga amaga* ‘four’ is highly lexicalized and occurs in many dialects of Murui in this form (i.e. with *-ga* occurring on *ama*), could be indicative of the latter processes.

The limited properties of the quantifier *-ga* compared to the properties of Murui classifiers and repeaters are illustrated in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 The properties of classifiers and the marker *-ga*

| PROPERTIES | CLASSIFIERS | REPEATERS | QUANTIFIER <i>-ga</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Morphosyntactic loci | all | all (but nouns) | very limited |
| Function as a ‘linker’ | some (only some) | no | yes |

4.3.2 Location markers

Murui has one locational classifier-like markers *-no*, *-ne*, and *-fe* that are different from other classifier types (this includes also physical property classifiers what have locational meanings, such as *-re* (CLF:PLANT.PLACE) for ‘location, opening in the jungle associated with certain plants, field’ or *-biri* (CLF:SITE) ‘enclosed area, site, location, courtyard’, see Tables 4.2-3 in §4.2.2.1). They share locational semantics, but do not occur in all the morphosyntactic environments as other classifiers (or repeaters), and can be regarded as ‘defficient’ classifiers. They can never co-occur. There are discussed in turn.

A. LOCATIONAL CLASSIFIER-LIKE MARKER *-no* ‘SPECIFIC PLACE’ - the classifier-like *-no* has special properties. It has has limited morphosyntactic loci it occurs with. These are the adjectival roots (as in *taai-no* ‘empty place’), the demonstrative roots *jadi-* ‘hear, close to hearer’ (as in *jadino*) and *nai-* ‘specific anaphoric’ (as in *naino*), the interrogative word *ni-* ‘which’ (as in *nino* ‘where (lit. which place)’), .¹⁷⁸ Unlike other classifiers, it can neither

¹⁷⁸ As discussed in Chapter 3 §3.3.3, *jadi-* and *nai-* appear to be grammaticalized complex forms, unlike other demonstratives.

occur on nouns, the remaining set of demonstratives (e.g. **bi-no*, **aki-no*, **bai-no*, **i-no*)¹⁷⁹, the interrogative form *bu-* ‘who, what’ (**bu-no*), nor pronouns (**kue-no*). Also, it cannot occur on verbs (as can other classifier types, which function as nominalizers). As shown in §4.2.2.2, there is a homophonous classifier *-no* which occurs on verbs and adjectives (those nominalizations that are used for relativization), but it has different semantics not related to place (‘group’, see §4.2.2.2). Other nominalization types (those that take the event nominalizers) do occur with the locational marker (as well as other types of classifiers) (for details see Wojtylak (forthcoming-e) and Chapter 3 §3.1.4). Compare the two nominalization types below:

(4.86) *du-ti-no*
 chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘group of coca chewers (lit. a group who chewed or chews coca)’

(4.87) *bi-e_{VCS} i-ya-no_{VCC}*
 this.CTS-CLF:G exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE
 ‘This is where I live (lit. this - my living place).’

Nominals which take *-no*, cannot further take any classifiers, repeaters, but can take case and number marking *-ai* meaning ‘many groups’:

(4.88) *du-ti-nuai*
 chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.GR.PL
 ‘groups of coca chewers (lit. groups who chewed or chews coca)’

Ocasionaly, especially in the narrative genres, meanings of the locational classifier-like marker can be semantically extended and have a temporal reference, as in (4.89) (see also examples T1.31, T1.39, T.164 in the Appendix).

¹⁷⁹ These demonstratives have to be further derived with the element *-di* to be able to occur with the location classifier-like markers, e.g. *aki=dino* and *aki=dine* (see Chapter 3 §3.3.3 and T1.1 in the Appendix for examples). This is further an evidence for a possible origin of the demonstrative root *jadi-* ‘here, close to hearer’, that can take *-no*, as in *jadino* ‘(specific) place over here (close to hearer)’.

- (4.89) *ie-ra* *aki=dino-mo_{LOC}* *mei ua*
 CONN-REASON AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC so really
 [*kai=ua* *eirue* *jito*]
 1pl=really forefather son
 ‘And so, in that moment, (we have) our first forefather-son.’

B. LOCATIONAL CLASSIFIER-LIKE MARKER *-ne* ‘UNSPECIFIED PLACE’ - the marker *-ne* in an unproductive locational suffix. In terms of its semantics, it refers to an unspecified location. Its morphosyntactic occurrence is very limited; it occurs with the demonstrative *bene* ‘here’, the postposition *dine* ‘at’ (see §3.3.6)¹⁸⁰, the interrogative *nine* ‘where (unspecified location)’, and the number word *da-* ‘one, alone’, with an opaque meaning *dane* ‘again, once more’. Some examples are given below:

- (4.90) *bii_{PRED}* *bene!*
 come.IMP HERE.LOC:NSP
 ‘Come here!’

Forms with *-ne* rarely function as NP. They also take limited nominal morphology. The only case marker they occur with is the non-topical S/A marker *-na* for ablative meanings (cf. the ablative marker on nouns and other nominal forms is *-mona*), as in (4.91). Since forms that occur with *-ne* are inherently locational, they do not take the locative case marker *-mo*, as illustrated in (4.92).

- (4.91) *bii_{PRED}* *bene!_{LOC}*
 come.IMP HERE.LOC:NSP
 ‘Come here!’

- (4.92) *dine-na_{ABL}* *rii-ya_{PRED}*
 AT.LOC:NSP-ABL arrive-E.NMLZ
 ‘(He) arrived from there.’

Lexical adverbial demonstratives, such as *aki* ‘auditory’, can have *dine* cliticized to them, as in *ari=bene* (uphill=_{HERE.LOC:NSP}) for ‘uphill here’ (cf. §3.3.3). Unlike the classifier-like *-no* in

¹⁸⁰ The form *dine* can also occur as a free form that can be translated as ‘over (here, there)’.

example (4.87) above, *-ne* cannot be used as in the nominalizer function on verbs. Unlike *-no*, the locational classifier-like marker *-ne* can function as a ‘linker’ that can be followed by classifiers. This is illustrated in (4.93) below:

- (4.93) **ana-ne-ko**
 below-LOC:NSP-CLF:COVER
 ‘*maloca* (lit. a house (comes from) below (the sky))’

C. LOCATION CLASSIFIER-LIKE MARKER *-fe* ‘AT THE SIDE OF’ - the morpheme *-fe* has the meaning of ‘location at the side of’. It occurs only on adverbs and lexical adverbial demonstratives, such as *baaife* ‘over there’ (cf. *baai* ‘there (far from speaker)’ in Chapter 3 §3.3.3) and can have a function of a ‘linker’ followed by physical property classifiers. Forms that take *-fe* have noun-like features: they can occur with non-core case markers they can occur with a modifier in an NP, and they function as non-core arguments in the prototypical nominal slots in the clause. In the following examples the place adverbs of place *aa* ‘above’ and *ari* ‘uphill’ take the location classifier-like marker *-fe* ‘at the side of’, further followed by the locative marker *-mo*:

- (4.94) *aa-fe-mo*_{LOC} *jooi-d-e*_{PRED}
 above-CLF:SIDE-LOC **lay**-LK-3
 ‘(He) put it up there (in the upper side, part).’

- (4.95) *ari-fe-mo*_{LOC} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 uphill-CLF:SIDE-LOC exist-LK-1sg
 ‘I live uphill (the upper part of the river bank, land).’

Place adverbs which take *-fe* can serve as a base for further derivations with classifiers, where the morpheme *-fe* ‘acts’ as a linker for other classifiers that specify a referent of the for their physical properties, as in (4.96-97):

- (4.96) *aa-fe-beji*
 above-CLF:SIDE-CLF:SIDE.WATER
 ‘upper side of the water (the side where the water is higher)’

- (4.97) [[*ana bi-ji*] *ari-fe-ji-mo*]_{LOC} *aiima-jai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 below this.CTS-CLF:WATERY uphill-CLF:SIDE-CLF:WATERY-LOC fish-ANDTV-LK-1sg

‘I am going (away) to fish in this pit below (located) uphill.’

4.4 Classifier stacking

In terms of ordering of classifiers in multiclassifier words, there appear to be different classifier sets that can be rearranged according to their semantics; some behave as ‘linkers’ between roots and classifiers. With regards to classifier stacking, physical property classifiers can be combined. Such constructions can have up to two classifier positions (the third position is occupied by a classifier in a ‘linker’ function, such as *-ra* discussed in §4.2.2.5, or *-fe* discussed in §4.3.2). Some examples are given in (4.98-99):

(4.98) *kue-ra-be-niko*
 write-CLF:NEUT-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THIN
 ‘notebook, specific, long in shape’

(4.99) *da-fe-be-kuiro*
 one-CLF:SIDE-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL
 ‘five (lit. one leaf palm)’

Within a syntactic phrase, classifiers can occur in two ways: either following a noun, as shown in (4.100), or as two nominals in the possessive construction with the same meaning, as in (4.101). Pragmatic difference between these two examples is unclear, usually speakers say that these are ‘shortened’ equivalents. Possibly this is the ‘origin’ of classifier stacking structures:

(4.100) *ñeki-ki-ji*
 chambira-CLF:ROUND-CLF:WATERY
 ‘liquid of the chambira fruit’

(4.101) [*ñeki-ki* *i-ji*]_{NP}
 chambira-CLF:ROUND ANA.NSP-CLF:WATERY
 ‘liquid of the chambira fruit’

In terms of ordering of classifiers in multiclassifier words, there appear to be different classifier sets that can be interchangeably rearranged according to their semantics. Such rearrangements are not frequent, however. In (4.102) classifiers *-ko* for ‘cover’ and *-be* for

‘leaf-like forms’ occur in various positions resulting in meaning change. It has to be noted, however, that not all the classifiers can occur in either order in Murui.

- (4.102) a. yera-ko-be
 liquid.tobacco-CLF:COVER-CLF:LEAF
 ‘a leaf to contain *ambil* (liquid tobacco)’
- b. yera-be-ko
 liquid.tobacco-CLF:LEAF-CLF:COVER
 ‘a container to wrap *ambil* (liquid tobacco)’

4.5 Functions of classifiers and repeaters

Classifiers and repeaters, as noun categorization devices in Murui, have various functions.

Some, although similar, are not quite the same. This section discusses functions of classifiers and repeaters in Murui in greater detail.

4.5.1 Functions of classifiers

There are three major functions of classifiers in Murui: derivation of nominal stems, formation of nominal modifiers and nominalizations. In terms of discourse, Murui classifiers serve as a reference-tracking mechanism.

The main function of Murui classifiers is derivation of new stems. They are the major way of forming new words and enlarging the lexicon. Each classifier carries a specific semantic load that is essential the interpretation of the noun. Depending on the meaning of the referent, nouns can be associated with more than one classifier. For instance, the independent noun *yera* ‘liquid tobacco (Sp. *ambil*)’ can occur with a variety of classifiers to refer to and focus on its different properties:

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|----------------------------------|--|
| (4.103) | yera-do | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:POINTED) | ‘ <i>yera</i> in a pointed form (wrapped)’ |
| | yera-ji | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:WATERY) | ‘ <i>yera</i> in a liquid, viscous, sap form’ |
| | yera-fo | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:CAV) | ‘ <i>yera</i> container (<i>maraca</i>) with a hole’ |
| | yera-ko | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:COVER) | ‘ <i>yera</i> container, round’ |
| | yera-ji | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:SMALL.ROUND) | ‘ <i>yera</i> in a form of a small ball’ |

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---|
| yera-ru | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:OVAL) | ‘yera in an oval container’ |
| yera-bi | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:SUBS) | ‘yera very thick in consistency’ |
| yera-rue | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:THINGS) | ‘a lot of prepared paste of yera’ |
| yera-rui | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:DAY) | ‘day of yera (when it is sent out)’ |
| yera-bero | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:DOUGH) | ‘dough made out of yera’ |
| yera-biri | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:SITE) | ‘space, place where yera is kept’ |
| yera-roji | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:ROUND.SMALL) | ‘yera in a form of a ball’ |
| yera-kino | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:NEWS) | ‘word of yera (Sp. <i>dialogo de ambil</i>)’ |
| yera-tiko | (liquid.tobacco-CLF:BASKET) | ‘basket for keeping yera’ |

There are semantic restrictions for various classifiers to be associated with different nouns.

This is determined by sociocultural conditions of the Murui world and the environment they live in. A construction of a noun followed by a classifier have to be meaningful in order to be grammatical, e.g. *yera-mani (liquid.tobacco-CLF:BIG.RIVER) is not possible because yera could have never had a form of a big river. Another example is *ñeki-* ‘chambira palm’ as in *ñeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira palm tree’ cannot be possibly associated with the classifier *-be* ‘leaf-like shape (oval, oblong)’ because *chambira* leaves have a feather-like shape for which Murui has a classifier *-foro*, as in *ñeki-foro* (chambira-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘chambira palm feather-like shaped leave’ but never **ñeki-be*.

Frequently, if there is no word for an object in Murui, there is a classifier for it. Therefore, what Murui classifiers do, is filling lexical gaps taking nominal bound forms (such as demonstratives) and independent nouns such as *raa* as roots. This is especially visible in the context of borrowing ‘concepts’ from Spanish. Illustrative examples of this are *i-bani* (ANA.NSP-CLF:PLANK) for ‘plank’ and *ra-nita* (thing-CLF:ELONGATED) for ‘mat used for sieving’. Some of them seem to be more ‘established’ as lexical terms. For instance, e.g. *ra-dози* (thing-CLF:STICK) is the only way to say ‘stick’.

The generic classifier *-e* draws attention to another characteristic of Murui

Nominalization with classifiers, used as a relativization strategy, it is another prominent function of classifiers in Murui (see also Chapter 3 §3.1.4).¹⁸³ It is a very productive mechanism in the language. In nominalized relative clauses, the common argument can either be fully stated in the main clause, as in (4.106), or as in (4.107), where it is stated in the relative clause (see Chapter 12.X):

(4.106) *uru-iaï-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *kome-ki*_S *faka-di-kue*_{PRED} [*jo-fo-mo*_{LOC}
 child-CLF:G.PL-LOC heart-CLD:ROUND think-LK-1sg house-clf:cav-loc
i-ti-no-mo]_{O:ADDRESSEE:RC}
 exist-LK-CLF:PR.GR-LOC
 ‘I remember my children who stayed at home.’

(4.107) *fui-ri-re-di-mie*_{S:RC} *bi-t-e*_{PRED} *oo* *bi-ñe-d-e?*_{PRED}
 fight-ATT-LK-CLF.PR.M come-LK-3 or come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘The fighter (lit. one who always fights) came, didn’t he?’

In terms of discourse, important function of Murui classifiers is reference-tracking.

Classifiers can be used anaphorically: ‘headless’ nominals (accompanied by classifiers), function as the referential identity of arguments which are explicitly stated in the previous parts of the discourse. In (4.108) *ebi-kai* ‘nice fingers’ refers back to previously mentioned *ono-kai* ‘fingers’:

(4.108) [[*Kata ono-kai* *ii-kai*] *ono-kobe*]_S *jea-re-d-e*_{PRED}
 Kata hand-CLF:STEM man-CLF:STEM hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF dirty-ATT-LK-3
 eo *jea-kobe*
 very dirty-CLF:ROUND.LEAF
 ‘The nails of Kata’s index finger is very dirty. A very dirty nail...’

Another example is illustrated in (4.109) the classifier-like *-no* ‘specific place’ which refers back to *Ikatomo* ‘El Encanto’, the biggest agglomeration of the Murui people at the Putumayo River. This is the beginning of the narration:

¹⁸³ In many languages of South America, classifier-derived nominalizations form relative clauses, e.g. in some Macro-Jé languages (Rodrigues, 1999: 194), Tuyuca (East Tucanoan) (Barnes 1990 in Payne) and Hup (Epps, 2012: 196).

- (4.109) Ikanto-mo_{LOC} i-ya_{PRED} mare mare-kinuai_s i-ya_{PRED}
 El.Encanto-LOC exist-E.NMLZ good.ATT good.ATT-CLF:NEWS.PL exist-E.NMLZ
 nai-no-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED} [komini Murui]_s
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3 person.CLF:DR.GR Murui
 ‘Life in El Encanto is good. (There) are good stories. The Murui people are there.’

In some cases, full NPs with classifiers (as well as some of the ‘frequent’ repeaters) are not even present in the discourse but are understood given the non-linguistic context and cultural knowledge of the speech participants.

4.5.2 Functions of repeaters

The set of Murui repeaters is potentially open as any noun can occur in that position. Their referents can be animals and inanimate objects but not humans. Repeaters do not classify nouns but are a semantically residual class that occurs in the classifier slot (see §4.2.2.6). Murui repeaters are used when a speaker wishes to individualize something for which there is no classifier. In addition to ‘headlessly’ used modifiers with repeaters, such as *bi-ko* (this._{CTS-CLF.REP:DOG}) ‘this dog’, repeaters can also occur on nouns having derivational functions (without changing word class). See the example of the repeater *-tava* (from *atava* ‘chicken’) in (4.77) in §4.x. This function of repeaters can have also a broader meaning (encompassing other types of nouns from the same semantic field, e.g. *-dodo* in *uidodo* ‘mosquito’ and ‘repeated’ in *iudodo* ‘mosquito (type)’, *azidodo* ‘mosquito (type)’, *zurudodo* ‘mosquito type’ (cf. *zuruma* ‘tapir’) and functioning as agreement markers on the clause level, as in (4.110):

- (4.110) bi-tava_{VCS} aiyo-tava_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF.REP:CHICKEN big-CLF.REP:CHICKEN
 ‘This chicken in big (lit. this (chicken) - big (chicken)).’

All nouns that can be used as repeaters in Murui, e.g. *naizo* ‘path’ can be easily referred back to with the generic classifier *-e*. For instance, at some point Walter Agga, a fluent speaker of Murui, was taking me to demonstrate how ‘properly’ to paddle. He pointed at a canoe (*nokae*) and a motor boat that were anchored to the shore line of a river bank, and said:

2007).¹⁸⁴ The classifiers are bound suffixes that can be defined as sets of morphemes that are used in various morphosyntactic contexts: on adjectives, quantifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives, as well as on nouns and on verbs. In terms of their morphological structure, Murui classifiers can be mono- and disyllabic. In many cases, the meanings of disyllabic classifiers are not compositional. While semantics of monosyllabic forms are more general in nature, meanings of the disyllabic forms are more specific.

According to their function, semantics and the morphosyntactic contexts that they occur in, classifiers can be divided into the following types: physical property classifiers (denote among others shape, size, form, interiority, consistency, function, quantification and other meanings); animate classifiers (distinguish natural gender, male - female); unique classifiers (they are semantically unique as their designate abstract concepts and unspecified inanimate objects); and repeaters (nouns with inanimate referents and no additional nominal morphology). The assignment of classifiers is generally based the meaning of a noun referent and their properties.

Three major functions of Murui classifiers are: 1) derivation of nominal stems, 2) formation of nominal modifiers, and 3) functioning as nominalizers in relative constructions. The important discourse function of Murui classifiers is reference-tracking.

¹⁸⁴ Such as Tariana, Bora, and Tucanoan languages (Aikhenvald, 2000, 2003, 2012; Ramirez, 1997; Seifart, 2005; Seifart & Payne, 2007).

Table 4.9 Murui multiple classifier system - an overview

| | Physical property classifiers | Animate classifiers | Abstract and concrete classifiers | Repeaters |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| Size of the system | large (<100) | small (7) | small (3) | large |
| Kind of the system | closed | closed | closed | semi-open (inanimate only) |
| Morphosyntactic loci | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -nouns -adjectival modifiers -quantifiers -pronouns (1, 2 sg, du, pl) -demonstratives -low numerals -interrogatives -anaphoric forms -nominalized verbs with the event nominalization suffix agentive <i>-rai</i> and directly on verbs (archaic) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) pronominal: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -adjectival modifiers -quantifiers -demonstratives -low numerals -interrogatives -anaphoric forms - verbs (nominalization) - full nouns 2) derivational <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -low numerals (reflexive) -nouns (noun root + classifier) -nominalized verbs with the event nominalization suffix, the agent nominalization <i>-rai</i> and directly on verbs (archaic) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -adjectival modifiers -quantifiers -pronouns (1, 2 sg, du, pl) -demonstratives -low numerals -interrogatives -anaphoric forms -full nouns -on verbs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -adjectival modifiers -quantifiers -pronouns (1, 2 sg, du, pl) -demonstratives -low numerals -interrogatives -anaphoric forms -verbs (nominalization) |
| Semantics | Size, form, shape, dimensionality, function, others | Natural-gender: male vs female; other principles for non-human referents | Abstract notions; unspecified inanimate objects | A unique single referent |
| Interrelations with other categories | Classifier stacking possible | Number | No number marking (some) | classifiers and repeaters are mutually exclusive |
| Other properties | monosyllabic and disyllabic in form | | | Cannot have human referents; Spanish loans become easily incorporated into the repeater system |

5 Possession and number

Murui lacks the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Murui lacks a verb ‘have’. The most frequent marking of possession involves a simple juxtaposition of words within the NP that requires the Possessor (R) - Possessed (D) order. Possession is discussed in §5.1. Number is discussed in §5.2.

5.1 Possession - general characteristics

Murui possessive construction involves the Possessor (R) which can be a noun, a ‘headless’ nominal modifier, or an independent pronoun, and the Possessed (D) which is frequently a noun or a ‘headless’ nominal modifier, and functions always as head. Both the R and the D can be modified by a demonstrative and an adjective. There is no marking on the R and the D; the R and the D are simply juxtaposed within the NP with the Possessor-Possessed constituent order. (5.1-2) are examples of a noun and a pronoun in the R functions.

(5.1) [Lucio_R yoe-fai_D]_{NP}
 Lucio metal-CLF:LONG
 ‘Lucio’s machete’

(5.2) [kue_R yofue-rai-ñaiñ_{OD}]_{NP}
 1sg teach-AGT-CLF:DR.F
 ‘my (female) teacher’

NP possessive constructions are marked in the same way regardless of the nature of R (that is, R can be a pronoun or a noun (either a common proper, or kinship noun, with either human, animate, or inanimate referents, loans, etc.) (see §5.1.2). Such possessive constructions function as arguments of predicates in the language or head the predicate.

Verbless possessive constructions involve clauses where the connective *ie* follows the R, and always refers anaphorically. Examples (5.3-4) are illustrative of this. (5.3) is verbless possessive construction with the R and D elements expressed in the clause. (5.4) is a verbless

possessive constructions with the omitted possessee. Verbless possessive constructions, such as (5.3), are frequently used as answers for the question *bu-e bai-e?* (Q1-CLF:G that.FSH-CLF:G) ‘what is this? (lit. what - that)’ while constructions such as in (5.4) are used as replies for *buu ie bai-e?* (Q1 CONN that.FSH-CLF:G) ‘whose is this (lit. who his/hers - that)?’ (see §5.1.3.3).

(5.3) [moo ie]_R jafai-ki_D
 father CONN spirit-CLF:INHER
 ‘father’s spirit (belonging to the father)’

(5.4) moo_R [jafai-ki ie]_R
 father spirit-CLF:INHER CONN
 ‘father’s spirit’s (belonging to the spirit of the father)’

Along these lines, there is a construction which involves a morphological process of affixation of the genitive *-ie*; it is applied to pronouns in the VCC function in the verbless clauses. The marking of the genitive is conditioned by the Nominal Hierarchy, where the 1st and 2nd person (singular, dual and plural) pronouns (in R function) are marked with *-ie*, as in (5.5). 3rd person pronouns referring to the R are marked with the connective *ie*, as in (5.6).

The genitive marker is discussed in §5.1.1.2.

(5.5) [bi-e jo-fo]_{VCS} kue-*ie*_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV 1sg-GEN
 ‘this house is mine’

(5.6) [jadi-e mano-ri-ra-ko]_{VCS} [nai-mie ie]_{VCC}
 that.CTH-CLF:G heal-DUR-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M CONN
 ‘that (close to you) hospital is his’

Murui lacks a verb ‘have’. Stating relationship of possession in the language is achieved through predicative possessive constructions that involve markers on nouns and express attribution or its lack (see §5.1.3.1), and the intransitive verb *i(te)* ‘exist’ where the R is marked with the locative case (see §5.1.3.2). Another way to express possessive meanings is through a verbless clause marked with the connective *ie*, as illustrated in (5.6) above (see §5.1.3.3 for details).

Although the vast majority of Murui nouns are optionally possessed, there are some

which cannot be conceptualized as ‘ownable’. These are, among others, certain natural phenomena. While some nouns (e.g. names of insects), tend not to occur in possessive constructions, others (such as kinship terms) are frequently possessed. A few nouns have different readings when they occur in possessive constructions. The ‘possessibility’ of Murui nouns is the topic of §5.1.4.

5.1.1 *Marking in possessive constructions*

Marking of possession in Murui involves a simple juxtaposition of words within the NP that requires the Possessor - Possessed order. The apposition within NP is discussed in §5.1.1.1. There is a split between 1st and 2nd vs. 3rd person pronouns in the VCC function with regards to their genitive marking (see §5.1.1.2). An alternative way of expressing possession involves nominal forms, with pronouns followed by classifiers (§5.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1 *Apposition within an NP*

The most frequent possessive construction in Murui involves apposition within an NP. The R element is always followed by the D, where the R can be a noun, an independent pronoun or a full NP. In (5.7) the head of the NP, the D *yeta-ra-fue* (punish¹⁸⁵-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY) ‘norms, laws’, is modified by the R *uzu-tiai* (grandparents-PL.KIN) ‘grandfathers’. The R is further modified by the time word *jae* ‘long time ago, in the past’ (see also §5.1.2 for other examples of apposition within an NP).

(5.7) [jae uzu-tiai]_R yeta-ra-fue_D
 PAST grandparent-PL.KIN punish-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY
 ‘norms, laws of our past ancestors’

¹⁸⁵ The verb *yeta(de)* has multiple meanings that include ‘punish’, ‘advise’, ‘set norms’.

Possessive constructions are always used for some kind of ownership. For example, *Kata ra-be-niko* (Kata thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THIN) refers to ‘Kata’s book’, the one that she owns. The ownership does not imply that she is the one who wrote it. The book could also have been written by somebody else but it belongs to Kata now (see also §5.1.3 on the predicative expression of possession).

Within an NP, a noun modified by a demonstrative takes always the generic classifier *-e* (note that there is no full agreement within a noun phrase in Murui, see Chapter 4 §4.1):

- (5.8) [bi-e jo-fo]_R uie-ko_D]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV face.CLF:ROUND
 ‘front of this house (lit. face of this house)’

In Murui number marking can go onto every element in the possessive NP, as in (5.9). This is however not frequent. Gender marking, on the other hand, if present, can just go onto a head noun, the D.¹⁸⁶ Gender marking of the possessed NP is illustrated in (5.10) where *jigadima* ‘tapir’ (with the masculine gender *-ma*) is specified with *riño* ‘woman’ (with feminine gender).

- (5.9) [moo-tiai_R uru-iai_D]_{NP}
 father-PL.KIN child-CLF:G.PL
 ‘fathers’ children’

- (5.10) [oni bai-e jigadi-ma_R ri-ño_D]_{NP} jaka
 LOCAL₂ that.FSH-CLF:G tapir.CLF:DR.M woman-CLF:DR.F always
 [nai-e uru-e diga] jaai-ji-kai-d-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G child-CLF:G WITH go-?RED-INCP-LK-3
 ‘That female tapir (lit. tapir-woman) there always walks with her litter.’

Possessive constructions are NPs that can be followed by case, such as the instrumental *-do* in (5.11) and the locative in (5.12).

¹⁸⁶ If nouns are unmarked for number, their non-singular reading depends on the context (see §5.2 on number).

- (5.11) [Tadave_R mame-ki-do_D]_{INS} bi-ti-kue_{PRED} kue-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} oo
 Tadave name-CLF:INHER-INS come-LK-1sg 1sg-LOC 2sg
 i-ye-na
 give-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘I came in the name of Tadave so you would give (it) to me (lit. you to give (it) to me).’

- (5.12) nare nai_O [[kue moo]_R anane-ko-mo_D]_{NP:LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 yesterday night 1sg father maloka-CLF:COVER-LOC go-LK-1sg
 ‘Yesterday night I went to my father’s *maloca* (communal house).’

In specific semantic circumstances, possessive NPs that function as arguments of a predicate can take markers of the topical S/A subject and non-subject marking (see Chapter 6 on differential subject marking). The following is taken from a conversation between a boy and his grandfather. The boy was looking for the dog of Kata’s. His grandfather became angry with the boy who kept asking him about the dog. ‘Flor’s daughter’ is marked with the S/A.TOP =*di*; ‘Kata’s dog’ is marked with the N.S/A.TOP =*na*.¹⁸⁷

- (5.13) [Flor_R jiza=*di*_D]_{NP:A} [Kata_R jiko-na_D]_{NP:O} kiiio-ñe-d-e!_{PRED}
 Flor daughter=S/A.TOP Kata dog-N.S/A.TOP see.EMPH-NEG-LK-3
 uiño-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} dii [kue moo!]
 know-NEG-LK-1sg CERT 1sg son
 ‘The daughter of Flor didn’t see Kata’s dog! I don’t know, my son!’

When the possession is expressed by a verbless clause, such constructions obligatorily receive the connective *ie* that follows the R (see §5.1.3.3 on possession in verbless clauses):

- (5.14) [Elger Marcia ie]_R nabai_D
 Elger Marcia CONN neighbour
 ‘Elger and Marcia’s neighbour (belonging to Elger and Marcia)’
- (5.15) [kai nairai]_D [mano-ri-rai-ma ie]_R
 1pl clan heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M CONN
 ‘our clan’s healer’s (belonging to the healer of the clan)’

¹⁸⁷ Simultaneous marking of the focused S/A and non-focused S/A arguments within the same clause is very rare in Murui (see Chapter 6).

All personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person) can function as possessive markers (for Murui personal pronouns see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3). In the following examples (5.16-19), the heads of the NP, the D, are preceded by the pronouns that function as pronominal possessors.

(5.16) [OO_R abi_D]_{NP}
 2sg body
 ‘your body’

(5.17) [kaiñai_R evu-ñi_D]_{NP} casa-d-e_{PRED} ie kaiñai_R
 1du.f sister.fem.ego-CLF:DR.F marry.Sp-LK-3 CONN 1du.f
 ooi-ma_D diga]_{NP} i-t-e_{PRED}
 sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M WITH exist-LK-3
 ‘Our sister got married. And she lives with our brother-in-law.’

(5.18) [kai_R komima-fo_D]_S [San Jose ari-fe]_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 1pl person.CLF:DR.M-CLF:CAV San Jose uphill-CLF:SIDE exist-LK-3
 ‘Our Hole of Awakening (lit. hole of the people) is located north of San Jose.’

(5.19) [nai-maki_R jo-fo_D]_S komini-na]_O
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN house-CLF:CAV people.CLF:DR.GR-N.S/A.TOP
 orui-d-e_{PRED}
 fill-LK-3
 ‘Their house (lit. house of theirs) is filled with people.’

(5.20) below is an example of a young man who was lamenting that somebody took monkeys that belonged to him and his brother.

(5.20) [koko_R kuita-iai_D]_{NP:S} buu_{OBLIQUE} ui-ga?_{PRED}
 1du.m monkey-PL Q₂ take-PASS
 ‘Who took our (two men) monkeys?’

In Murui, pronouns for the 1st and 2nd (singular, dual, and plural) person have the status of independent words. 3rd person singular, dual, and plural are in fact classifiers which have to occur with a bound root (see §3.3.2 in Chapter 3). Such a split is clearly notable for the genitive marking as well, where pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person are marked with the genitive *-ie*, and pronouns for the 3rd person are marked with the enclitic *ie*. This is the topic of the following section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.1.2 Genitive marking on pronouns

The marking of the genitive is conditioned by the Nominal hierarchy where the genitive *-ie* occurs with personal pronouns in 1st and 2nd person.¹⁸⁸ To express genitive meanings, 3rd person pronouns are followed by the connective *ie* (see also §3.3.5 in Chapter 3). Table 5.1 shows Murui personal pronouns marked with *-ie* in 1st and 2nd person, but followed by *ie* in 3rd person.

Table 5.1 Genitive marking on pronouns

| | Singular | | Dual | | Plural |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| | Masculine | Feminine | Masculine | Feminine | |
| 1 | kueie | | kokoie | kaiñaie | kaie |
| 2 | ooie | | omikoie | omiñoie | omoie |
| 3 | -mie ie | -ñaiño ie | -aimaiaie ie | -aiñuaie ie | -maki ie |

Pronouns marked with the genitive *-ie* and the connective *ie* cannot function as modifiers within NP. 1st and 2nd person pronouns function similarly to nouns with somewhat limited possibilities (they cannot take number marking), and, as such, they can head an intransitive predicate and occur as arguments of a predicate. In (5.30-32) further this section, they are case-marked and occur as arguments of a predicate. In (5.21-22) they function as arguments of a verbless clause. Additionally, in (5.22) the pronoun *oo* ‘you (sg)’ followed by the genitive *-ie* heads a predicate.

- (5.21) [bi-e jo-fo]_{VCS} kue-*ie*!_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV 1sg-GEN
 ‘This house is mine!’

¹⁸⁸ The marker *-ie* might be etymologically related to the general classifier *-e* (or its allomorph *-je*). It was commented to me that some clans pronounce *kueie* as *kueje*. Further evidence for this might be the fact that none of the pronouns might occur with the general classifier *-e*.

- (5.22) [[jadi-e mero]_R ifo-gi_D]_{VCS} oo-ie_{VCC}
 this.CTH-CLF:G peccary head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER 2sg-GEN
 [oo_R ifo-gi_D]_{NP} oo-ie-d-e_{PRED}
 2sg head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER 2sg-GEN-LK-3
 ‘That peccary’s head is yours! Your head! It’s yours!’

The 3rd person pronouns (similarly to other nouns in such position) obligatorily receive the connective *ie* that follows the R, as in (5.23). This principle is the same as marking any noun or NP in verbless constructions with a possessive form (see §5.1.3.3).

- (5.23) aki-e gui-ye gato ie!
 this.AUDTV-CLF:G eat-FUT.E.NMLZ cat.Sp CONN
 ‘That food (as heard) is the cat’s.’

3rd person pronouns, which are in fact classifiers, can follow 1st and 2nd person pronouns (see §3.3.2 and §4.2.2.2). Some examples are given in (5.24-27) below. Nominal modifiers formed from pronouns by means of animate ‘pronominal’ classifiers are discussed in §5.1.1.3.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(5.24) kue-ñaiño 1sg-CLF:PR.F ‘my (female)’</p> | <p>(5.25) kai-maki 1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN ‘our (group) (e.g. family)’</p> |
| <p>(5.26) omoi-maki 2pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN ‘your (group)’</p> | <p>(5.27) kainai-maki 1du.f-CLF:PR.GR.AN ‘our (two female’s) group’</p> |

Kaimaki in (5.25) is a frequent way to refer to a group of Murui excluding non-Murui. *Kai* has inclusive overtones in the language and is frequently used during celebrations in the communal houses when addressing the crowd. Note *-maki* is fairly restricted, that is, it cannot occur on nouns (many classifiers do have such functions, see Chapter 4). Compare the examples (5.28a-b) and (5.29a-b), and note the ungrammaticality of (5.28c-29c).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ The morpheme *-maki* is also a pronominal subject marker S/A on verbs (see §4.2.2.2).

- (5.28) a. [jo-fo i-maki]NP
 house-CLF:CAV ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘the group (people, family) of the house’
- b. [jo-fo i-ñaiño]NP
 house-CLF:CAV ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.F
 ‘the woman of the house’
- c. *jo-fo-maki
 *jo-fo-ñaiño
- (5.29) a. [nai-ñaiño abi i-maki]NP
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F body ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘the group (i.e. people) around her’
- b. *abi-maki
 *abi-ñaiño

1st and 2nd person pronouns marked with the genitive *-ie* can occur as arguments of predicate and take case markings, the non-topical S/A subject *-na*, the locative *-mo*, and the instrumental *-do* markers, as in (5.30-32). For 3rd person pronouns, as shown in (5.33), the case marker occurs on the connective *ie*, as in (5.34), not on the pronoun itself.¹⁹⁰

- (5.30) koko-*ie*-na ati!_{PRE}
 1du.m-GEN-N.S/A.TOP bring.IMP
 ‘Bring ours (machetes)!’
- (5.31) ka*ie*-mo uai!_{PRE}
 1pl.GEN-LOC take.ANDTV.IMP
 ‘Take it away into ours (jungle garden)!’
- (5.32) kue-*ie*-do gui-ño!_{PRE}
 1sg-GEN-INS eat-IMP
 ‘Eat with mine (spoon)!’
- (5.33) [kue-maki ie]_R uaibi-ti-kue_{PRE}
 1sg-CLF:DR.M CONN take.VENTV-LK-1sg
 ‘I will bring (things) of my people (belonging to my people).’

¹⁹⁰ In the Minika variety it is also possible to add the benefactive-causal case marker *-ri* to pronouns that take the genitive *-ie*, e.g. *kue-*ie*-ri fuiri-di-maki* (1sg-GEN-BENEF.CAUS fight-LK-3pl) ‘they fought for (something) mine’. In Murui only *kue-ri* (1sg-BENEF.CAUS) ‘for me’ is appears to be possible in such constructions (see §6.2.2.3).

Murui elders do not approve of such constructions and correct them with sentences such as

(5.37). In (5.37) is *ooie* ‘yours’ is in the S function.

(5.37) oo-*ie*_S maraiñe-d-*e*_{PRED}
 2sg-GEN good.ATT.NEG-LK-3
 ‘Yours is not good.’

Nowadays among the speakers of Murui, there is a lot of code switching between Spanish and Murui. One such example is presented in (5.38) where the possessive NP structure *jofo de Elger* ‘house of Elger’ is taken over from Spanish and included into the Murui clause.

(5.38) [jo-fo de Elger]_{NP} jano-ko
 house-CLF:CAV of.Sp Elger small-CLF:COVER
 iraizi-ye-na_{PUR}
 celebrate.PP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘The house of Elger is too small to make celebrations (lit. house of Elger -
 small house for future celebrations).’

5.1.1.3 Pronouns and classifiers

An alternative way of expressing possession is with classifier constructions. Murui has a multiple classifier system where classifier and repeaters (partially repeated nouns for which no classifier exist) occur in numerous morphosyntactic contexts (see Chapter 4). In Murui, if a possessed noun is to be focussed on (and it is retrievable from the context), the head noun is omitted, and the pronoun (for the 1st and 2nd person) takes a classifier or a repeater. In such constructions, pronouns function as R while classifiers have the D function. Such structures are similar to those illustrated in (5.24-27). ‘Derivational’ animate classifiers never occur in such positions (see §4.2.2.2). Examples of physical property classifiers and repeaters are given in (5.39-41) below.

(5.39) koko-rui
 1du.m-CLF:DAY
 ‘our (two men) day (e.g. birthday)’

(5.40) kai-ko
 1pl-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘our dog’ (from *jiko* ‘dog’)

(5.41) omoi-dora
 2pl-CLF.REP:RECORDER.Sp
 ‘your recorder’ (from Spanish *semana* (Sp.) ‘week’)

Pronouns that take the genitive *-ie* cannot take other classifiers. Classifier stacking structures with *-ie*, such as **koko-ie-rui* (1du.m-GEN-CLF:DAY) intended for ‘my day’, are ungrammatical. An NP can contain a pronoun marked with the genitive *-ie* only if it is followed by a head noun. Such constructions have emphatic readings (see also §4.4 for the possible origin of the classifier stacking structures). This is illustrated in (4.42):

(5.42) [koko-*ie* i-rui]_{NP}
 1du.m-CLF:DAY ANA.NSP-CLF:DAY
 ‘MY day (lit. mine - day)’

In Murui, constructions that allow classifier stacking are limited. For instance, animate referents are never used in the classifier slot. Apposition within an NP is the only way to express the possessive relation between ‘Walter’ and ‘hill’ in (5.43).

(5.43) [Walter_R i-du_D]_{NP}
 Walter ANA.NSP-CLF:HIGH.AXIS
 ‘Walter’s hill’

5.1.2 Relationship and meaning of possessive noun phrases

In Murui the apposition within an NP ‘covers’ all types of possessive relationships including ownership, whole-part relationships, kinship and attributive relations, orientation, associations as well as nominalizations. These are discussed in turn.

A. OWNERSHIP – the referent can have either permanent or temporary ownership. The following example (5.44) is taken from a conversation about a boat motor of Jose. Jose is the only person in the community who owns a motor.

- (5.44) [Jose_R moto_D]_{NP:S} rii-re jaai-d-e_{PRED} erua?
 Jose moto angry-ATT run-LK-3 see.really
 ‘The motor of Jose runs fast (lit. angrily), doesn’t it?’

It is not customary to refer to temporary possession in Murui. Customarily, it is always the rightful owner who is mentioned, never the temporary one. For instance, when Walter was using a canoe that his cousin Gaie lent him for a long period of time, that canoe would always be referred to as *Gaie nokae* ‘Gaie’s canoe’, never as ‘Walter’s canoe’. Only if an object is officially given to somebody and becomes their possession, it will be referred to by using the ‘new’ owner’s name. Under certain circumstances, when possession is unclear (e.g. theft), the object can be referred to with the name of the ‘new’ owner to avoid confrontation, e.g. *Tadave celular* ‘Tadave’s phone’ (when knowing that the phone isn’t hers), but more frequently a demonstrative is used instead of the owner’s name, e.g. *bie celular* ‘this phone’ (accompanied by a gesture).

B. WHOLE-PART RELATIONSHIP applies to semantic relations of all kinds, such as body parts of humans (5.45-46), bodily fluids (5.47-48), animals (5.49), plants (5.50), and artefacts (5.51).

- (5.45) [Rata_R kome-ki_D]_{NP:S} ziri-d-e_{PRED}
 Rata heart-CLF:ROUND swollen-LK-3
 ‘The heart of Rata is swollen.’
- (5.46) [Maria_R moi-fo_D]_{NP:S} izi-re-d-e_{PRED}
 Maria rear-CLF:CAV hurt-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The vagina of Maria hurts her.’
- (5.47) [kue_R dirue_D]_{NP:S} jiri-ya_{PRED}
 1sg blood stain-E.NMLZ
 ‘My blood stained (it).’
- (5.48) [moor_R rio-ki_D]_{NP:S} eo jea-re zori-d-e_{PRED}
 father sweat-CLF:INHER very dirty-ATT smell-LK-3
 ‘The sweat of my father smells bad.’
- (5.49) [konago_R oma-kai_D]_{NP:S} tikori-d-e_{PRED}
 lizard tail-CLF:STEM tear-LK-3
 ‘The tail of the lizard tore itself loose.’

(5.50) [dio-na_R i-be_D]_{VCS} [kome_R mano-ra_D]_{VCC}
 tobacco-CLF:TREE ANA.NSP-CLF:LEAF person heal-CLF:NEUT
 ‘The leaf of tobacco is one’s medicine.’

(5.51) [jo-fo_R ventana_D]_{NP:S} tuui-d-e_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV window.Sp open-LK-3
 ‘The window of the house is open.’

C. KINSHIP RELATIONSHIP - consanguineal and affinal relationships in Murui are expressed in the same way. (5.52) is an example of blood relation; (5.53) illustrates a relationship through marriage.

(5.52) [Izmael_R miri-ñ_O]_{VCS} [eo nai-ya-re-d-e
 Izmael sister.masc.ego-CLF:DR.F very speak-E.NMLZ-ATT-LK-3
 ri-ñ_O]_{VCC}
 woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘Izmael’s sister is a chatty woman (negative)’.

(5.53) [Maria_R ini_D]_S baai bai-e fiemona-mo baai-d-e_{PRED}
 Maria husband THERE that.FSH-CLF:G season-LOC die-LK-3
 ‘The husband of Maria died a year ago (lit. in another season)’.

D. ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP as in (5.54) below:

(5.54) [kue_R mo_O]_{NP:A} uiño-ñe-d-e_{PRED} [[bi-e uru-e]_R
 1sg father know-NEG-LK-3 this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G
 eda-na_D]_O
 age.Sp-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘My father doesn’t know the age of this child.’

E. A statement of ORIENTATION OR LOCATION as in (5.55-56) below:

(5.55) [[bi-e jo-fo]_R uie-ko_D]_S eo jea-re-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV face-CLF:ROUND very dirty-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The front of this house is very dirty.’

(5.56) [[bai-e anane-ko]_R abi-mo_D] [da-je imoki-rai]_S
 that.FSH-CLF:G maloka-CLF:COVER body-LOC one-CLF:G urtica-CLF:BUSH
 i-t-e_{PRED}
 exist-LK-3
 ‘At the side of the *maloca*, there is the urtica bush.’

F. ASSOCIATION such as (5.57) below:

- (5.57) [Katarina_R enie_D]_{NP:S} Polonia-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 Katarina land Poland.Sp-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘The land of Katarina is in Poland’.

G. NOMINALIZATIONS are easily ‘possessed’ in Murui, as illustrated in (5.58-60):

- (5.58) [[o_R ei_D]_{NP:O} boyi-ya-na_D]_O kio-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 2sg mother urinate-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP see-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I cannot see your mother urinating (because of respect).’
- (5.59) [kue_R gui-ye_D]_{NP:O} kue-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} ine!_{PRED}
 1sg eat-FUT.E.NMLZ 1sg-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give me my food (lit. my future eating)!’
- (5.60) [kai_R kaima-tai-ya-kinuai_D]_{NP:O} oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 1pl happy-BECOME₂-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS.PL 2sg-LOC
 yo-i-aka-di-kai_{PRED}
 tell-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘We want to tell you our stories of joy.’

5.1.3 Predicative possessive constructions

Murui lacks a verb ‘have’. Stating relationships of possession can be achieved through two types of predicative possessive constructions:

- i) those with attributive markers on predicates whose head is a noun (§5.1.3.1),
- ii) the intransitive verb *i(te)* ‘exist’ where the R is marked with the locative case (§5.1.3.3).

Murui can express possessive meanings through a special kind of verbless clause marked with the connective *ie* (discussed in §5.1.3.3.2)

5.1.3.1 Attributive markers on predicates

The most common way to establish a possessive relationship in Murui involves the morphological process of affixation, where the positive and negative attributive markers *-re* and *-ni* occur on a predicate whose heads can be verbs, adjectives, nouns, and nominal modifiers of all kinds. Depending on the word class they occur with, the attributive markers

have different semantics involving ‘ability’ with verbs, ‘property’ with adjectives and ‘possession’ with nouns (see Chapters 7 and 10). This section focuses on the attributive markers that express possession: that is, those which occur on predicates that have nouns and nominal structures as their heads.

Nouns and nominals functioning predicatively can be marked with the attributive *-re* to express ‘possession’ or the negative attributive *-ni* for its lack. (5.61-63) are examples of ‘positive’ possession. Occasionally, plural markers can occur in such constructions. This is in *jofuiairedimie* ‘the one who has houses’ in (5.63).

(5.61) [kueR ei_D]_{NP:S} uru-e-re-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg mother child-clf:g-ATT-LK-3
 ‘My mother has a child (lit. my mother possesses children).’

(5.62) nuiki-rai_s i-foro-re-d-e_{PRED}
 crown-CLF:BUSH.NODE ANA.NSP-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The crown has feathers.’

(5.63) [nai-e presidente]_{NP:VCS} jofui-ai-re-di-mie_{VCC} aaai!
 ANA.SP-CLF:G president.Sp house-clf:cav.PL-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.M INTERJ.EMPH
 ‘That president has so many houses, ay!’

A negative counterpart of the predicative positive possessive construction is shown in examples (5.64-65).

(5.64) uru-e-ni-di-kue=_{di}_{PRED}
 child-clf:g-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg=S/A.TOP
 ‘I don’t have children!’ (lit. I don’t possess children).’

(5.65) nai-ñaiño_s eo due-re-d-e_{PRED} jo-fo-ni-d-e=_{za}_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very poor-ATT-LK-3 house-CLF:CAV-NEG.ATT-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘She is very poor (lit. having property of being poor). She’s got no house (lit. she doesn’t possess a house).’

Although the expression of lack of possession is by default marked with the negative attributive *-ni*, younger speakers tend to negate the attributive *-re* with the standard negative

marker *-ñe*.¹⁹³ Compare the examples (5.61-62) above with (5.66) below. There is no apparent change in meaning between predicates marked with the negative attributive *-ni*, as in (5.61-62), and those with the (positive) attributive *-re* followed by the standard negative *-ñe*, as in (5.66).

- (5.66) nia telefon-re-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} uku-be_s i-ñe-d-e-za_{PRED}
 STILL phone.Sp-ATT-NEG-LK-1sg money-CLF:LEAF exist-NEG-LK-3-EMPH
 ‘I don’t have a phone yet (lit. I don’t possess a phone); there isn’t money (for it).’

There are no restrictions for nouns and nominal modifiers (that take classifiers) to occur in possessive predicative constructions. In (5.67) the head of the NP is the nominal modifier *bue* ‘what’ which contains the interrogative *buu* ‘who’ (see §3.3.4 and Chapter 10).

- (5.67) bu-e-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:G-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t have anything (lit. I don’t possess what).’

When modifying intransitive predicates with nominal heads, pronominal subject markings S have to be coreferential with the modifying pronouns, as in (5.68). Constructions where these are not coreferential, such as those in (5.69a-b), are ungrammatical.

- (5.68) oo_R ra-be-niko-re-do?_{PRED}
 2sg thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THIN-ATT-LK.2sg
 ‘Do *you* have *your* notebook?’

- (5.69) a. *oo moto-re-di-kue_{PRED}
 2sg motor.Sp-ATT-LK-1sg
 intended for ‘I have *your* motor’
 b. *buu kue moto-re-d-e?_{PRED}
 Q2 1sg motor.Sp-ATT-LK-3
 intended for ‘who has *my* motor?’

¹⁹³Murui elders tend to correct such uses employing structures that contain the negative attributive marker *-ni*.

The only way to express such meanings is either to use the intransitive verb *i(te)* ‘exist’, as in (5.70) below, or to use some type of periphrasis, as in (5.71). Expression of possession with the intransitive verb *i(te)* is discussed in the following section §5.1.3.2.

(5.70) [OO_R motO_D]_{NP:S} kue-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 2sg motor.Sp 1sg-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘I have your motor.’

(5.71) buu_S [kue_R motO_D]_{NP:O} ui-ti-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁ 1sg motor.Sp take.away-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you take my motor?’

5.1.3.2 Using intransitive verb ‘exist’

In Murui it is possible to establish a possessive relationship by employing the intransitive (lexical) verb *i(te)* ‘exist’ where the R is marked with the locative case, as illustrated in (5.72-73) below.¹⁹⁴

(5.72) kue-mo_{R:LOC} uru-e_S i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg-LOC child-CLF:G exist-LK-3
 ‘I have a child (lit. in me there is a child).’

(5.73) [OO_R nokaed]_{NP:S} [kue uzu-ma-mo]_{R:LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 2sg canoe 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.M-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘My grandfather has your canoe (lit. your canoe is in my grandfather).’

Existential clauses can also have readings relating to ownership and possession. Such readings are context-dependent. (5.74) is a reply to a question *oo komputadora-re-di-o?* (2sg computer.Sp-ATT-LK-2) ‘do you have your computer?’.

(5.74) [kue komputadora]_{NP:S} i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg computer.Sp exist-LK-3
 ‘I have my computer (lit. my computer exists).’

¹⁹⁴ This is called ‘locational schema’ in Heine (1997).

Other examples of existential clauses expressing possessive relationships are illustrated in (5.75-79) below.

- (5.75) [ni-ga uru-iaɪ]_{NP:S} i-t-e_{PRED} (omoi-mo)?
 Q₂-QUANT child-CLF:G.PL exist-LK-3 2pl-LOC
 ‘How many children do you have (how many children are there (in you))?’
- (5.76) [kue uzu-ma]_{NP:S} i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.M exist-LK-3
 ‘I have a grandfather (lit. my grandfather exists).’
- (5.77) [kue ifo-gi-mo]_{NP:LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg head-CLF:ROUND-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘I have (it) in my head (lit. it’s in my head).’
- (5.78) [oo uru-iaɪ]_{NP:S} i-t-e?_{PRED}
 2sg child-CLF:G.PL exist-LK-3
 ‘Do you have children? (lit. do your children exist?)’
- (5.79) [kue uru-iaɪ]_{NP:S} [buu dino-mo]_{LOC} i-t-e?_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:G.PL Q₂ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘Who has my children (lit. whose place are my children at)?’

Relationships of possession can be expressed also by intransitively functioning nouns and nominal modifiers in the predicate slot, as in (5.80). This examples is an excerpt from a dialogue between women about their children - a frequent topic in everyday conversation.¹⁹⁵

- (5.80) T: [oo uru-iaɪ]_{NP:S} i-t-e?_{PRED} ni-ga-za=di?_{NP}
 2sg child-CLF:G.PL exist-LK-3 Q₂-QUANT-CLF:IMMATURE=S/A.TOP
 ‘Do you have children? How many?’
- M: da-je-d-e_{PRED}
 one-CLF:G-LK-3
 ‘(I have) one (lit. it’s one).’

¹⁹⁵ The number word *da-* ‘one’ is unique as it does not co-occur with the attributive markers, **da-je-re-di-kue* (one-CLF:G-ATT-LK-1sg) intended for ‘I have one’. Other number words, such as *mena* ‘two’, can take the attributive markers, as in *mena-re-di-kue* (two-ATT-LK-1sg) ‘I have two’.

5.1.3.3 *Verbless clauses*

Verbless clauses with possessive meanings obligatorily receive the connective *ie* that can either occur following directly the R and making anaphoric reference to the R. There are two types of verbless constructions:

- i) with the D stated – these are called the POSSESSION TYPE A constructions, as in (5.81),
- ii) with the D omitted – these are called the POSSESSION TYPE B constructions, as in (5.82).

Two types of constructions with *ie* are illustrated below. In (5.81) ‘Walter’s_R abdomen_D’ makes a statement about an object that belongs to Walter, whereas ‘Walter’s_R abdomen’s_R’ in (5.82) makes a statement about something that belongs to the abdomen of Walter.

(5.81) [Walter_R ie]_R jebe-gi_D
 Walter CONN abdomen-CLF:ROUND.BIGGER
 ‘Walter’s abdomen (lit. Walter HIS abdomen, belonging to Walter)’

(5.82) Walter_R [jebe-gi ie]_R
 Walter abdomen-CLF:ROUND.BIGGER CONN
 ‘Walter’s abdomen’s (lit. Walter abdomen ITS, belonging to Walter’s abdomen)’

Compare these constructions with a verbless clause expressing identity, as in (5.83).

(5.83) [Walter_R mame-ki_D]_{NP:VCS} Flako_{VCC}
 Walter name-CLF:INHER Flaco.Sp
 ‘The nickname of Walter is *Flaco*.’

Unlike the possessive constructions formed by apposition within NP (see §5.1.1.1), constructions with *ie* rarely function as arguments of predicates. In verbless clauses expressing possession and containing the element *ie*, VCS arguments are frequently omitted but can occasionally resurface, as in (5.86) below. It should be pointed out here that the requirement for the connective *ie* in ‘possessive’ verbless constructions is syntactic in nature. Verbless clauses expressing identity in Murui consist of simple appositions of arguments. The presence of the connective *ie*, therefore, changes the semantics of verbless clauses from

expressing identity (NP - NP) to expressing possession. Compare the contrastive examples in (5.84-86) below.¹⁹⁶

- (5.84) [bi-e ñi-ma]_{NP:VCS} [Maria_R izo_D]_{NP:VCC} *identity*
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M Maria uncle
 ‘This man is Maria’s uncle (lit. this man - Maria’s uncle)’.
- (5.85) [kue jito]_{NP:VCS} [[Tadave ie]_R moo_D]_{NP:VCC} *possession (A)*
 1sg son Tadave CONN father
 ‘My son is Tadave’s father (lit. my son - Tadave HER father)’.
- (5.86) [bai-e jiko]_{NP:VCS} [Rata_R [uzu-ño ie]_R]_{NP:VCC} *possession (B)*
 that.FSH-CLF:G dog Rata grandparent-CLF:DR.F CONN
 ‘That dog is is Rata’s grandmother’s (belonging to Rata’s grandmother) (lit. that dog - Rata’s grandmother HERS)’.

The constructions with the connective *ie* following the R and D are discussed in turn.

A. CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE CONNECTIVE *ie* FOLLOWING THE R AND THE D STATED –

semantically, such constructions are understood as ‘re-confirmation’ of a sort that the R ‘truly’ possesses the D; they are emphatic in nature. They are frequently used as answers for the question *bue (baie)?* ‘what (is that)?’. Compare the examples (5.87) and (5.90). (5.87) is a typical verbless clause in Murui expressing identity; (5.87-90) are ‘possession’ verbless clauses with the connective *ie*.

- (5.87) bi-e_{VCS} [Walter_R jiko_D]_{NP:VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G Walter dog
 ‘This is Walter’s dog (lit. this - Walter’s dog)’.
- (5.88) [[Jose ie]_R iy_D]_{NP}
 Jose CONN **jungle.garden**
 ‘(This is) Jose’s jungle garden (lit. Jose HIS jungle garden)’

¹⁹⁶ Elsewhere in the grammar, the connective *ie* is used for purposes of clause linking and referent-tracking (see §3.3.5). The connective *ie* is never fully coreferential in Murui (that is, it never agrees in classifier, number, and gender with its referents). In other languages spoken in the area, such as Bora, the connective *aane* is always coreferential (Seifart, 2010).

(5.89) [[kue moo ie]_R anane-ko_D]_{NP}
 1sg father-CLF:DR.M CONN maloca-CLF:COVER
 ‘(This is) my father’s *maloca* (lit. my father HIS *maloca*).’

(5.90) [[Kata_R ei_D ie]_R moo_D]_{NP}
 Kata mother CONN father
 ‘(This is) Kata’s mother’s father (lit. Kata’s mother HER father).’

In verbless clauses with the connective following the R, the R can be a noun or a nominal modifier, but never a 1st and 2nd person pronoun (as mentioned in §5.1.1.2, non-third person pronouns cannot co-occur with *ie*), e.g. **oo ie jebegi* (2sg CONN abdomen-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) is ungrammatical. 3rd person pronouns are always followed by *ie*, as in (5.91).

(5.91) [nai-mie ie]_R i-ji_D
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M CONN ANA.NSP-CLF:WATERY
 ‘(This is) his drink (something to drink).’

B. CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE CONNECTIVE *ie* FOLLOWING THE R AND THE D OMITTED – in constructions with the connective following the R, *ie* always refers anaphorically to the R, as illustrated in (5.92). The D is omitted from the NP; in verbless clauses expressing identity it can occur as the VCS argument, as in (5.93). Such constructions are the most frequent answers to the question *buu ie baie?* ‘whose is this?’.

(5.92) [Lucio_R [uru-e ie]_R]_{NP}
 Lucio child-clf:g CONN
 ‘(This is) Lucio’s child’s (belonging to Lucio’s child)’

(5.93) [bi-e jiko]_{NP:VCS} [[kue moo ie]_R]_{NP:VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog 1sg father CONN
 ‘This dog is my father’s (lit. this dog - of my father, belonging to my father)’

In the verbless clauses expressing identity, occasionally the VCS (that refers to the D) can be omitted when the referent is clear from the immediate context. Such omissions occur frequently as answers to the question *buu ie?* ‘whose?’. This is shown in (5.94), where Rata pointed to a camera, asking to whom it belonged. The ‘camera’ is not overtly stated. (5.95) shows the underlying VSC-VCC structure of (5.94).

- (5.94) [Kata ie]_R
 Kata CONN
 ‘(It’s) Kata’s (belonging to Kata)’
- (5.95) camera_{D:VCS} [Kata ie]_{R:VCC}
 camera.Sp Kata CONN
 ‘(The) camera is Kata’s (belonging to Kata)’

5.1.4 On ‘possessibility’ of Murui nouns

The vast majority of nouns in the language are optionally possessed and take the possessive pronouns or the possession is marked by juxtaposition of possessor and possessed. A few nouns, such as *fueo-ti-mie* (learn-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘student (lit. the one who learns’, never seem to be possessed. Elders prefer to say *kue yofue-ga-mie* (1sg teach-PASS-CLF:PR.M) ‘my apprentice (lit. the one who I taught)’. This is similar with *giboki* ‘a type of a beetle’ disliked by the Murui. One can possibly say *kue giboki* ‘my beetle’ but people normally would not say this - why would one want to own a beetle?

Certain nouns, such as kinship terms, are more frequently possessed than others, such as e.g. *kue ei* ‘my mother’, *kue uzuma* ‘my grandfather’, *kue jiza* ‘my daughter’ etc., but this is only a tendency. A few nouns can have somewhat different readings when marked for possession. For instance, when possessed, *kai uzu-tiai* (1pl grandparent-PL.KIN) ‘grandfathers’ can either mean ‘generation of our grandfathers’ or ‘our ancestors’. Another example is *(kue) moo* ‘(my) father (vocative)’ and *kai moo* (1pl father) ‘our Father Creator’ (see Chapter 3 §3.1.1 on vocative forms).¹⁹⁷

In Murui some objects cannot be envisaged as ‘ownable’ and, therefore, cannot be ‘possessed’ (see also §3.1.1). These items include:

¹⁹⁷ Note that Murui has a kinship plural *-tiai* which contrasts with the collective *-niai*, see §5.2.

- natural phenomena, such as *jitoma* ‘sun’, *aifi* ‘wind’, *ukudu* ‘star’, *fivui* ‘moon’, *ameo* ‘rainbow’,
- proper names, such as *Juziñamui* ‘god’, *Walter* ‘Walter’,
- names of plants, such as *imoki* ‘urtica medicinal plant’,
- some species of animals and insects, such as *amana* ‘dolphin’, *uidodo* ‘mosquito’.

Possession in Murui seems to reflect traditional attitudes to ownership. This has to do with the cultural prohibition against individualization, that is “I” *kue* (1sg) and *koko* (1du.m) vs. “we” *kai* (1pl). Traditional Murui speakers always talk in collective terms recognizing the contributions of ‘all’ the people, and never promoting the individuals. Murui elders stress that:

(5.96) *kai-kino=di* ‘kaai’ *rei-t-e*_{PRED} ‘kuue’ *rei-ñe-d-e!*_{PRED}
 1pl-CLF:NEWS=S/A.TOP 1pl.EMPH say-LK-3 1sg.EMPH say-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Our tradition says “we”, it doesn’t say “I”!’

This individual vs. collective distinction is reflected on nouns as well. While many of the nouns cannot be possessed by individuals (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and dual) such as ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘his’ etc., they become “possessible” when they have plural referents and are expressed in relation to a group. A number of examples are shown in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 Possibility’ of salient cultural concepts in plural

| SINGULAR AND DUAL | PLURAL |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| * <i>kue Yetarafue</i> ‘my norms, law’ | <i>kai Yetarafue</i> ‘our norms, law’ |
| * <i>kue jaziki</i> ‘my forest, land’ | <i>kai jaziki</i> ‘our forest, land’ |
| * <i>kue iye</i> ‘my river’ | <i>kai iye</i> ‘our river’ |
| * <i>kue komini</i> ‘my people’ | <i>kai komini</i> ‘our people’ |
| * <i>kue uai</i> ‘my language’ ¹⁹⁸ | <i>kai uai</i> ‘our language’ |

The distinction singular, dual vs. plural holds also in other domains of the grammar. For instance, hortative (du, pl) has always inclusive readings and never exclusive ones (Aikhenvald, 2017) (see also §11.1). According to elder Lucio Agga: ‘How can you say “let’s

¹⁹⁸ *Uai* can mean ‘voice’, ‘language’, and ‘word’. It is possessible with the meaning ‘voice’, as in *kue uai* (1sg voice) ‘my voice, my word’ (but not ‘my language’).

go” and not mean all of you? This is not how the Murui are. A Murui man never behaves this way. We do things together.’

Some concepts traditionally could not be possessed by individuals in the Murui culture. For instance, *iyi* ‘*chagra*, jungle garden’ conventionally belonged to entire clans. Nowadays, ‘possessibility’ of many of such ideas seem to be changing. Under the influence of the Colombian culture, many of the young people have their own jungle gardens which are not shared with other members of their family. Young people refer to such jungle gardens as *kue iyi* ‘MY jungle garden’ instead of *kai iyi* ‘our jungle gardens’. This leads to strong disapproval by Murui elders who comment that ‘not only do young Murui speak broken words’ but that they also ‘have lost their culture’.

5.2 Number

Depending on their number distinctions, Murui nouns can be divided into five distinct groups, that include inanimate nouns, inanimate nouns with specific semantics (such as culturally important objects and artefacts), animate nouns, kinship nouns, as well as nouns which make no number distinctions. Number marking on Murui nouns is discussed §5.2.1 and summarized in §5.2.2. The last section of this chapter §5.2.3 discusses number marking on ‘headless’ nominal modifiers.

5.2.1 Marking

The plural marker *-ai* (with its allomorphs *-iai* and *-yai*) occurs on nouns with animate and inanimate referents, as well as abstract nouns. All nouns with prototypically-human referents receive the collective marker *-niai*, and kinship nouns take the kinship plural marker *-tia*. Nominalizations (i.e. those which cannot take classifiers), proper names, uncountable nouns, and many unique phenomena such as *jitoma* ‘sun’ do not have number distinctions. Within a

grammatical word number is marked only once. Based on their occurrence with different types of number marking, we distinguish:

A. INANIMATE NOUNS (INCLUDING LOW ANIMALS, CONCRETE, AND ABSTRACT) - such nouns have two number distinctions: singular (unmarked) and plural (marked). Additionally, the general classifier *-e* can have ‘collective’ readings as well. Nouns with inanimate referents include low animals (that is, those with no sex-differentiable gender). Marking of number distinctions on inanimate nouns is not frequent in the discourse. Usually, singular forms can have non-singular readings, and nouns are only marked for plural when their plurality is important in the discourse context. For instance, *ñeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira tree palm’ can refer to one tree palm, but can also have a general referent ‘chambira trees (in general)’. This is illustrated in (5.97), where *nokae* ‘canoe’ has non-singular reading ‘canoes’. (5.97) was uttered when various canoes carrying people to attend a ritual celebration arrived, and women were urged to hurry up and smoke the fish.

(5.97) *nokae rii-ya jaai-ño-kai!*_{PRED}
 canoe arrive-E.NMLZ go-IMP.RAPID
 ‘(The) canoes arrived! Go quickly!’

When the plurality of a referent is somehow important in the discourse, nouns take the plural marker. The forms of the plural markers are:

-*ai* (following /e, o, u, i/ where $o + V > uV$, if V is *a* or *e*, and $e + a > i$, see §2.5),
 -*iai* (following /a/),
 -*yai* (following following /i/).

For instance the pluralized form of the noun *defo* ‘nose’ is *defuai* (nouse.CLF:DR.F.PL) ‘noses’; *bi-kino* (this.CTS-CLF:NEWS) ‘this (news)’ > *ikinuai* ‘these (news)’, *ameo* ‘rainbow’ > *ameuai* ‘rainbows’. These plural forms apply to all types of inanimate nouns, regardless if they are free forms or bound roots (that take a classifier or a repeater). Some examples are illustrated in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Some examples of singular and plural forms on inanimate nouns

| | SINGULAR | PLURAL FORM |
|--------------|---|---|
| - <i>ai</i> | <i>ameo</i> ‘rainbow’ <i>oogodo</i> ‘banana’ <i>bufukiño</i> ‘cockroach’ <i>idu</i> ‘hill’ <i>onoyi</i> ‘hand’ <i>ifogi</i> ‘head’ | <i>ameuai</i> ‘rainbows’ <i>oogoduai</i> ‘bananas’ <i>bufukiñuai</i> ‘cockroach’ <i>idu-ai</i> ‘hills’ <i>onoyi-ai</i> ‘hands’ <i>ifogi-ai</i> ‘heads’ |
| - <i>iai</i> | <i>ida</i> ‘valley, canal’ <i>amena</i> ‘tree’ | <i>ida-iai</i> ‘valleys, canals’ <i>amena-iai</i> ‘trees’ |
| - <i>yai</i> | <i>uai</i> ‘voice, word’ <i>inirai</i> ‘bed’ | <i>uai-yai</i> ‘voices’ <i>inirai-yai</i> ‘beds’ |

The general classifier *-e* denotes objecthood without specifying its physical properties (see §4.2.2.1). It is ‘general’ in its semantics, and can have non-singular ‘collective’ readings, as in *jo-fo* (house-CLF:CAV) ‘house > *jo-fue* (house-CLF:CAV.CLF:G) ‘housing’.¹⁹⁹

There are dependencies between nouns that occur with classifiers and number (similarly to those with animate classifiers discussed in §4.2.2.4). Such nouns show optional omission of classifier when marked with plural markers. Examples include the bound noun root *airi-* for ‘cassava’ followed by the specific classifier *-ji* ‘cassava (tuber-shaped)’. The noun *airi-ji* (cassava.CLF:CASSAVA) ‘cassava (tuber-shaped)’ can be pluralized in two ways: classifier can be followed by the plural marker as in *airiji-ai* (cassava.CLF:CASSAVA-PL) ‘cassavas (tuber-shaped)’, or the plural marker can occur without a classifier, as in *airi-ai* (cassava-PL) ‘many cassavas (not specified for any shape)’. A bound noun root followed by a plural marker is illustrated in (5.98). This is similar in (5.99a-c). (5.99a) hat shows noun *ifo* ‘head’ specified for shape with the classifier *-gi*, this is followed by the plural marker *-ai* in

¹⁹⁹ To this group below also two nouns which have human referents: *urue* (child-clf:g) ‘child’ (cf. *uruki* (child.CLF.CLUSTER) ‘children’), and *konirue* (youngster.CLF:THINGS) ‘youngster, fellow’.

(5.99b). Example (5.99c) shows the plural marker which occurs without a classifier. In such cases, the noun is specified for number for not for shape.

(5.98) [bi-e airi-ai]_{NP:S} da-je dine_{LOC} gai-no!_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G cassava-PL one-CLF:G AT.NSP:LOC join-IMP
 ‘Join together these cassavas with this (food) over there.’

(5.99) a. ifo-gi (head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) ‘head (oval-shaped)’
 b. ifo-gi-ai (head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER-PL) ‘heads (oval-shaped)’
 c. ifuai (head.PL) ‘head (not specified for shape)’

B. INANIMATE NOUNS WITH SPECIFIC SEMANTICS - some nouns with inanimate referents that refer to important objects, natural phenomena, and body parts differ from the INANIMATE NOUNS (A) in terms of their number marking. These are:

B1. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO IMPORTANT OBJECTS - a group of about a dozen nouns that refer to culturally important objects and artefacts have three number distinctions: singular (unmarked), plural (marked with *-ai*), and collective (marked). Some examples include *fiyabakui* (flute-CLF:XXX) ‘flute’ > *fiyabakui-niai* (flute-CLF:XXX-COLL) ‘flutes’, *nokae* ‘canoe’ > *nokae-niai* ‘canoes’, *jifiji* ‘chili’ > *jifiji-niai* ‘chillies’.²⁰⁰

B2. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO NATURAL PHENOMENA - a few nouns that refer to natural phenomena have only two number distinctions: singular (unmarked) and collective (marked). This include *noki* ‘rain’ > *noki-niai* (rain-COLL) ‘rains (rains that falls various times throughout the day)’ and *uku-du* (star-CLF:XXX) ‘star’ > *uku-du-niai* (star-CLF:XXX) ‘stars’.

²⁰⁰ Many innovative speakers of Murui tend to apply the collective marker *-nai* to many of the inanimate nouns, such as *airiji* ‘cassava’ > *airijini* ‘cassavas (collective)’, *rabe* ‘leaf’ > *rabeniai* ‘leaves (collective)’. This is an example of overgeneralization of the collective *-nai*. Although according to the Murui elders such forms are incorrect, they become widely used among younger speakers.

B3. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO BODY PARTS AND RELATED CONCEPTS - to this class belong a handful of nouns that have the singular (unmarked) versus collective (marked) distinctions. These include *abi* ‘body’ > *abi-niai* (body-COLL) ‘bodies’.

B4. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO CONCEPTS RELATED TO BODY - the noun *uai* for ‘voice, word, language’ takes singular, plural, and collective number marking. Depending on the non-singular number it takes, its semantics change: when pluralized, *uai-yai* (word-PL) means ‘voices (e.g. voices of birds in the jungle; can also be extended to cover languages)’, and with the collective marker *uai-niai* denotes ‘words (e.g. words that are written down in a book)’.

C. ANIMATE NOUNS - depending on their structure, animate nouns distinguish singular (unmarked) and collective (marked) number marking. KINSHIP NOUNS (D) have different number distinctions. Depending on their number marking, there are three types of nouns with animate referents:

C1. NOUNS WITH ANIMATE REFERENTS WITH DERIVATIONAL ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - these are bound nouns which obligatorily take ‘derivational’ animate classifiers; they have a singular versus collective number systems. The collective is marked with *-niai*, as in *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’ > *ri-ño-niai* (woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘women’, *aima* (witch.CLF:DR.M) ‘witch’ > *aima-niai* (witch.CLF:DR.M-COLL) ‘witches’.

C2. DERIVED NOUNS WITH HUMAN REFERENTS WITH PRONOMINAL ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS - these are deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations which obligatorily take ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers (see §3.1.4), as in *maka-di-ñaiño* (walk-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) walker (lit. female who walks)’. They distinguish the singular versus the plural numbers, and retain the inherent gender distinction (in that respect they these differ from those nominalizations that take the ‘pronominal’ plural *-no*; cf. §4.2.2.2). Compare (5.100a-c):

- (5.100) a. roko-di-ñaiño (cook-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) cook’
 roko-di-ñaiñuai ‘(female) (cook-LK-CLF:PR.F.PL) ‘(female) cooks’
- b. du-ti-mie (chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘(male) coca chewer’
 du-ti-miiai (chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.M.PL) ‘(male) coca chewers’
- c. komui-di-no (grow-LK-PR.GR) ‘those (female, male, or mixed) who grew up’

C3. NOUNS WITH ANIMATE REFERENTS WITH NO DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES - these are free nouns with no derivational affixes that take the collective *-niai*, such as *jiko* ‘dog’ > *jiko-niai* (dog-COLL) ‘dogs’; *jito* ‘son’ > *jito-niai* (son-COLL) ‘sons’, *ai* ‘wife’ > *ai-niai* (wife-COLL) ‘wives’.

D. KINSHIP NOUNS - these nouns form a closed subclass of nouns with human referents that denote kinship relations. They distinguish singular (unmarked), plural (marked), and a special types of kinship plural (marked) numbers, e.g. as in *ei-tiai* (mother-PL.KIN) ‘mothers (of one’s group)’. The kinship plural can occur in the slot of the animate classifiers, as in (5.101-102):

- (5.101) *biya-tiai* (mothers.brother-PL.KIN) ‘mother’s brothers (of one’s group)’
 cf. *biya-ma* (mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M) ‘mother’s brother’
- (5.102) *moo-tiai* (father-PL.KIN) ‘fathers (of one’s group)’
 cf. *moo-ma* (father-CLF:DR.M) ‘father’

Kinship nouns can also have plural forms when they refer to referents outside one’s group, such as *uzu-ñuai* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F.PL) ‘grandmothers (generally)’, and the collective plural, as such *evu-ño-niai* (sister-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘sisters (referring to individuals as a group, not belonging to one’s group)’.

E. NOUNS WITH NO NUMBER DISTINCTIONS - nouns which make no number distinctions include personal and place names, uncountable nouns, nominalizations (those that do not take classifiers), and unique phenomena and objects:

E1. PERSONAL NAMES AND PLACE NAMES - personal names and place names have no number marking. When they take classifiers (animate classifiers for human and high animate

referents and physical property classifiers for low animate and inanimate referents) they always have singular readings. See §1.3.11 and §3.1.1 for examples of Murui personal and place names.

E2. UNCOUNTABLE NOUNS - a handful of nouns belong to this group, such as *dirue* ‘blood’ and *enirue* ‘ground’.

E3. NOMINALIZATIONS - event nominalizations which cannot take classifiers cannot be pluralized in any way. For instance, *jifanua* (play.SMLF.E.NMLZ) ‘playing’, *gui-ye* (eat-FUT.E.NMLZ) ‘food (lit. future eating)’ have only singular forms.

E4. UNIQUE PHENOMENA AND OBJECTS - due to their semantics, unique phenomena and objects such *jitoma* ‘sun’, *fivui* ‘moon’, and *aifi* ‘wind’, can have only singular readings and do not take non-singular markers.

5.2.2 Number in Murui - overview

The overview of number marking on nouns in Murui is given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Number marking on nouns in Murui

| Noun type | Number | Marking |
|--|------------------------------------|---|
| A. Inanimate nouns | singular plural ‘collective’ | no number marking marked with plural marker <i>-ai</i> marked with the general classifier <i>-e</i> |
| B. Inanimate nouns with specific semantics | singular plural collective | no number marking marked with plural marker <i>-ai</i> marked with plural marker <i>-niai</i> |
| C. Animate nouns | singular plural collective | no number marking marked with plural marker <i>-ai</i> marked with plural marker <i>-niai</i> |
| D. Kinship nouns | singular kinship plural | no number marking kinship plural <i>-tia</i> |
| E. Nouns with no number distinctions | singular | no number marking |

5.2.3 Number of nominal modifiers and partial agreement

In Murui, number is marked on nominal modifiers as an agreement category in equational clauses (see §4.1 in Chapter 4 on the partial agreement in Murui). These modifiers typically agree with the number of the VCS argument. Compare the marking of the singular and the plural referent *ame-na* (wood-CLF:TREE) ‘tree’ in (5.103-104):

(5.103) [bai-e kue ati-ka ame-na]_{VCS} mare-na_{VCC}
 that.FSH-CLF:G 1sg cut-PASS wood-CLF:TREE-COLL long-CLF:TREE-COLL
 ‘That tree that I brought is good (tree).’

(5.104) [bi-e kue tie-ka ame-na-iaia]_{VCS} are-na-iaia_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G 1sg cut-PASS wood-CLF:TREE-COLL long-CLF:TREE-COLL
 ‘These trees that I cut down are long (trees).’

The agreement is always obligatory when the head noun is human. This illustrated in (5.105), where *naie uzutiaia* ‘those grandfathers’ triggers agreement on the nominal modifier *maremaki* ‘good (group)’. As shown in §4.2.2.2, nominal modifiers can occur only with ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers. This is similar in examples (5.106-107). Note the inherent gender distinction between the feminine classifier *-ñaiño* marked for number, and the animate group classifier *-maki* in (5.107).

(5.105) [nai-e uzu-tiaia]_{NP:VCS} mare-maki_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G **grandfather**-KIN.PL good-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘Those grandfathers are good (group).’

(5.106) [nai-e ei-tiaia]_{NP:VCS} jano-ñaiñuiai_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G mother-KIN.PL small-CLF:PR.F.PL
 ‘Those mothers are small (females).’

(5.107) [bi-e ri-ño-niaia]_{NP:VCS} mare-ñaiñuiai_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL good-CLF:PR.F.PL
 ‘These women are good (women).’

When a referent of a head noun is animate and is marked for number (i.e. it is individualized in the discourse), and the head is present, a nominal modifier can occasionally agree with it in

classifier and in number.²⁰¹ This is the only instance of agreement in classifier and number in an NP in Murui (§4.1). An example is shown in (5.108) where the collective marker *-niai* agrees with the head noun within a clause.

- (5.108) [bi-e jiko-niai aiyo-ko-niai]_{NP:S} kue-na_O aruido-t-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog-COLL big-CLF.REP:DOG-COLL 1sg-N.S/A.TOP bother-LK.3
 ‘These big dogs are bothering me.’

Occasionally, when a noun with an animate referent is marked for number, but its plurality in the discourse is not important, the number agreement on the nominal modifiers can be omitted, as illustrated in (5.109). This is similar with nouns with inanimate referents. Their agreement is usually optional, as in (5.110).

- (5.109) [bi-e jiko-niai]_{VCS} jano-ko_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog-COLL small-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘These dogs are small (lit. these dogs - small (dog)).’

- (5.110) [bi-e ono-kobiai]_{VCS} eo jano-kobe_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF.PL very small-CLF:ROUND.LEAF
 ‘These (nails) are very small.’

²⁰¹ Such complex NPs, which contain a head noun with more than one modifier, are very rare in the discourse (see also §3.1.1).

6 Grammatical relations

This chapter deals with grammatical relations and case marking in Murui. General characteristics of grammatical relationships are discussed in §6.1. The following section deals with semantics, marking, and functions of core arguments (discussed in §6.2.1) and oblique arguments (§6.2.2). Order of arguments is discussed in §6.3. This is followed by a summary in section 6.4.

6.1 Grammatical relations: general characteristics

Grammatical relations in Murui involve NP participants - core and non-core (oblique) arguments of verbs, marked by a case system. The internal structure of a typical clause in Murui involves a predicate and a number of arguments, these are S, A, and O. Syntactic arguments S and A are marked in a similar fashion; O is marked differently. A mention of two arguments simultaneously in normal discourse is rare.²⁰² Both core and oblique arguments are often elided in normal speech, if they can be understood due to common knowledge or previous discourse. Factors that govern the omission of arguments are driven by the discourse. Murui, similarly to other neighbouring languages spoken in the area, has differential case marking. Marking of core arguments S/A and O is related to topicality and focality as well as specificity of referents.

The S/A arguments are expressed on the predicate by means of cross-referencing

²⁰² This is a normal discourse feature in neighbouring languages such as Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2003) as in many other languages around the world (Aikhenvald, 2012: 202-203).

bound pronouns and classifiers (see §3.1.2 and §3.1.4).²⁰³ The O arguments are not cross-referenced on the verb. The forms of personal pronouns and pronominal subject markers (for S, A, and O arguments) remain always the same. This is illustrated in the sentences (6.1), (6.2), and (6.3) below. Forms of the S cross-referencing markers on intransitive predicate are the same as markings of A subjects in transitive clauses, as in (6.1-2). (6.2-3) illustrate that O arguments are not cross-referenced on the verb, and that the pronouns are identical to the S/A cross-referencing markers.

- (6.1) Katarina-d_i-kue_{PRED}
 Katarina-LK-1sg
 ‘I am Katarina.’
- (6.2) nai-ñaiño-na_O joko-d_i-kue_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F-N.S/A.TOP wash-LK-1sg
 ‘I washed her.’
- (6.3) kue-na_O joko-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg-N.S/A.TOP wash-LK-3
 ‘She washed me.’

The overt presence of the case markers on S/A arguments and O arguments is subject to differential case marking and is related to the discourse status of a referent. Under special pragmatic conditions:

- S/A arguments can be either unmarked or marked with the topical enclitic =*d_i*,
- O arguments can be unmarked, marked the topical -*na*,
- certain types of O arguments in addressee function can be either unmarked or marked with the dative/locative -*mo*.

²⁰³That is, unless they appear in the form of verbal classifiers. Traditional Murui seems to have had verbal classifiers that ‘refer’ to S and O arguments (never to A), as in *tie-na-d-e* (cut-CLF:TREE-LK-3) ‘cut down (trees)’. Note that such ‘verbal classifiers’ are nowadays rare in Murui. In older texts (G Petersen de Piñeros, 1994a; Preuss, 1921, 1923) verbal classifiers were a productive process deriving verbal stems (Gabrielle Petersen de Piñeros, p.c.) (see Chapter 4).

This is illustrated in (6.4-5). The difference between these two examples is related to how topical the referent is in the context. In (6.4) *nokae* ‘canoe’ is unmarked implying that the canoe is not topical and has a ‘generic’ referent. In (6.5) ‘canoe’ is specific (a speaker has a specific referent in mind) is therefore marked with topical non-subject marker *-na*.²⁰⁴ The marking of the core cases (S/A and O) is discussed in §6.2.

(6.4) *nokae*_O *fino-di-o?*_{PRED}
 canoe make-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you make a canoe?’ (enquiring if you make a canoe)

(6.5) *nokae-na*_O *fino-di-o?*_{PRED}
 canoe-N.S/A.TOP make-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you make the canoe?’ (implying that you know how to make canoes)

In addition to the typical SV/AOV constituent order (see §6.3), the overt core-case marking is one of the main grammatical mechanism to distinguish core arguments within a clause (see also Chapter 8 on valency-changing mechanisms). When no overt morphological marking of grammatical relations is present, in order to avoid any potential misunderstanding, the order of the NP’s helps to determine syntactic functions of core arguments. It is thus apparent that there are two mechanisms of distinguishing syntactic functions of the core arguments in Murui: *the morphological mechanism* (i.e. overt case marking on S/A and O arguments) and *the syntactic mechanism* (i.e. constituent order).

6.2 Arguments and case: semantics, marking, and function

In Murui, core and oblique arguments can either be stated or, if they are directly inferable from the discourse context, omitted. There are five major clause structure types that can be distinguished in the language (see §12.1):

²⁰⁴ Similar to other neighbouring languages spoken in the vicinity of the Vaupés linguistic area (Aikhenvald, 2006; Birchall, 2012; Bruil, 2016; Epps, 2006b, 2009b; Stenzel, 2008; Zúñiga, 2007).

- *intransitive clauses* - with intransitive subject (S) as core argument,
- *extended intransitive clauses* - with intransitive subject (S) and the obligatorily oblique (E) as core arguments marked with the locative case,
- *transitive clauses* - with transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O) as core arguments,
- *extended transitive* - with the with transitive subject (A), and two objects (O and E) as core arguments,
- *verbless clauses* - with verbless copula subject (VCS) and (VCC) verbless copula complement as arguments.

The overt marking of the core cases is conditioned by both discourse and alignment of constituent order in the clause. Murui non-core arguments are optional and can be included in either clause type. These oblique arguments are: locative, ablative, instrumental, benefactive-causal, and privative. Marking of the non-core cases is usually mandatory (see §6.2.2.1 on the omission of the locative).

Each NP (regardless a word class it belongs to) takes a single case marker at a time. This is the case for any kind of case marker (core or non-core). Murui case markers are always suffixed to the final element (the head) of an NP (for noun structure see §3.1).

6.2.1 Core arguments

The marking of syntactic function of the core arguments S/A and O is dependent on discourse properties of core constituents. The marking of the core arguments is summarized in Table 6.1. The definition ‘focused’ applied in this table refers to S/A arguments where discourse factors are at play; ‘topical’ refers to O elements that are topical in the discourse.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ Murui has a focus marker *-ka* on pronouns, as in: *kue-ka jaië=koni raotikue* (1sg-FOC long.ago=LOC hunt-LK-1sg) ‘Long time ago (when I was young) I used to hunt (a lot).’ The focus marker *-ka* is VERY RARE and occurs only in the speech of the elders. Petersen de Piñeros (2004: 150) gives some examples of *-ka* in Mika, as in *buu-ka fino-di* (who-FOC do-LK) ‘who is it who did this?’ (note the omission of the pronominal subject markers on the verbs). The focus marker *-ka* is homophonous with the passive marker *-ka/-ga*.

Table 6.1 Grammatical relations and core case argument marking in Murui

| Grammatical function | Discourse status | Nouns and Pronouns (3 rd) | Pronouns (1 st and 2 nd) | Nouns marked for number | Nominal modifiers | Nominalizations |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| A / S | non-topical | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø |
| | topical | = <i>di</i> | = <i>di</i> | = <i>di</i> | = <i>di</i> | = <i>di</i> (certainty) |
| O | non-topical | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø | -Ø |
| | topical | - <i>na</i> | - <i>na</i> | - <i>na</i> | - <i>na</i> | - <i>na</i> |
| O addressee | non-topical | -Ø | -Ø | - | - | - |
| | topical | - <i>mo</i> | - <i>mo</i> | - <i>mo</i> | - <i>mo</i> | - <i>mo</i> |

6.2.1.1 S and A core arguments

The A and S arguments, together with the O arguments, form basic relations in Murui. Unlike a prototypical object, a prototypical subject is recognized as being in the A function if it is “(...) that argument whose referent could initiate or control the activity (if anything could)” (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010b: 76). There are a number of morphological and syntactic criteria in Murui for recognizing the subjecthood of S and A arguments:

A. Verbal suffixes cross-reference the subject (S/A) on the predicate, e.g.:

(6.6) *dino=koni* *kokoS* *bita-da-ti-kokOPRED*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ 1du.m lay.down.TH-BODY-LK-1du.m
 ‘We (two males) laid down here.’

(6.7) *nai-mie_A* *kue_O* *ini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He made me fall asleep.’

Murui nouns are usually not marked for number if the plural reference is retrievable from the context (see §5.2). The form of the 3rd person pronominal subject S/A marking is always *-e* expressing any kind of singular or plural meanings. In (6.8) the marker *-e* expresses the group’s plurality of *uzutiai* ‘grandfathers’. When the animacy of S/A NP is emphasized and the argument is individualized, the predicate takes 3rd dual and plural pronominal subject markers, as in (6.9).

- (6.8) jae ua uzu-tia_S jaai~jai-kai-d-e_{PRED} mei
 PAST really grandparent-PL.KIN go~RED-INC-LK-3 so
 ni-no-mo neka-zi_S uai-d-e_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC green.umari-CLF:FRUIT fall-LK-3
 ‘In the old times the elders were going to places where the *umari* (fruit) falls.’
- (6.9) [mano-ri-ra-ko i-maki]_S
 heal-DUR-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 maka-fire-i-aka-di-maki=za_{PRED} mai koko_S maka-ri-zai
 walk-PST-EMPH-DES-LK-3pl=UNCERT HORT 1du.m walk-DUR-ANDTV
 [nai-maki dine]_{LOC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN AT.LOC:NSP
 ‘The hospital inhabitants (lit. those of the healing house) wanted to go badly. Well, let us (two males) go to them!’

B. An NP that functions as S/A subject, can be either zero-marked or it can take the enclitic =*di*. O arguments are never marked with =*di*. In the example (6.10), *jiko* ‘dog’ is in contrastive focus (the factors conditioning the S/A focus marking are outlined in §6.2.1.2):

- (6.10) gato_S bi-ñe-d-e_{PRED} jiko=di_S bi-ya_{PRED}
 cat.Sp come-NEG-LK-3 dog=S/A.TOP come-E.NMZL
 ‘It was not the cat that came. It was the dog (lit. A cat didn’t come. The dog came.)’

C. The typical constituent order is SV and AOV where the S and A arguments are pre-posed to the clause-final predicate. In the transitive clause of the AOV type, the placement of the O argument is restricted and O cannot precede the A NP argument, unless it is marked for the topical non-subject case. Compare the example (6.11) (with the AOV constituent order and no overt case marking) with the example (6.12) (with the AVO constituent order and the overt case marking). In (6.12), *akiena* ‘this’ is topical.

- (6.11) navui-da [uzu-ma Lucio]_A jinui_O ati-d-e_{PRED}
 evening- SEQ.COMPL grandparent-CLF:DR.M Lucio water bring-LK-3
 aiyo-ko-mo_{LOC}
 big-CLF:COVER-LOC
 ‘In the evening grandfather Lucio brought the water to the big (maloka).’
- (6.12) nai-mie_A ati-d-e_{PRED} aki-e-na_O
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M bring-LK-3 AUDIT-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘He brought this (as heard).’

clause in (6.17) as VCS. Note that A and S arguments, but not VS, are cross-referenced on the verb.

(6.15) kue_S [Kaziya Buinaima-di-kue]_{PRED}
 1sg Kaziya Buinaima-LK-1sg
 ‘I am Kaziya Buinaima (lit. Lord of Awakening).’

(6.16) kue_A jaiga-bi-na_O jiro-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg cahuana.drink-CLF:SUBS-N.S/A.TOP drink-LK-1sg
 ‘I drank the *cahuana*.’

(6.17) kue_{VCS} mano-ri-rai-mav_{CC}
 1sg heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M
 ‘I am a healer.’

Generally, Murui is a pro-drop language in which the S/A arguments are usually not stated when they are already retrievable from the context and the cross-referencing on the verb. This is illustrated in (6.18).

(6.18) nia bene (kue) fiebi-di-kue_{PRED}
 STILL HERE.LOC:NSP (1sg) stay-LK-1sg
 ‘I’ve stayed here until now.’

In Murui, marking of A/S argument is subject to differential A/S case marking where the marking of the S/A arguments depends on their pragmatics. In the discourse, when the S/A arguments are in focus, they are marked with the enclitic =*di*. A set of contrastive examples is presented in (6.19-20). Note that =*di* never marks arguments in non-subject function (these are marked with *-na*, see §6.2.1.3-4).

(6.19) $Kata_S$ jaai-ya_{PRED}
 Kata go-E.NMLZ
 ‘Kata went away.’

(6.20) $Kata=di_S$ biya-ya_{PRED}
 Kata=S/A.TOP come-E.NMLZ
 ‘KATA came back.’

The marking =*di* can also occur on verbs and nominalizations marking ‘certainty’ (see Chapter 7). Compare examples (6.21-22).

(6.21) *Kata*_S *jaai-ya=di*_{PRD}
Kata *go-E.NMLZ=CERT*
 ‘Kata WENT AWAY.’

(6.22) [*Kiña uiga=di*] *furi* *aima-jai-d-e*_{PRD} *aki*
Kiña *take-PASS=CERT* *downstream* *fish-ANDTV-LK-3* *AUDIT*
 ‘(It) was TAKEN by *Kiña*. We went away for fishing, I hear.’

There is no simultaneous marking of *=di* on each of the clausal constituents.²⁰⁷ Marking of arguments that are in the topical S/A function occurs on all sorts of NPs. In (6.23), a pronoun *kue* (1sg) takes *=di*. In (6.24) the first mention of the S argument (nominal modifier) is marked with *=di*. (6.25) is a nominal modifier in a temporal S/A function.²⁰⁸

(6.23) [*uru-e* *ee~e-na*] *ua* *rai-re* *monoi-na*_O *kue=di*_A
child-CLF:G *cry~RED-E.NMLZ* *really* *quick-ATT* *breast-N.S/A.TOP* *1sg=S/A.TOP*
*jiro-ta*_{PRD} [*nai-e* *uru-iai* *moto-mo*]_{LOC}
drink-SEQ.COMPL *ANA.SP-CLF:G* *child-CLF:G.PL* *middle-LOC*
*ee-ñeiye-na*_{PUR}
cry-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘The child was crying. After (this) I quickly made (the child) drink the breast in the middle of the children for her not to cry.’

(6.24) *ie=mei* *bai-e=di*_S [*maloka* *i-maki*]_S
CONN=SO *that.FSH-CLF:G=S/A.TOP* *maloca.Sp* *ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN*
aiyo *i-t-e*_{PRD}
a.lot *exist-LK-3*
 ‘So, there is many of THOSE *maloca* (communal house) people.’

(6.25) *bi-rui=di* [*rakuiya*_R *ire-iai*]_S *i-t-e*_{PRD}
this.CLS-CLF:DAY=S/A.TOP *white.people* *trap-PL* *exist-LK-3*
 ‘NOWADAYS (ah, the old times have already passed), there are the traps of the white peoples (to catch big animals).’

The characteristics of the S/A marking are the following:

²⁰⁷ Along similar lines, the S.A.TOP and N.S/A.TOP markers in the same clause never co-occur in the discourse.

²⁰⁸ It is possible that the marker *=di* has more than just one grammatical function (that of focus), and that is why occasionally it might occur on arguments such as those in temporal functions. An analogy would be a grammatical marker *-pi* in the neighbouring Tucano language spoken to the north, that frequently marks focus on subjects and can also occur on other clausal arguments (Ramirez, 1997).

1) When S/A marker =*di* occurs on nouns, it occurs predominantly on S/A arguments. It can also occur on other constituents that are topical (e.g. (6.25) above) but never on O NPs. This is illustrated in the examples below. In (6.26) the S/A marker occurs on the postposition *jira* ‘reason’, in (6.27) on the pronoun *oo* (2sg) in the S/A function, and in (6.28) on the adverbial *jaie* ‘long time ago, in the past’ in (6.29). In (6.29) it occurs on the linker *ia* ‘but’; in (6.30) it follows the adverbial demonstrative *bene* ‘here’.²⁰⁹

(6.26) *ie jira=di fuiri=bene ato-na*
 CONN REASON=S/A.TOP downstream=HERE.LOC:NSP **straight-N.S/A.TOP**
bi-ñe-di-kai_{IPRED}
 come-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘That’s the REASON we did not come directly (here) downstream.’

(6.27) ‘*maka-ñe-no!*’_{PRED} *oo=di rei-ñe-no_{OPRED}*
 walk-NEG-PRIV.PROH 2sg=S/A.TOP say-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘YOU had to say (to her) ‘Don’t walk!’ (lit. ‘don’t walk’, you didn’t say).’

(6.28) *jaie=di jiibi-es jamei miai-ñe-ga_{PRED}*
 PAST=S/A.TOP coca-CLF:G ONLY devour-NEG-PASS
 ‘IN THE PAST, one would not devour coca just like that.’

(6.29) [*mare dino*]_{NP} *ia=di kue_A ua gaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}*
 good.ATT AT.CLF:SP.PLACE but=S/A.TOP 1sg really like-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘It’s a good place BUT I don’t like it.’

(6.30) *jai bene=di ua naiZO-mo_{LOC}*
 already HERE.LOC:NSP=S/A.TOP really path-LOC
ini-aibi-ye-na
 sleep-VENTV-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘For us to come to sleep HERE in the path.’

In (6.31) the marking =*di* occurs on the question word (indefinite) *buu* ‘who’. The referent of ‘who’ in this context is specific, the Father Creator. Unmarked question word would have ‘general’ indefinite meaning, not specific one, as in (6.71). This is similar to the differential

²⁰⁹ Murui verbs and nominalizations can be marked with =*di*. They have additionally epistemic readings referring to certainty (somebody vouches for the information to be true) (see Chapter 7).

object marking with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* (§6.2.1.5). In (6.31), *buu* is a marker of a relative clause.

- (6.31) [ie jira [oo-re moo] aki-e_o oo-mo_o uai fai-ti-kue_{PRED}
 CONN REASON 2sg-ATTENTION father AUDIT-CLF:G 2sg-LOC word throw-LK-1sg
 [buu=d_i ua moni-fue i-t-e_{PRED} eki-mo]
 Q₁=S/A.TOP really abundance-CLF:STORY exist-LK-3 side-LOC
 aime-ri maiji-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 hunger-BENEF.CAUS work-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And that is why, Father Creator, I beg you. (You) who live at the side of the
 abundance, (who) doesn’t work because of the hunger.’

Occasionally, the marker =*d_i* can occur as an independent phonological word with nouns and pronouns, as in (6.32). In (6.32), the pronoun *kue* is topical.

- (6.32) j_{ii}! kue mei kue d_{ii}_s ua kue yofue-ra-ko-mo_{LOC}
 yes 1sg so 1sg S/A.TOP really 1sg teach-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER-LOC
 i-ya d_{ino}-ri kue_s mei ua jaka
 exist-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-BENEF.CAUS 1sg so really always
 uie-ko-mo_{LOC} i-ya-na_o gaai-fi-re-di-kue_{PRED}
 face-CLF:ROUND-LOC exist-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP like-PAST.HAB-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘Yes, so I... (As for me), in my school times, I used to like being up front
 (presenting, giving speeches etc).’

2) The S/A arguments which are marked with =*d_i* are usually referential and recoverable from the context of the discourse. This is illustrated in the marking of the VS and the VCC arguments in the verbless clause in (6.33). The dragon fly, which is the topic of a mythological narrative, is the mischievous owner of the water. In the story, he cheated the bull ant into a deadly competition which he would eventually win.

- (6.33) ie amuiyiki=d_i mei j_{inui} na-ma=d_i j_{iiii}...
 CONN dragon.fly=S/A.TOP so water owner-CLF:DR.M=S/A.TOP yes.EMPH
 iye-mo_{LOC} ñuita-oi-d-e-na_{COND} jaka rozi-nai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 river-LOC push-DUR-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP always cold-BECOME₁-NEG-LK-3

‘And the DRAGON FLY is the owner of the water, yes. When being pushed into the river, it he doesn’t get cold.’

3) The referents of nouns which are marked with *S/A.TOP =di* have to be specific. In (6.34), the referent ‘dog’ is specific. One of three dogs that were present at the time got bitten by bee. A grandmother commented:

(6.34) [nai-e jiko=di]_A jai une-gi_O bai-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLG:G dog=S/A.TOP already bee-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER find-LK-3
 ‘That dog found a bee.’

The referents of the nouns that occur with *=di* can be marked with the generic classifier *-e* (e.g. *jiibi-e=di* (coca-CLF:G=S/A.TOP) ‘coca’), and are always specific in the context. The story from (6.33) continues in (6.35) below. Now the bull ant *omoki* is about to die; it becomes topical again. Note that the bull ant is unmarked in the preceding context.

(6.35) ‘oo-mona rozi-re-d-e_{PRED} kue-mona rozi-ni-d-e_{PRED} oo-mona
 2sg-ABL cold-ATT-LK-3 1sg-ABL cold-NEG.ATT-LK-3 2sg-ABL
 rozi-re-di_{PRED} [amuiyiki di_{NE}] omoki=di_S jai bii
 cold-ATT-LK.3.CALL dragon.fly AT.LOC:NSP bull.ant=S/A.TOP already HERE
 baai-d-e=za_{PRED}
 die-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘‘For you it’s cold, for me it’s not cold, for you it’s cold!!!!’’ The BULL ANT died at dragon’s fly (place).’

4) The *S/A* arguments can also be known from ‘common’ knowledge where the discourse context does not have to be necessarily overtly stated. In the following example (6.36), a speaker begins telling a story why the Murui language is disappearing. Although the referents *urui^{ai}* ‘children’ have not been yet mentioned in the discourse, the speaker is talking while looking at children playing; these referents were thus known from the immediate context.

(6.36) jai=mei rakuiya uai-do_{INS} ñai-t-e=za_{PRED} aki
 already=so white.people word-INS speak-LK-3=UNCERT AUDIT
 dino-mo [kai uai]_S jai=mei feei-d-e_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 1pl word already=so disappear-LK-3
 jai-di=mei ua [kai uru-iai=di]_S ua yiki-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 already=S/A.TOP=so really 1sg child-CLF:G.PL =S/A.TOP really worry-NEG-LK-3

‘So, they speak the white people’s language already. This is the way how our language disappears. (And) our children do not worry (about this) ANYMORE.’

5) The S/A arguments that receive that =*dĩ* mark NPs can be in some kind of a contrastive focus. The example (6.37) presents a talk between two people about who came from Leticia. Somebody said that Sandriela has returned from the city. Another speaker denied this by saying:

(6.37) Sandriela_S Leticia-mona_{ABL} bi-ñe-d-e_{PRED} Elver=dĩ_S bi-ya_{PRED}
 Sandriela Leticia-ABL come-NEG-LK-3 Elver=S/A.TOP come-E.NMLZ
 ‘It was not Sandriela who came from Leticia. It was ELVER who came.’

6.2.1.3 O core arguments

O arguments in Murui are defined as the non-A/S core arguments. Semantically, in transitive clauses, A arguments can potentially initiate or control the activity. “And if there is something which is saliently affected by the activity, the argument referring to this will be in the O function” (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010b: 76). O arguments in Murui are recognized based on the following morphological and syntactic criteria:

A. O arguments are expressed only ‘outside’ the predicate (unlike the S/A arguments that are cross-referenced on the predicate and oblique arguments), as in (6.38):

(6.38) jai bi-e=mei [kaĩ uru-iaĩ]_A [kaĩ uai-na]_O
 already this.CLS-CLF:G=so 1pl child-CLF:G.PL 1pl word-N.S/A.TOP
 ñai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 speak-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And so, our children do not speak our language.’

B. O arguments are marked with the topical non-subject marker *-na* that marks a variety of core non-subject participants (prototypical patients and recipients), as in the examples (6.39-41):²¹⁰

(6.39) *dino-mo*_{LOC} *eimo-na*_O *fa-t-e*_{PRED} *jigadi-ma-na*_O *fa-t-e*_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC pig-N.S/A.TOP kill-LK-3 tapir-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP kill-LK-3
 ‘There (the hunter) kills the pig, kills the tapir.’

(6.40) *okaina-na*_O *jaka* *kai*_A *naga-rui* *ri-ti-kai*_{PRED}
 animal-N.S/A.TOP always 1pl EACH-CLF:DAY eat.meat-LK-1pl
 ‘We eat game (lit. animals) everyday.’

(6.41) *oo-re* *moo* *jifiko-gi-na*_O *kue*_O *i-to!*_{PRED}
 2sg-ATTENTION father *caimo*-CLF:OVAL-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 ‘Dear Father, give me the *caimo* fruit!’

C. If O arguments have specific referents, they are case marked with the topical non-subject *-na* and cannot be marked with any other case markers. O arguments can also be left unmarked (see §6.2.1.4 for factors conditioning the differential object marking). An example of a marked O argument is presented in (6.42) and a zero-marked O argument is (6.43):

(6.42) [*kai ñai-a-kino...*]_S *baa*²¹¹ *ua=mei* *uru-iai=di*_A
 1pl speak-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS ATTENTION really=so child-CLF:G.PL=S/A.TOP
 [*kai uai-na*]_O *ebi-rui-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 1pl word-N.S/A.TOP nice-MANNER-NEG-LK-3
 ‘The story of our speech... Bah! Children really don’t find our language nice (anymore).’

(6.43) [*ñaiño=dino-mo*]_{LOC} *ono-kobe*_O *jide~jide-d-e*_{PRED}
 CLF:DR.F=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF paint~RED-LK-3
 ‘(She) painted the nails there at her (house).’

²¹⁰ The same form of the accusative case marker *-na* also occurs in Aguaruna (Jivaroan/Chicham) spoken in Peru. In Aguaruna *-na* marks both O and E arguments, unlike in Murui (Overall, 2008: 215). In Hup (Nadahup) spoken in the Vaupés it has the form *-an* (Epps, 2005). There is also a multifunctional *-na* marker in Tariana which marks objects and recipients on pronouns (Aikhenvald, 2003).

²¹¹ The particle *baa* occurs frequently in Tucano (Ramirez, 1997: 341-342) (see also §13.4).

All types of nominal constituents can take the topical non-subject marker *-na* (nouns, nominalizations, pronouns, and nominal modifiers of all types). The sentence in (6.44) is an example of the specific anaphoric demonstrative *nai-* followed by the general classifier *-e*. *Naie* is marked with N.S/A.TOP *-na* and refers to hair-painting, something that the speaker stopped doing long time ago. Note that *naie* is marked regardless the constituent order, that is regardless whether it is preposed or postposed to the verb (see also §6.3):

- (6.44) *jai iadi nai-e-na*_O *fiē-d-e*_{PREPRED} *jai fiē-d-e*_{PREPRED}
 already but ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP *leave-LK-3* already leave-LK-3
nai-e-na...o
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘But she already stopped (doing) it, she stopped (doing) that...’

Examples (6.45-47) are nominalizations. In (6.45) *jifanua* ‘playing’ is in O function but it is unmarked (the referent is not specific). In (6.46-47) the nominalized *manua* ‘healing’ and *uiya* ‘taking’ are marked with *-na*. They are arguments of the perception verb *uiño(te)* ‘know’. Note that arguments of perception verbs are frequently marked with *-na* in Murui.

- (6.45) *dino-mona*_{ABL} *dane bi-ti-kañai*_{PREPRED} *baai=bene*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE come-LK-1du.f THERE=HERE.LOC:NSP
*jifanua*_O *jibui-zaibi-ti-kañai*_{PREPRED} *estadio-mo*_{LOC}
 play.E.NMLZ watch-VENTV-LK-2du.f stadium.Sp-LOC
 ‘From there once again we (two women) came over here. We came to watch a game (lit. playing) at the stadium.’

- (6.46) *jjai-mie*_A [*jjai-e duiko manua-na*]_O *uiño-t-e*_{PREPRED}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Other (man) knows how to heal (lit. the healing) of other illnesses.’

- (6.47) *nai-mie*_A [*bi-e ra-ya raize ui-ya-na*]_O
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M this.CTS-CLF:G thing-CLF:CRAFT well take-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
*uiño-t-e*_{PREPRED}
 know-LK-3
 ‘He knows to drive this boat well.’

In (6.48) the interrogative word *bue* ‘what’ functions as an indefinite word ‘something’.

(6.48) is part of a prayer to the Father Creator to provide food for the people. It is marked with *-na* because the speaking has something specific in mind, the food.

- (6.48) *kio-do* *mai-ji-i-ti-kue* *iadi* *bu-e-na*_O [*uru-ki*
 see-LK.2sg work-FUT-LK-1sg but Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP child-CLF:CLUSTER
jerei *ono-yi*]_{LOC} *kue*_A *joone-ye*
 inside hand-CLF:BUSHY 1sg put-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘You see, I am going to work for me to put (lit. my future putting) something (food)
 inside my children’s hands.’

E. Murui has the default S_XV, xAO_xV_x constituent order where the S/A arguments are preposed to the clause-final predicate. If the core arguments are unmarked for any of the core cases, the constituent order is the one that indicates the syntactic role of the participants. In the transitive clause, the placement of the O argument is restricted in that the O NP cannot precede the A argument but only follow the V. When that is the case, it is marked with the topical non-subject marker. In (6.49) the O NP follows the verb and therefore takes *-na*.

- (6.49) *kue*_O *ine*_{PRED} *nai-e-na*!_O
 1sg give.IMP ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Give me this!’

In (6.50) *akie rafue* precedes the verb and remains unmarked. In this situation the speaker wanted to tell a story but he was uncertain which one he would tell it.

- (6.50) [*ñiño* *ra-fue*...] _{NP} [*aki-e* *ra-fue*]_O *yo-i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 child.M.Sp thing-CLF:STORY AUDIT-CLF:G thing-CLF:STORY tell-FUT-LK-1sg
 ‘A child’s story. I will tell that story (unspecific which one yet).’

6.2.1.4 Marking of O NP

The topical non-subject *-na* marks core O NPs. An NP can take no more than a single case marker at a time (but see the ablative marking in §6.2.2.2). The pattering of topical non-subject case marking conforms to certain grammatical and semantic restrictions conditioned

by the semantic and pragmatic status of the nominal (see the following section §6.2.1.5). The marker *-na* is a phonologically and morphologically bound form. It is also a multifunctional marker which can mark other non-subject arguments. These are:

1) time words are frequently marked with *-na* (see also §3.2.2), such as *naio-na* ‘night (cf. *naio* ‘night)’, as in (6.51). Other nouns that are obligatorily marked with *-na* include, e.g. *mona* ‘day’.

(6.51) ua jari-re-na casi naio-na mei kai
 really quick-ATT-N.S/A.TOP almost.Sp night-N.S/A.TOP so 1pl
 zai-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 step-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘It was very quick, they almost stepped on us at night.’

2) adverbs can take the marker *-na*, as in *aiyuena* ‘a lot’, *ebena* ‘brusque’, *atona* ‘straight’ (see also §3.2.1). This is illustrated with *marena* ‘well’ in (6.52):

(6.52) kue=mei mare-na komui-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg=so good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP grow-LK-1sg
 ‘I grew up well.’

3) *-na* is one of the forms of the event nominalizer, as in (6.53) (see also §3.1.4):

(6.53) ee-e-na (cry~RED-E.NMLZ) ‘crying’
 jaai-ñe-na (go-NEG-E.NMLZ) ‘not going’
 jea-re-na (dirty-ATT-E.NMLZ) ‘being dirty’

4) it is the source for ablative *-mona* on nouns (see §6.2.2.2), e.g. *Colombia-mona* ‘from Colombia’; on adverbial demonstratives the form of the ablative marking is *-na* (see §3.3.3), e.g. *bene-na* (HERE.LOC:NSP-ABL) ‘from here’.

5) the non-subject marker can be used as topical clause linkers. For instance, constructions with the sequential dependent marker *-no* can be followed by the topical non-subject S/A *-na*. In (6.54), the sequential clause *guajanona* ‘after toasting’ and *imuiyanona* ‘after mixing with

salts' marked with N.S/A.TOP *-na* are highly topical and therefore are marked with *-na*

(Wojtylak, forthcoming-a).

- (6.54) *ie=mei* *gua-ja-no-na* *imui-ya-no-na*
 CONN=so pound-E.NMZL-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP add.salt-E.NMZL-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP
kome_A *jai* *du-t-e_{PRED}*
 person already chew.coca-LK-3
 'And so, after pounding, after adding salts, one (person) already chews it (the coca).'

6) the topical non-subject marker functions as a topical marker of clauses with purposive meaning, as in the (6.55) below. Murui purposive clauses are in fact future event nominalizations that occur in the O function usually followed with *-na*. This is illustrated in (6.55).

- (6.55) *afai=dine* *jaaiti-kue_{PRED}* *cerveza_O* [*kue jiro-ye-na*]
 upstream=AT.LOC:NSP go.FUT.LK-1sg beer.Sp 1sg drink-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 'I will go upstream to drink beer (lit. my future drinking beer).'

The nominalizer *-ye* can be the sole marker of purposive construction as well (see §12.3.1).

7) many types of dependent clause markers are obligatorily marked with *-na* (see Chapter 12). The case in point is *muidona* for 'for reason, because of', as in (6.56) below.²¹²

- (6.56) *naimie=di_S* *fa-ga_{PRED}* [*kai muido-na*]
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M=S/A.TOP hit-PASS 1pl FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP
 'He was punished because of us.'

8) clauses that occur in the O function can also take the *-na* marker, as in (6.57), as well as complement clauses (see (6.46) above).

²¹² *Muidona* 'for reason, because of' originates in the independent lexical word *muido* meaning 'sharp point/end of an object (such as the highest point of a *maloca*)'.

- (6.57) [oo jiti-re-d-e-na]_O kue_O ine!_{PRED}
 2sg dark-ATT-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give.IMP
 ‘Give me your *ambil* (lit. ‘the black one’ when avoiding to pronounce the real name of ‘liquid tobacco’).

9) verbal roots that are suffixed with *-kana* are in fact a gerund construction of sorts (see the ‘overlap’ *-kana* marking subordinate clauses in §12.3.1). This is illustrated in (6.58).

- (6.58) maka-kana bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 walk-OVERLAP come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came walking.’

10) nominal modifiers (with inherently locational and temporal meanings) that are topical in the context can be optionally marked with *-na*. In (6.59) the base of the nominal modifier is the interrogative word *ni-*.

- (6.59) ni-no-na jito-mas i-t-e?_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP sun-CLF:DR.M exist-LK-3
 ‘What time is it (lit. where is the sun)?’

6.2.1.5 *Differential object marking*

The occurrence of the differential object marking on O NP is related to specificity, topicality, degree of affectedness, empathy, the predicate’s semantic group (e.g. verbs of perception), constituent order, and, to a lesser extent, the position on the Nominal Hierarchy. These are discussed in turn.

A. SPECIFICITY OF THE O NP - the non-subject marker appears where O NPs are referential (or known, definite) in a given context.²¹³ In the following example, a speaker is talking about the importance of *jiibie* ‘coca (processed coca powder)’ in the Murui culture. In (6.60), the

²¹³ Nouns and nominal modifiers that take the general classifier *-e* (which, by default, has a ‘generic’ interpretation), can further be marked with *-na* if their reference is retrievable from the immediate context and specific.

first occurrence of *jiibie* is unmarked. The second occurrence is referential and specific, and marked with *-na*.

- (6.60) ri-ño_A jiibi-e_o du-ñe-d-e_{PREL} [kai bi-e Murui
 woman-CLF:DR.F coca-CLF:G chew-NEG-LK-3 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G Murui
 dibeji-mo] ie=mei ri-ño_A jiibi-e-na_o
 AT.CLF:SIDE.WATER-LOC CONN=so woman-CLF:DR.F coca-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 du-ñe-d-e_{PREL}
 chew-NEG-LK-3
 ‘In our culture (lit. from our side), woman doesn’t chew coca. So she doesn’t chew the coca.’

In the following example, the speaker has a specific group of children in mind. The O NP is marked with *-na*.

- (6.61) jeenin_o kue_A jiai-za-na_o i-ti-kue_{PREL}
 little 1sg other-CLF:IMMATURE-N.S/A.TOP give-LK-1sg
 ‘I gave a little to the other children.’

(6.62) is a reply to a question, the heedlessly used nominal modifiers *jadie* ‘this’ and *naie* ‘that’ are marked with the topical non-subject *-na*, and are specific and highly referential in the context.

- (6.62) jadi-e-na_o uiño-ñe-di-kue_{PREL} nai-e-na_o
 this.CTH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP know-NEG-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This, I don’t know that.’

This is similar in (6.63) where *naie* ‘that’ refers back to the previous sentence.

- (6.63) ie muido-na mei [kue uru-iai-na]_o mei kue
 CONN FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP so 1sg child-CLF:G.PL-N.S/A.TOP so 1sg
 [nai-maki studio]_o kue-no-ye-na jitai-di-kue_{PREL}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN study.Sp finish-SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1sg
daa nai-e-na_o [nai-maki ie-na]_o
 one ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN CONN-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘That’s why, I’d like my children to finish their schooling. That’s the only thing I want for them.’

The topical non-subject marking of an O NP carries overtones of internal knowledge. The following examples (6.64-65) not only show difference in specificity of the object but there is

also an additional twist to their interpretation. While (6.64) (with the zero-marked O NP) is a bold statement that Gaie made a canoe, (6.65) implies that the child not only made that specific canoe but that has also an internal knowledge as to how to make one.

(6.64) Gaie_A nokae_O fino-d-e_{PRED}
 Gaie canoe make-LK-3
 ‘Gaie made a canoe.’

(6.65) uru-e_A jano-kae-nao fino-d-e_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G small-CLF.REP:CANOE-N.S/A.TOP make-LK-3
 ‘A child made the small canoe.’ (he knows how)

Core O NP of negated verbal predicate often occur with the topical non-subject marker.²¹⁴

Some examples are given below. An unmarked O NP of a negated verbal predicate is in

(6.68) and (6.60) above.

(6.66) jigadi-ma-nao ri-i-aka-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 tapir-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP eat.meat-EMPH-DES-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I do not want to eat that tapir.’ (when ready to be served in the house)

(6.67) [kue estudio-na]_O zaita-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg study.Sp-N.S/A.TOP finish-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I didn’t graduate from my study.’

(6.68) kio-ñe-di-kai_{PRED} [uru-iai nokae-do jaai-ya]_O
 see-NEG-LK-1pl child-CLF:G.PL canoe-INS go-E.NMLZ
 ‘We didn’t see children going by a canoe.’

The topical non-subject marker on question words makes a distinction between those indefinites which are specific (that is, marked with *-na*) and those which are general. The specific vs. general indefinite meanings are not neutralized under negation. In (6.69) ‘anybody’ refers to absence of a specific referent, the people who are supposed to accompany

²¹⁴ A speaker may possibly negate something that is already specific in their mind.

speaker's father. This is similar in (6.70). In (6.71) the referent is general. The speaker is not referring to any specific group of people.

(6.69) buu-na_o [ie eki-mo] kio-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 Q1-N.S/A.TOP CONN side-LOC see-NEG-LK-1sg
 'I didn't see anybody at (his) side'.

(6.70) [dino=koni] jai kokos bita-da-ti-kok_{OPRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOCAL₁ already 1du.m lay.down.TH-BODY-LK-1du.m
 ie-mo kai_A batine-na kai_A jiai ini-ra-na_o
 CONN-LOC 1pl THERE.LOC:NSP-ABL 1pl also sleep-CLF:NEUT-N.S/A.TOP
 bu-e-na_o ati-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 Q1-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP bring-NEG-LK-1pl
 'There we laid down (to sleep). From there (the next night) we did not bring anything to sleep at/on, nothing.'

(6.71) [nai-e Juan]_{VCS} Paisa_{VCC} ie-mo jiai-e-na_o
 ANA.SP-CLF:G Juan Paisa.Sp CONN-LOC other-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 uiño-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} buu_o kio-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 know-NEG-LK-1sg Q1 see-NEG-LK-1sg
 'That (was Juan), Paisa (lit. Spanish slang for people from Medellín). I didn't know the other one. I didn't see anybody (lit. who).'

B. TOPICALITY OF THE O NP - marking of arguments relates to topicality. In (6.72), the elder Izmael Tejada was commenting on passing over the Murui traditions to others. He was talked about the importance of hunting, gathering in the *maloca* and chewing coca with his *nabai* 'friends, neighbours', who are were central to his narration. In (6.72) there are two O NPs which appear differentially marked: unmarked 'wife' (not topical) and marked *nana kue nabaina* 'all my friends' (topical).

(6.72) [kue aai]_o yo-ti-kue_{PRED} [nana kue nabai-na]_o yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg wife tell-LK-1sg ALL 1sg neighbour-N.S/A.TOP tell-LK-1sg
 'I tell my wife, I tell all my NEIGHBOURS.'

In Murui, future events can also be topical, where the O NP arguments of a predicate marked for future, takes the topical non-subject marking. (6.73) is an opening of a narration about the origin of the Murui people. The referent *rafue* 'story' is marked with N.S/A.TOP although this

examples below. During the preparations for the celebrations in the maloca, a group of Murui were painting their bodies. Some children were playing around, and painted each other more than it was necessary. (6.76) (with the unmarked O NP) was understood as if Jose painted only a part of the body of Maria. This was not the case in (6.77) where the body of Maria was fully painted:

(6.76) Jose_A Maria_O jide-d-e_{PRED}
 Jose Maria paint-LK-3
 ‘Jose painted Maria (a part of body).’

(6.77) Jose_A Maria-na_O jide-d-e_{PRED}
 Jose Maria-N.S/A.TOP paint-LK-3
 ‘Jose painted Maria (whole body).’

Again, taken out of context, these examples have somewhat different interpretations. The unmarked (6.76), is understood that Jose painted Maria just once, while in (6.77) Jose paints Maria’s body every single time she wants him to.

D. EMPATHY - in a number of instances, where the O NP is topical and specific in the discourse, the explicit marking of the O NP has overtones of some type of empathy for the referent. Compare the following examples (6.78) and (6.79). In (6.78) the referent is not topical; it is any girl I delivered, there is no relationship between me and the girl. In (6.79), it is a child delivered by a medicine man. According to Sandriela Agga, it is not just a child. The child is important; it is part of the medicine man’s family. The expression has some kind of endearment reading to it.

(6.78) ri-ño=i-za_O yñi-di-kue_{PRED}
 woman-CLF:DR.F=ANA.NSP-CLF:IMMATURE grab-LK-1sg
 ‘I delivered (lit. I grabbed) a baby-girl.’ (unspecific child)

(6.79) uru-e-na_O yñi-d-e_{PRED}
 child-clf:g-N.S/A.TOP grab-LK-3
 ‘He delivered (lit. I grabbed) the child.’ (specific child)

E. POSITION OF NP ON NOMINAL HIERARCHY - case marking of an O NP does not seem to play any significant role in differential subject marking (but see the marking of O NP with the dative/locative *-mo*, §6.2.1.6). Pronouns with both animate and inanimate referents can be both marked and unmarked. An example of a marked pronoun is shown in (6.80). For an example of an unmarked pronoun T2.26 in the Appendix.

- (6.80) *ie-mo dakaiño River-na_o [da-je ñi-ma]_A rai-t-e_{PRED}*
 CONN-LOC **one.time** River-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 ‘[San Rafael-mo]_{LOC} jifano-iti-kai=za jaai-ti-o?’_{PRED}
 San Rafael-LOC **play**-FUT.LK-1pl=UNCERT go-LK-2sg
rei-t-e_{PRED} nai-mie-na_o
 say-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘So one time one man told to River: ‘We will play in San Rafael, will you go?’ he said to him (to River).’

There is some indication however that *-na* does occur somewhat more frequently with pronouns and animate nouns, than with inanimate nouns.

F. THE PREDICATE’S SEMANTIC GROUP - objects of verbs of perception, as well as verbs of linking and knowing, obligatorily occur with the *-na* marker, as in (6.81-82), as well as (6.71) above.

- (6.81) *aaai! ‘oo-na_o kio-d-e-ta’_{PRED} yo-t-e_{PRED}*
 INTERJ 2sg-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3-REP say-LK-3
 ‘Ah, he said he saw you!’

- (6.82) *‘kue-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} yo-ñeiti-maki!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}*
 1sg-LOC tell-NEG.FUT.LK-3pl say-LK-3
nai-e-na_o kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP listen.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3
 ‘‘They won’t tell me!’’ (she said). (She) didn’t want to listen to this.’

G. CONTRASTIVE FOCUS - the O NP arguments take the N.S/A.TOP marking if they are in some kind of a contrastive focus. The example (6.83) is a mother's recommendation to her daughter not to buy rice but sugar in the village.²¹⁶

- (6.83) arroz_O ati-ñeiti-_{OPRED} azucar-na_O ati-i-ti-o!_{PRED}
 rice.Sp bring-NEG.FUT.LK-2sg sugar.Sp-N.S/A.TOP bring-FUT-LK-2sg
 'You won't bring the rice. You will bring the SUGAR.'

G. DISAMBIGUATION BETWEEN NPS - with respect to the O NP marking in Murui, in some contexts, the topical non-subject marker *-na* is used to disambiguate between two arguments. See the examples (6.84-85) below. If the O NP was left unmarked, *riño ini* could be ambiguous as a possessive construction ('woman's husband') with the A argument not stated.

- (6.84) [ri-ño ini]_A eo gaai-d-_{EPRED}
 woman-CLF:DR.F husband very like-LK-3
 'The woman's husband likes (it) very much.'

- (6.85) ri-ño_A ini-na_O eo gaai-d-_{EPRED}
 woman-CLF:DR.F husband-N.S/A.TOP very like-LK-3
 'The woman likes the husband very much.'

H. CONSTITUENT ORDER - when the O NP does not occur in the typical AOV constituent order and the O argument is post-posed to the AV (AVO), it almost always receives the topical non-subject marking. This is illustrated in (6.86) where *akie rafue* 'that story' is post-posed to the verb and therefore it topical (and in focus). (6.87) shows that the marker *-na* does not

²¹⁶ This is similar to the contrastive function of the topical subject marker =*di*; cf. (6.37).

solely depend on the constituent order, as in both positions (pre-V and post-V) the O NP takes the topical non-subject marker *-na*.

- (6.86) aki-e_o dino-ri kue_A yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-BENEF.CAUS 1sg tell-LK-1sg
 [aki-e ra-fue-na]_o
 AUDIT-CLF:G thing-CLF:STORY-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This is the end. I said the story.’

- (6.87) J: jai iadi nai-e-na_o fie-d-e_{PRED}
 already but ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP leave-LK-3
 ‘So (she) stopped this already.’

- S: jai fie-d-e_{PRED} nai-e-na_o
 already leave-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘(She) stopped this already.’

6.2.1.6 Marking of O NP, with dative/locative *-mo*

While O NP can be either zero-marked or take *-na*, as discussed in the previous section, O NP that refer to the addressee can be marked with the dative/locative *-mo* as well as be left unmarked.²¹⁷ In (6.88) the argument of the second clause is the O NP *kue* (1sg) ‘I’ is marked with the topical non-subject; the O NP (indirect object) *oo* (2sg) ‘you’ is marked with the dative/locative *-mo*. Note that *oo* cannot be marked with *-na*.

- (6.88) [‘oo jito]-di-kue=za_{PRED} ni-e-ze [bi-e izoi] kue-na_o
 2sg son-LK-1sg=UNCERT Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL this.CTS-CLF:G similar 1sg-N.S/A.TOP
 ñe-i-ti-o?_{PRED} bi-e_o oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} yo-ti-kue!_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 do-FUT-LK-2sg this.CTS-CLF:G 2-LOC tell-LK-1sg say-LK-3
 ‘‘I am your son. How will you do this to me? I tell you this!’’ (he) said.’

²¹⁷ Locative marker is one of the sources for differential object marking in Murui. This is similar to the differential object marker *-nuku* in Tariana, a Arawak language spoken to the north (c.f. Baniwa *-naku* ‘on’) (Aikhenvald, 2003). Cross-linguistically, there is a tendency for DOM to have their origin in locative markers.

Marking of the addressee depends on the nature of the O and it correlates with the Nominal Hierarchy, as well as contrastive focus. Unmarked addressee can only be personal pronouns, proper nouns (personal names and kinship terms); nouns with other types of referents are always marked with *-mo*. The meaning of marked arguments with the dative/locative is ‘focussed addressee/ recipient’. The marking on the O NP: Addressee is typically used in imperative clauses where clause marked with *-mo* has an abrupt, brusque reading of ‘give ME (it)’, as in (6.89). Unmarked O NP: Addressee do not have such readings, as in (6.90).

(6.89) *dio-kai*_O *kue*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *ine!*_{PRED}
 tobacco-CLF:STEM 1sg give.IMP
 ‘Give me a cigarette!’ (normal reading)

(6.90) *dio-kai*_O *kue-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *ine!*_{PRED}
 tobacco-CLF:STEM 1sg-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give ME a cigarette!’ (abrupt reading, brusque)

More contrastive examples with different types of O NP: Addressee are given in (6.91-94) below. See also example (6.41) for an unmarked pronoun O NP: Addressee.

(6.91) *da-godo*_O *Lucio*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *ine!*_{PRED}
 one-CLF.REP.BANANA Lucio give.IMP
 ‘Give Lucio a cigarette!’ (normal reading)

(6.92) *bi-e-na*_O *Elger-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *ine!*_{PRED}
 this.CLS-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP Elger-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give this to ELGER!’ (abrupt reading, brusque)

(6.93) *arroz-na*_O *kue-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *akata!*_{PRED}
 arroz.Sp-N.S/A.TOP 1sg-LOC show.IMP
 ‘Show ME the rice!’ (abrupt reading, brusque)

(6.94) ‘*kue-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *nai-kino-na*_O *yo-ñe-iti-maki*_{PRED}
 1sg-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:NEWS-N.S/A.TOP tell-NEG-FUT.LK-3pl
*rai-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 say-LK-1sg
 ‘“They won’t tell ME (what to do)” I said.’ (an angry person speaking)

Common nouns in the addressee function always receive the *-mo* marking. The following example (6.95-6) illustrates an extended transitive with three arguments: *kue* (1sg) 'I' in the A function, *bie* 'this' as the O NP and the addressee, the noun *gato* 'cat' as O NP indicating that it refers to the recipient of an act of giving. This is similar in (6.97) with the extended transitive verb *akata(te)* 'show'.

(6.95) *kue*_A *bi-e-na*_O *gato-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 1sg this.CLS-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP cat.Sp-LOC give-LK-1sg
 'I give this to the cat.'

(6.96) *jai* *kue*_A [*bi-e* *ie-na*]_O *jiko-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 already 1sg this.CLS-CLF:G CONN-N.S/A.TOP dog-LOC give-LK-1sg
 'I already gave some of this (food) to the dog.'

(6.97) [*kue jiko*]_O [*Elger jito-mo*]_{O:ADDRESSEE} *akata-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 1sg dog Elger son-LOC show-LK-1sg
 'I showed my dog to Elger's son.'

6.2.1.7 'Oblique' as core argument

Some verbs obligatorily take the locative marker. For instance, a type of a predicative construction employs the intransitive (lexical) verb *i(te)* 'exist' where the possessor (R) is marked with the locative case; cf. 'locational schema' in Heine (1997). An example is given in (6.98) (see also §5.1.3.2 on the use of the intransitive verb *i(te)* 'exist' in expressing possession).

(6.98) *kue-mo*_O *uru-es* *i-t-e*_{PRED}
 1sg-LOC child-CLF:G exist-LK-3
 'I have a child (lit. in/at me there is a child).'

Marking of some O NP arguments can also be related to argument structure, marking *-na* is not possible. Verbs of seeing have different argument structure than verbs of looking: verbs

of seeing are marked with *-na* (cf. (6.81) above), and verbs of looking with the locative *-mo*, as in the example (6.99).

- (6.99) *ri-ño-mo*_o *ero-da-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 woman-CLF:DR.F-LOC look-BODY-NEG-LK-3
 ‘He does not look at women.’ (an excerpt from a narrative about Murui shamans)

The standard marker *baai-fe-mo* (THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC) ‘on the ahead side’ in comparative constructions obligatorily takes the locative marker (see §9.2).

6.2.1.8 Double case marking

All types of Murui verbs can be subject of derivations which increase valency and participate in causative derivation. Murui has a morphological mechanism, which allows for the causative *-ta* to be applied twice yielding a causative of a causative - the double causative that forms the contiguous *-ta-ta* string of suffixes (see Chapter 8 for details). (6.100-101) show the derivation mechanism of a ‘simple’ causative.

- (6.100) *uru-e*_s *ini-d-e*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G sleep-LK-3
 ‘The child sleeps.’

- (6.101) *nai-mie*_A *uru-e-na*_o *ini-ta-t-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M child-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He ordered the child to sleep.’ (he told the child to go to sleep)

In (6.102), in causative constructions O NP can be unmarked. The speaker does not have any body specific in mind.

- (6.102) Elger *mai* [kai komini]_o *mai-ji-ta!*_{PRED}
 Elger HORT 1sg **people**.CLF:DR.GR work-CAUS
 ‘Elger, make our people work!’

To derive a double causative a new A argument is introduced within a clause together with new morphological material.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|------|---|---------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| Benefactive-causual | <i>-ri</i> | some | - | <i>-ri</i> ²¹⁸ | some | <i>-ri</i> |
| Privative | <i>- (ni)n o</i> | - | - | <i>-(ni)no</i> | <i>-(ni)no</i> | <i>-(ñe)no -(ni)no</i> |

Morphologically, all the oblique case markers are suffixes. The locational suffix *-mo* has various semantic and syntactic functions (see also §6.2.1.6 on differential case marking with the dative/locative *-mo*) and it also occurs as one as a clause linking device as a temporal marker *-mo* (see §12.3.1). Murui oblique case markers never co-occur with the core-case markers (with the ablative being the only exception, see §6.2.2.2 for details). The only case marker that can be omitted under specific pragmatic conditions is the locative (§6.2.1.1).

6.2.2.1 Locative

Murui locative case marker functions an oblique argument marking location of an object in space, as in (6.104) and (6.105), or a direction, as in (6.106-108).²¹⁹

(6.104) *bi-rui-yai-do*_{INS} *nofiko-mo*_{LOC} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-PL-INS La.Chorrera-LOC exist-LK-1sg
 ‘Nowadays, I live in La Chorrera.’

(6.105) *dino-mo* *raina-da-t-e*_{PRED} [*eimo*_O *doni-ye-na*]
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC sit.TH-BODY-LK-3 pig peel-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘(The hunter) sat down there to peel pig’s skin (lit. for future peeling of a pig).’

(6.106) [*nai-mie* *rii-tai-ya-no*] *erai-mo*_{LOC} *jai* *jaai-d-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M angry-BECOME₂-E.NMLZ-SEQ estuary-LOC already go-LK-3
 ‘After becoming angry, he left for El Encanto (lit. estuary).’

(6.107) *jaziki-mo*_{LOC} *komes* *rao-fi-re-d-e*_{PRED} *raua*_{PRED}
 jungle-LOC person hunt-PAST.HAB-ATT-LK-3 hunt.E.NMLZ
 ‘One used to go hunting. (He) hunted (lit. his hunting).’

²¹⁸ Murui speakers usually associate forms with *-ri* as Minika forms, but do use them among themselves.

²¹⁹ See also §6.2.1.7 for the locative functioning as a core argument.

- (6.108) [kai gairi-ya-biri-mo]_{LOC} ñaai~ñai-dī-kai_{PRED}
 1pl gather-E.NMLZ-CLF:SITE-LOC speak~RED-LK-1pl
 ‘We keep talking at our place of gathering (in the communal house).’

Omission of the locative case marking in such constructions is very rare. A few expressions do not always seem to require the locative marking. This only happens when a constituent has an inherently locational meaning, is related to a commonly done activity and its meaning is understood from the context. Such expressions relate to common activities, as in (6.109-111). The same expression frequently do occur with the locative *-mo*, as in example (4.33) in §4.2.2.2 and (7.68) in §7.2.2.4. The cases where the locative is omitted are exceptional, however.

- (6.109) beno_{LOC} bii!_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE come.IMP
 ‘Come here!’ (young Murui man talking to his friend)

- (6.110) jaai-ño-kai-ñe-no bu-eo beno_{LOC} ñee~ñe-dī-o?_{PRED}
 go-?-RAPID-NEG-SEQ Q1-CLF:G HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE do~RED-LK-2sg
 ‘You didn’t go, what are you doing here?’

- (6.111) [kue ai]s iy_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg wife jungle.garden go-LK-3
 ‘My wife went to the jungle garden’.

In the following example (6.112), the repeated locational NP does not have the locational case marking. The sentence was uttered by a Murui speaker who lived long time in La Chorrera with the Minika. In Minika *jofo* means ‘inside’ while in Murui, it is *foo*.²²⁰ *Foo*, being an adverb of place, does not take the locative marking. Although it is unclear if the omission of the locative marker is due to this reason, the speaker meant either ‘home’ or ‘inside of the village’.

²²⁰ Cf. with the classifier *-fo* for ‘cavity’ (see §4.2.2.1).

- (6.112) aki-e-ze jiibi-es fino-ka_{PREL} jiibi-es ři-ño_{OBLIQUE}
 AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL coca-CLF:G make-PASS coca-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F
 jo-fo_{LOC} ati-ka_{PREL}
 house-CLF:CAV bring-PASS
 ‘This (as we talked) is how coca is made. Coca is brought home by women.’

Murui has also distinct, frequently occurring, direction markers that are suffixed to verbal predicates - the ventive that encodes movements where the orientation of the motion is away from the reference point, and the andative that indicates that movements are away from the reference point (see §7.2 on spatial setting). There is a symmetrical alignment between the direction markers and arguments with the locative and the ablative case (if present). The andative with the locative, as in (6.113), and the ventive with the ablative case, as in (6.114):

- (6.113) [oo moo]_S iye-mo_{LOC} aima-jai-d-e_{PREL}
 2sg father river-LOC fish-ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘Your father is going away to the river to fish.’

- (6.114) Ikato-mona_{ABL} duaibi-ti-kue_{PREL}
 Encanto-ABL chew.coca-VENTV-LK-1sg
 ‘I came from El Encanto to chew coca.’

Elsewhere in the grammar, Murui locative case extends to cover the domain of time on verbal predicates where it occurs as a clause linker (see §12.X and Murui verb structure in Scheme 3.2, §3.1.3). It indicates that an action happened simultaneously while another action was taking place. This is illustrated in the example (6.115).

- (6.115) gai-ri-di-kai-mo jiai-kino_S rii-ya_{PREL}
 gather-LK-1pl-TEMP other-CLF:NEWS arrive-E.NMZL
 ‘While we were gathered (at night in a communal house), another message came.’

The locative *-mo* is also used in lexicalized expressions used for counting in Murui (see §3.2.3). In comparative constructions, various forms of the STANDARD MARKER of comparison take obligatorily the locative case marker as well (see Wojtylak (forthcoming-b) and Chapter 9 on comparative constructions), as in *kue baai-fe-mo* (1sg_{THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC}) ‘than me’.

Murui has a number of grammaticalized lexical items that are marked with the locative case, and seem to have retained their apparent nominal origin. In the following example, *jerei* means ‘inside’ and it is marked with the locative *-mo*.²²¹

- (6.116) [ie jerei-mo]_{LOC} aki-e izoi kai_S i-ti-kai_{PRED}
 CONN inside-LOC AUDIT-CLF:G similar 1pl exist-LK-1pl
 ‘And inside of this (the maloca) that’s how we lived.’

Curiously, a few derived nouns can take the marked *-na* to indicate location, instead of *-mo*.

The difference in meaning is very subtle. The *-na* marking refers to an undefined ubication in space, rather than a direct location.

- (6.117) beno-mo_{LOC} i-ti-kai_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-1pl
 ‘We live here.’ (in this specific place, e.g. in this village)

- (6.118) beno-na i-ti-kai_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-1pl
 ‘We are here.’ (passing through this place, e.g. in the jungle)

Some other examples are given in (6.119-121):

- (6.119) beno-na jaai~jai-kai-di-o?_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP go~RED-SLOW-LK-2sg
 ‘You are passing here?’ (greeting on a path)

- (6.120) ni-no-na jito-ma i-t-e?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP sun-CLF:DR.M exist-LK-3
 ‘What time is it (i.e. where about is the sun)?’

- (6.121) ni-no-mo_{LOC} i-t-e?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘Where do you live (i.e. in which specific place)?’

²²¹ The original meaning of *jerei* is ‘guts, stomach’, e.g. *kue jerei izi-re-na* (1sg guts hurt-ATT-E.NMLZ) ‘my guts hurt’.

Murui has a class of inherently locational expressions that do not take the locative marking. That class consists of some adverbials (e.g. *ana* ‘below’, *aa* ‘above’, *foo* ‘inside’, *jino* ‘outside’, *fuirí* ‘downstream’, *afai* ‘upstream’) and nominalized modifiers that take the suffix *-ne* (such as *dine* ‘there’, *batine* ‘over there’, *nine* ‘where’, *bene* ‘here’) (see §3.3.3 and §3.3.4 closed word classes). Those locational nouns have take the *-na* marker to express ablative (see also the following section §6.2.2.2). An example is given in (6.122).

- (6.122) *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC} *nemui-ñe-di-kai*_{PRD} *aare* *jino*_{LOC} [*jaziki-mo jino*]_{LOC}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC defecate-NEG-LK-1pl far.ATT outside jungle-LOC outside
 ‘We did not defecate home (but) far away, outside, outside in the jungle.’

6.2.2.2 Ablative

The ablative case marker *-mona* is used to express motion away from something: it often refers to ‘out of’ or ‘from’ something (action, object) arose or occurred, as in (6.123). A few verbs require arguments marked with the ablative, such as the verb *fimai(de)* ‘fast, abstain’ in (6.124).

- (6.123) *jaziki-mona* *ati-a-no-na* *nai-e*_O
 forest-ABL bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:G
fɪnu-a-no-na *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC} *jifa~jifa-no-d-e*_{PRD}
 do.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP house-CLF:CAV-LOC play~RED-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘After bringing (it) from the forest, after doing (all of) that, (one) keeps playing (with it) in the house.’

- (6.124) [*jiibi-e* *du-ti-mie*]_S *fimai-d-e*_{PRD} *ri-ño-mona* *fimai-d-e*_{PRD}
 coca-CLF:G chew-LK-CLF:PR.M fast-LK-3 woman-CLF:DR.F-ABL fast-LK-3
 ‘The one that chews coca, is abstinent (lit. he fasts). He abstain from women.’

Nominal modifiers and nominalized verb can also occur with the ablative case marker, as in (6.125-127).

- (6.125) *mei ua* [*bi-e* *nofiko-mona naizo*]_O *baai* *jaai-d-e*_{PRD}
 so really this.CTS-CLF:G Chorrera-ABL path THERE go-LK-3
 ‘So, this path from La Chorrera goes ahead (to El Encanto).’

- (6.126) [kue moo-tiai]_s jaie²²²-mona=mei nai-maki_s iyi-mo_{LOC}
 1sg father-KIN.PL PAST-ABL=SO ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN jungle.garden-LOC
 majji-d-e_{PRED}
 work-LK-3
 ‘My parents from long time ago were always working in the jungle garden.’
- (6.127) zeri-ya-mona [bi-e kai oogo-do]_s i-t-e_{PRED}
 burst-E.NMLZ-ABL this.CLS-CLF:G 1pl banana-CLF:POINTED exist-LK-3
 ‘From when (*Monaiya amena* Tree of Abundance) burst, we have our bananas (lit. our bananas exist).’

The ablative occurs frequently in constructions ‘as for’ for a kind of extra-posed topic, as in

(6.128) (see also §9.2 on extra-posed topic in comparative constructions).

- (6.128) kue-mona_{ABL} bi-e_{VCS} [eo mare]_{VCC}
 1sg-ABL this.CLS-CLF:G very good.ATT
 ‘As for me (lit. from me), this is very good.’

Inherently locational expressions (place adverbs and adverbial demonstratives) cannot occur with the marker *-mona*.²²³ They obligatorily express the ablative meanings with *-na*, as in

(6.129-130).

- (6.129) dane afai-na_{ABL} kue_s bi-ya-no-na
 ONCE upstream-ABL 1sg come-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP
 aima-jai-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 fish-ANDTV-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘After coming once again from up the river, I (will) want to go to fish.’
- (6.130) Kata_s Europa=dine-na_{ABL} [nai-zie i-ñaiñuai]_o
 Kata Europe.Sp=AT.LOC:NSP-ABL ANA.SP-CLF:CLAN ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.F.PL
 ati-it-e_{PRED}
 bring-FUT.LK-3
 ‘Kata will bring women of her race (for us) from Europe.’

Compare the ablative readings of the adverbial demonstrative enclitic *dine* ‘there’ in (6.130) with the nominal modifier with the classier *-no* ‘specific place’:

²²² This is a variant of *jae* ‘long time ago’, see e.g. examples T1.12, T1.15, T3.26 in the Appendix.

²²³ As shown in §6.2.2.1, they cannot take the locative marker either.

(6.131) *dine-na* *bi-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 AT.LOC:NSP-ABL come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came from there (unspecific place)’

(6.132) *dino-mona* *bi-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came from there (specific place).’

There appears to be a semantic distinction between nominalizations derived with the ablative *-mona* and *-na*, as in (6.133-134). In (6.135) *rauana* ‘hunting’ is part of the argument structure of the verb *uiño(te)* ‘know’.

(6.133) *nai-mie*_S *raua-na*_{ABL} *rii-ya*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M hunt.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP arrive-E.NMLZ
 ‘He came from the hunt.’

(6.134) [*Edwin raua-mona*]_{ABL} *ri-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 Edwin hunt.E.NMLZ-ABL eat.meat-LK-1sg
 ‘I eat from Edwin’s hunt (from the game Edwin hunted).’

(6.135) *nai-mie*_S *raua-na*_O *uiño-t-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M hunt.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘He knows how to hunt.’

6.2.2.3 Instrumental

In addition to the locative and the ablative case, the instrumental is another way of marking a non-core argument. The case marker *-do* has instrumental meanings, that can also be extended to cover comitative readings.

A. INSTRUMENTAL *-do* has a number of meanings. These include ‘by means of’ and ‘by, through, on’. Those types of instrumental markings occur on nouns, but not on personal pronouns. Instrumental ‘by means of’ encodes a meaning where a noun is either an instrument, material, or means by or with which the subject achieves or accomplishes an action. These nouns are concrete objects, as in (6.136-138).

- (6.136) ua? pero nokae-do_{INS} jaai-di-omoi_{PRED} erua?
 really but.Sp canoe-INS go-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘Really? But you went by canoe, right?’
- (6.137) i bu-e-do_{INS} jaai-di-omuiño?_{INS}
 and.Sp Q1-CLF:G-INS go-LK-2du.f
 ‘And by what means (e.g. by canoe, by path) did you (two women) go?’
- (6.138) ie-mo [tio Siva]_S [naiño dine]_{LOC} bi-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC uncle.Sp Silva CLF:PR.F AT.LOC:NSP come-LK-3
 [komi-ni uai-do]_{INS} [ñaiño ðiga] ñai-t-e_{PRED}
 person-CLF:DR.GR word-INS CLF:PR.F WITH speak-LK-3
 ‘In this (situation), uncle Silva came to her. He spoke with her (our) people’s language.’

Instrumental ‘by, through, on’ marks location and indicating that an action is through ‘all over the location’. This is illustrated in example (6.139-141). The instrumental ‘by, through, on’ can also mark temporal expressions, as in (6.142).

- (6.139) beno-mo_{LOC} eni-e-do_{INS} bi-t-e_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC land-CLF:G-INS come-LK-3
 ‘He came here by land.’
- (6.140) bai-e-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:G-INS come-LK-1pl
 ‘We came through that (e.g. road, path).’
- (6.141) ari-do_{INS} Chorrera-mo_{LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 uphill-INS Chorrera-LOC go-LK-1sg
 ‘I went to La Chorrera by land.’
- (6.142) naga ñee naga-rui jo-fo-mo_{LOC} i-ti-kai=za_{PRED}
 EACH FILLER EACH-CLF:DAY house-CLF:CAV-LOC exist-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 nai-rui-do_{INS} kai_S jaai-ya_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DAY-INS 1pl go-E.NMZL
 ‘All, well, all days we are home, on that day we went out.’

B. INSTRUMENTAL WITH COMITATIVE READINGS - the case marker *-do* can have both instrumental as well as comitative readings ‘with help of, assistance of, together with’ marking a referent that is assisting in an action to be completed or carried out. They can occur on nouns and nominal modifiers, and pronouns. An example of *-do* occurring on a noun with

an inanimate referent in (6.143), on a noun with animate referents in (6.144-145), an interrogative word in (6.146), and a pronoun in (6.145). Its usage on pronouns, however, is sparse even among older speakers of Murui.

(6.143) [kai yera]_S bai-e-ze ii-di-kai_{PRED} ie-do_{INS}
 1pl liquid.tobacco that.FSH-CLF:G-SIMIL mix-LK-1pl CONN-INS
 kai_S rao-ti-kai_{PRED} naio-na mona-ri rao-ti-kai_{PRED}
 1pl hunt-LK-1pl night-N.S/A.TOP day.sky-? hunt-LK-1pl
 ‘We mix up tobacco that way. With its help, we hunt at night (and) during the day.’

(6.144) jaka [kue jiko-do]_{INS} rao-ti-kue_{PRED}
 always 1sg dog-INS hunt-lk-1sg
 ‘I always hunt with the help of my dog.’

(6.145) [kue jiza-do]_{INS} bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg daughter-INS come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came with the help of/accompanied by my daughter.’

(6.146) buu-do_{INS} bi-ti-o?_{PRED}
 Q1-INS come-LK-1sg
 ‘Who did travel with?’

(6.147) [kue yera-ki]_S oo-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg liquid.tobacco-CLF:ROUND 2sg-INS come-LK-3
 ‘My *yera* (container) travelled (lit. went) with you (on the boat).’

This instrumental has always overtones of help being included and cannot be interpreted as simply ‘together with’. For instance, in (6.145) a daughter came together with the speaker but, at the same time, she also helped him to come by leading the way. Note that Murui has also the postposition *diga* for purely comitative meanings ‘with, together with’, as in (6.148-149) (see also §3.3.3.6 on adpositions).

(6.148) jaka naga-rui kai_S ri-ti-kai_{PRED} [yiki-ai [okaina diga]]_O
 always EACH-CLF:DAY 1pl eat.meat-LK-1pl fish-PL animals WITH
 ‘Always, we eat fish with animal (meat) every day.’

(6.149) jofo-mo [kue evu-ño [ie uru-iaí diga]]_S
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC 1sg sister-CLF:DR.F CONN child-CLF:G.PL WITH
 ini-d-e_{PRED}
 sleep-LK-3

‘My sister sleeps with her children at home.’

C. SPECIAL READINGS OF *-do* WITH PRONOUNS AND THE VERB ‘come’ - in addition to the instrumental-comitative meanings, the marker *-do* on pronouns can have a special reading that is neither instrumental nor comitative, but some type of a similitive reading. This is illustrated in (6.150-151). Such occurrences are contextual and rare, and seem to occur only with the verb *bi-* ‘come’.

(6.150) *nai-miēs* *kue-do* *bi-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg-INS come-LK-3
 ‘He came out like me.’ (father talking to his son)

(6.151) *ñaiño* *oo-do* *bi-t-e_{PRED}*
 CLF:PR.F 2sg-INS come-LK-3
 ‘She came out like me.’ (when comparing children)

D. FOSSILISED EXPRESSIONS – on a handful of nouns, the meaning of the instrumental is no longer transparent.²²⁴ There is one fossilized adverbial expression in Murui that frequently occurs with the instrumental-comitative case marker *abido* meaning ‘again’, as in (6.152):²²⁵

(6.152) *kai_S* *gairi-di-kai_{PRED}* *dane* *abido* *bi-ya_{PRED}*
 1pl gather-LK-1pl ONCE AGAIN come-E.NMLZ
 ‘We gather, (and then) we come again (to gather).’

6.2.2.4 *Benefactive-causal*

Murui has one case marker *-ri* that can have both a benefactive as well as a causal meaning. It is marked on all sorts of nouns, pronouns, as well as nominalized verbs.

²²⁴ On verbs, the suffix *-do* is has overtones that O was somehow ‘encouraged’ (see chapter 7).

²²⁵ *Abido* might have originated in *abi* ‘body’ followed by the instrumental case marker *-do*. It frequently co-occurs with *dane* ‘once’, as in *abido dane* ‘once again’.

A. CASUAL ‘BECAUSE OF’ - meaning ‘because of’, for example:

- (6.153) *noki-ri* *jo-fo-mo_{LOC}* *fiēbi-di-kue_{PRED}*
 rain-BENEF.CAUS house-CLF:CAV-LOC *stay*-LK-1sg
 ‘Because of the rain, I stayed at home.’
- (6.154) *kue* *jaai-zai-di-kue-mo* [*kue* *ñee* *uru-e* *abi*]_s *eo*
 1sg go-ANDTV-LK-1sg-TEMP 1sg FILLER child-CLF:G body very
uzi-re-na-ri *jaka* *jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}*
 hot-ATT-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS always go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘While I was going away to leave because of my child had fever (lit. my child’s
 body being hot), I never went.’
- (6.155) *iyi-mo_{LOC}* *jaai-d-e_{PRED}* *gui-ye_s* *i-ñe-na-ri*
 jungle.garden-LOC go-LK-3 eat-FUT.E.NMLZ exist-NEG-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘He went to the jungle garden because there’s no food (lit. future eating).’
- (6.156) *eo* *zefui-re-d-e_{PRED}* *mee-re-d-e_{PRED}* *ie-ri* *jai*
 very *bored*-ATT-LK-3 heavy-ATT-LK-3 CONN-BENEF.CAUS already
jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} *jamei* *bi-mona-do_{INS}* *jo-fo-mo_{LOC}* *raai-di-kue_{PRED}*
 go-NEG-LK-1sg ONLY this.CLS-CLF:DAY-INS house-CLF:CAV-LOC sit-LK-1sg
 ‘It’s very boring, heavy. Because of this, I didn’t go. So today I am staying home.’
- (6.157) *bi-e-ri* *bi-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}*
 this.CLS-CLF:G-BENEF.CAUS come-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘Because of this, I didn’t come.’

B. BENEFACTIVE ‘FOR, FOR BENEFIT OF’ WITH PRONOUNS – in their benefactive meaning, *-ri* implies that the referent of the noun receives the benefit of the situation expressed by the clause. The causal and benefactive meanings are related - benefactive readings do also involve causal relationship. This illustrated in (6.158). Such examples are rare in Murui, however - while some speakers do use *-ri* with pronouns, others do not. Murui speakers assign such usage to the Minika variant, and frequently give benefactive reading in clauses that contain with *fakai* ‘time’, as in (6.159).

- (6.158) *kue-ri* *iba-i-t-e_{PRED}*
 1sg-BENEF.CAUS pay-FUT-LK-3
 ‘(He) will pay for me.’

- (6.159) kue fakai-na iba-i-t-e_{PREL}
 1sg time-N.S/A.TOP pay-FUT-LK-3
 ‘(He) will pay for me.’

While the use of *-ri* with 1st person singular is debatable among speakers, *-ri* with 1st person plural, as in (6.160), is widely recognized.²²⁶ What is interesting about (6.160) is that the clause might have two different interpretations, each depending on a situation. If a speaker utters it when the referent is present (e.g. during a gathering), it has positive connotations and is understood as ‘(He) speaks for (benefit of) us.’ If the referents is not present, the meaning is negative, as in ‘(He) speaks for (misfortune of) us.’

- (6.160) kai-ri ñai-t-e_{PREL}
 1pl-BENEF.CAUS speak-LK-3
 ‘(He) speaks for (benefit of) us.’ or ‘(He) speaks for (misfortune of) us.’

6.2.2.5 Privative

Murui nouns and nominal modifiers can take the case marker *-(ni)no* meaning ‘without’. The marker *-(ni)no* is in fact a combination of the negative attributive *-ni* followed by the privative *-no*. Such privative clauses always share the same subject. Some examples are given in (6.161-162).

- (6.161) nai-mie [nana atava]_S feka-ka_{PREL} ie=ta
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M every chicken distribute-PASS CONN=REP
 atava-ni-no_{PRIV} fiebi-d-e_{PREL}
 chicken-NEG.ATT-PRIV stay-LK-3
 ‘He sold all his chicken and so he remained without any (chicken).’

- (6.162) omoi_S miri-ño-ni-no_{PRIV} gui-ni-di-omoi_{PREL} gui-ñe-no!_{PREL}
 2pl sister-CLF:DR.F-NEG.ATT-PRIV eat-NEG.ATT-LK-2pl eat-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘You cannot eat without your sister! Don’t eat!’

²²⁶ See also §5.1.4 on the distinction between ‘I’ vs ‘we’ in Murui.

- (6.163) [kue ei-ni-no]_{PRIV} bi-ya=za_{PRED}
 1sg mother-NEG.ATT-PRIV come-E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘(He) came without my mother.’

The marker can also occur on verbs and adjectives in the form of *-(ni)no* or *-(ñe)no* (cf. the form of the standard negator is *-ñe*).²²⁷ The privative *-no* has to co-occur with either the negative attributive *-ni*, as in the examples above, or the standard negator *-ñe*, as in (6.164) (see also Chapters 10).

- (6.164) majji-ñe-no bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 work-NEG-PRIV come-LK.1sg
 ‘I came without having worked.’

6.3 Order of arguments

Grammatical relations in Murui are shown by the order of core arguments in relation to the predicate: SV and AOV. Murui shows a nominative-accusative pattern of constituent ordering - both A and S, followed by O, occur before the V. The placement of the non-core arguments follows the nominative-accusative nature of Murui: xS_xV_x and xAO_xV_x . Oblique arguments are obligatorily marked with cases (see §6.2.2.1 on the occasional omission of the locative). (6.165) illustrates an intransitive clause with the peripheral argument *San Rafaelmo* ‘to San Rafael’ following the S argument. (6.166) is an example of a transitive clause with the O following the A.

- (6.165) Adams_S San Rafael-mo_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 Adam San.Rafael-LOC go-LK-3
 ‘Adam went to San Rafael.’

²²⁷ The privative forms are similar to clausal nominalizations: They have a number of morphological and syntactic properties of nominalizations. On verbs, the privative extends to cover prohibitive meanings, as in (6.163) (see Chapter 10).

- (6.166) oo_A bai-ñaiño_O fata-di-o_{PRED}
 2sg that.FSP-CLF:PR.F hit-LK-2sg
 ‘You hit her (once or a couple of times; she was not beaten up much).’

In Murui, there is a certain flexibility in the constituents patterns where the oblique argument (marked as _X) occurs either before the V (_XSV and _XAOV) and after the V (i.e. SV_X and AOV_X). In (6.167) the oblique *jofomo* ‘in the house’ is placed after the verb.

- (6.167) L: nai-mie_S jai jaai-d-e?_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M already go-LK-3
 ‘Did he go already?’
 A: jii jai jaai-d-e_{PRED} jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 yes already go-LK-3 house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 ‘Did he go already?’

Oblique arguments in transitive clauses usually follow the O (i.e. AO_XV), but can also be fronted, or postposed to the verb. Occasionally, the A argument in a transitive clause can also follow the verb yielding the OVA constituent order. This has a kind of afterthought effect; there is a short pause between V and A. This is illustrated in (6.170) where the A, *Flor*, is postposed to the verb *rokode* ‘cooks’. VOA and VAO constituent orders never occur in the natural discourse.

- (6.168) ime_O roko-d-e_{PRED} Flor_A
 paca cook-LK-3 Flor
 ‘Flor COOKS a paca.’
 (6.169) nokae_O fino-d-e_{PRED} [kue uzu-ma]_A
 canoe make-LK-3 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.M
 ‘My grandfather MADE a canoe.’

The postposition of the A argument is similar to the occasional VS constituent order in intransitive clauses. This is illustrated in (6.172).

- (6.170)T: [oo uzu-ño]_S ni-rui rii?_{PRED}
 2sg grandparent-CLF:DR.F Q₂-CLF:DAY arrive
 ‘When did your grandmother come.’

W: nare rii-d-e_{PRED} [kue uzu-ño]_S
 yesterday arrive-LK-3 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.F
 ‘My grandmother CAME yesterday.’

In passive constructions the constituent ordering is of a great importance. Different orders yield different interpretations (see Chapter X). Compare the examples:

(6.171) jik_O aini-ka_{PRED}
 dog bite-PASS
 ‘the dog bit (was bitten by the dog)’

(6.172) (janayari)_O aini-ka_{PRED} jik_O_A
 jaguar bite-PASS dog
 ‘the dog was bitten (by a tiger)’

Generally, there is some kind of morphological marking of grammatical relations in the clause is present (see §6.2.1 on marking of core arguments). To avoid any potential misunderstanding when core arguments are zero-marked, the order of the NPs can help to determine syntactic functions of core arguments. These syntactic functions are shown by the nominative-accusative ordering of arguments in relation to the predicate: SV (_XS_XV) and AOV (_XAO_XV_X) (the peripheral X arguments are obligatory marked). There is a certain flexibility in the constituents patterns where the oblique argument occurs either before the V (i.e. _XSV and _XAOV), after the V (i.e. SV_X and AOV_X) and after the O (i.e. AO_XV). This suggests that X arguments have a certain degree of mobility within a clause. Occasionally, the O argument can occur the clause-final position, i.e. AVO_X. Also, it is very rare, it is not impossible for the O argument to precede the A argument in transitive clauses (i.e. OAV). In such instances (AVO and OAV constituent orders), the accusative marking seems to be retained, regardless a discourse status of a referent. There is also a prosodic emphasis (pitch) on the A argument (which might explain why in those cases the nominative marking is not necessarily retained). Constituent ordering in coordinated and dependent clauses is discussed

in Chapter X and that of comparative constructions in Chapter 9. The order of constituents in clauses with increased valency and decreased valency is focused in Chapter 8.

6.4 Summary

Generally, Murui has two mechanisms to distinguish syntactic functions of the core arguments in Murui: *the morphological mechanism* (i.e. the overt case marking on S/A and O arguments) (discussed in §6.2) and *the syntactic mechanism* (i.e. if the grammatical marking is absent, the constituent order in which NPs occur in relation to the predicate) (see §6.3).

Murui has a nominative-accusative case marking system, and distinguishes between core and oblique arguments. The core arguments, the subject A/S and the non-subject O are subject to differential case marking. Core arguments can also be marked for the locative/dative case, which can be omitted with pronouns. In Murui, it is the discourse status of the A/S and O arguments (that is their topicality, focality and specificity) that determines whether they receive the case markers. In addition to the core cases in the language, there are five oblique cases in Murui: locative, ablative, instrumental-comitative, benefactive-casual, and privative. Each has a number of specific functions and meanings. Oblique cases do not co-occur with core-cases in a single NP; an exception might be the ablative. The overview of Murui core and oblique cases is presented in Table 6.3 at the end of this section.

The language has a nominative-accusative pattern of constituent ordering - both A and S, followed by O, occur before the V (but the constituent order shows some flexibility).

Table 6.3 Murui core and oblique cases: summary

| CASE AND FUNCTION | | FORM | MEANING |
|--|--|------------------------------|--|
| subject focus (nominative) | - core argument: predominantly S/A/VS - cross-referenced on verbs | -∅ | - subject neutral with respect to discourse status |
| | | = <i>di</i> | - object neutral with respect to its discourse status - referent topical - referent referential - referent known - referent specific - referent in (contrastive) focus |
| topical non-subject (accusative) | - core argument: predominantly O | -∅ | - object neutral with respect to discourse status |
| | | - <i>na</i> | - object neutral with respect to its discourse status - referent topical - referent specific - referent affected - referent topical - emphatic referent - referent in (contrastive) focus |
| addressee (dative/locative) | - core argument: recipients -second O NP of ditransitive verbs | -∅ | - pronouns and personal names neutral with respect to discourse status |
| | | - <i>mo</i> | - obligatory for all NPs except for pronouns and personal names - focus on the addressee (contrastive focus) - correlates with Nominal Hierarchy |
| locative | - oblique | - <i>mo</i> | - locative - temporal (type of a clause linking) |
| ablative | - oblique | - <i>mona</i> - <i>na</i> | - motion away 'from' (- <i>mo</i> , - <i>na</i>) - ublication (- <i>na</i>) |
| instrumental- comitative | - oblique | - <i>do</i> | - 'by means of' (instrumental) - 'by, through' (transportative) - 'by help / assistance of' - 'together with' (comitative) |
| benefactive-causal | - oblique | - <i>ri</i> | - 'because of' (causal) - 'for, in favour of, because of' (benefactive) |
| privative | - oblique | - <i>nino</i> | - 'without' |

7 Predicate structure, non-spatial and spatial setting

This chapter covers the grammatical expression of non-spatial setting and spatial setting in Murui. The structure of a Murui predicate is discussed in §7.1. This is followed by the description of Murui non-spatial setting in §7.2: the grammatical categories which express the timing of activity (see §7.2.1 on tense), the internal composition of activity (aspect, §7.2.2), speaker's attitudes towards the event (modality, §7.2.3), as well as those categories which provide information about the source of acquired knowledge (evidentiality, §7.2.4). Spatial setting (i.e. direction and location expressed with affixes on verb), the andative and ventive, is discussed in §7.3. The last section 7.4 offers a brief summary.

7.1 Predicate structure

The most common structure of the Murui verb can be 'roughly' illustrated as:

ROOT–ASPECT–CAUSATIVE–DIRECTIONAL–DESIDERATIVE–NEGATION–TENSE–LINKER–
PERSON=EMPHATIC/EVIDENTIAL

Root and affixes appear frequently in the order shown in Scheme 7.1 below (see also §3.1.2).

Scheme 7.1 The structure of Murui verb

| | | |
|----------|--|---|
| Root | 0. | Root |
| Affix | 1. | High intensity (root reduplication) |
| | 2. | Thematic syllable, verbal classifier (not productive) ²²⁸ |
| | 3. | Body movement <i>-da</i> |
| | 4. | Aspect (terminative <i>-bi</i> , reiterative <i>-oi</i> , durative <i>-ri</i> , semelfactive <i>-no</i> , inceptive <i>-kai</i> , manner) |
| | 5a. | Causative <i>-ta</i> , double causative <i>-tata</i> |
| | 5b. | Causative (encouragement) <i>-do</i> |
| | 6. | Emphatic <i>-i</i> |
| | 7. | Desiderative <i>-aka</i> |
| | 8. | Directional markers (andative <i>-ai</i> , ventive <i>-aibi</i>) |
| | 9. | Imperative <i>-no</i> (followed by immediate imperative the rapid action <i>-kai</i>) |
| | 10. | Aspect (remote habitual <i>-zoi</i> , customary <i>-fi</i> , habitual <i>-kabi</i>) |
| | 11. | Attributive (positive <i>-re</i> , negative <i>-ni</i>) |
| | 12. | Negation <i>-ñe</i> |
| | 13. | Prohibitive <i>-no</i> |
| | 14. | Tense (future <i>-i</i>) |
| | 15a. | Linker <i>-di/-ti</i> |
| | 15b. | Passive <i>-ka/-ga</i> , future passive <i>-yi</i> |
| | 15c. | Nominalizers (complete involvement marked with topical non-S/A <i>-na</i>) |
| 15d. | Sequential <i>-no</i> | |
| 15e. | Sequential completive <i>-da</i> (<i>-ta</i> following directly the root) | |
| 15f. | Conditional ₁ <i>-ia</i> | |
| 15g. | Overlap <i>-kana</i> | |
| 15h. | Apprehensive <i>-za</i> | |
| 16. | Pronominal cross-referencing, classifier | |
| 17a. | Temporal <i>-mo</i> | |
| 17b. | Conditional ₂ <i>-na</i> | |
| Enclitic | 18a. | Epistemic = <i>di</i> (confirmed certainty) |
| | 18b. | Epistemic = <i>za</i> (unconfirmed certainty) |
| | 18c. | Evidential (reported) = <i>ta</i> |

The underived verbal root can be either mono- or bisyllabic, such as *ro(te)* ‘sing’, *ja(te)* ‘smoke’, *ruui(de)* ‘roast’, *kuei(de)* ‘finish’, *koro(de)* ‘drink broth’, and *chicho(de)* ‘suck (bone, finger)’. Reduplicated roots express high degree of intensity of an activity (see

²²⁸ Verbal classifiers are rare in Murui; they must have been productive at some earlier stage (see Chapter 4). We still find them in e.g. *tie-na-t-e* (cut-CLF:TREE-LK-3) ‘cut tree’ (cf. verb *tie(de)* ‘cut’ and the classifier for ‘tree-like’ forms *-na*).

§7.2.2.3), such as *maka~maka-di-kue* (walk~RED-LK-1sg) ‘I walked and walked’. Some verbs have lexicalized trisyllabic roots, which contain ‘thematic syllables’. These thematic syllables appear to be fossilized affixes, now integrated into roots, and cannot be omitted (see §7.2.2.6). These include for instance affixes which have forms of classifiers, as in *raina(de)* ‘sit down, put down (on a surface of any kind)’, cf. *raai(de)* ‘sit (be in the sitting position)’.²²⁹ Others obligatorily include verbal suffixes, such as what might have been the semelfactive *-no*, as in *jifano(te)* ‘play’ (note that the verb *jifai(de)* means ‘get intoxicated’). These thematic suffixes can occur on all types of lexicalized verbal roots.

The ordering of affixes that follow the verbal root is fixed, but not all the affixes can occur on every verb. For instance, intransitive verbs do not receive the passive marking; body movement affixes do not occur on verbs which do not denote bodily change of a position. In a minimally inflected verb in Murui the positions 0, 15a-c, and 16 are obligatorily filled, as in (7.1). (7.2) shows a ‘complex’ verbal structure inflected with a variety of affixes; such ‘complex’ structures are not common.

(7.1) *noki_S deei-d-e_{PRED}*
rain rain-LK-3
 ‘(It, the rain) rains.’

(7.2) *joko-ri-zai-aka-ñe-di-kue=di_{PRED}*
wash-DUR-ANDTV-DES-NEG-LK-1sg=CERT
 ‘I DON’T want to go washing.’

Murui aspect is mutually exclusive with some verbal morphology, and occupies more than one slot within the verb structure (positions 4 and 10). Some aspectual distinctions are

²²⁹ Verbal classifiers are not productive in Murui but clearly occur in various lexicalized verbs, such as *raitifai(de)* ‘weed (jungle garden)’ (where *raiti(de)* means ‘weed’). Note that *ifai* in Minika means ‘jungle garden’, see §7.2.2.6.

restricted to certain tenses. For instance, reduplication, which marks intensity and repetition, cannot be expressed in future tense; neither does the habitual *-kabi* occur with future tense marking. Other aspectual markers tend to co-occur, such as durative and inceptive markers; others are restricted and cannot occur with other categories (for instance, remote habitual is mutually exclusive with the customary marker). Tense (position 14) is preceded by negation, indicating that position available for tense is further away from the root than other verbal categories, such as negation (position 12). Positions 15a-b are most commonly filled by either the linker *-di/-ti* or the passive *-ka/-ga*. An example of passivized verb is given in (7.3).

- (7.3) [[kue mero]_S [i-maki_{OBLIQUE} chuuno-ga]]_S baai-_{APRED}
 1sg pig ANA.NSP-CLF:DR.GR.AN bewitch-PASS die-E.NMLZ
 ‘My pig (that was) bewitched by them, died.’

Positions 15c-h are restricted to nominalizers (see §3.1.4), clause linking (§12.3), and the apprehensive and ‘obligative’ modality marker (discussed in this chapter). Similarly, positions 7 and 11 is filled by the desiderative and the attributive markers. The position 16 is filled by verbal cross-referencing pronominal suffixes. These are given in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Murui cross-referencing pronominal suffixes on verbs

| | | SINGULAR | | DUAL | | PLURAL |
|---|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| | | MASCULINE | FEMININE | MASCULINE | FEMININE | |
| 1 | | <i>-kue</i> | | <i>-koko</i> | <i>-kaiñai</i> | <i>-kai</i> |
| 2 | | <i>-o</i> | | <i>-omiko</i> | <i>-omiñoi</i> | <i>-omoi</i> |
| 3 | UNSPECIFIC | <i>-e</i> | | | | |
| | HIGHLY ANIMATE | <i>-mie</i> | <i>-ñaiño</i> | <i>-aimaiai</i> | <i>-aiñuai</i> | <i>-maki</i> |

Independent pronouns have the same form as verbal cross-referencing suffixes for the first and second person (cf. Table 3.2 in §3.3.2). The third person cross-referencing suffix is *-e*, unless a referent is highly animate, and its animacy is important in the context. In such cases, there is masculine – feminine distinction in singular and dual, but not in plural.

7.2 Non-spatial setting - general remarks

Non-spatial setting meanings are expressed through suffixes on the verb (see §9.1 for ‘shared’ suffixes with adjectives), although vowel lengthening of verbal roots (in addition to a tense marker) can also be used to express future and high intensity meanings. Further, Murui has a number of independent lexical time words which can co-occur with non-spatial setting (TAME) markers. In Murui, aspect is a more prominent category than tense, modality, or evidentiality. A complete list of the Murui TAME markers, their semantics, and co-occurrences are given in Tables 7.3-4 in §7.4.

The verbal category of tense in Murui is manifested as a binary opposition between non-future and future.²³⁰ The non-future tense is the unmarked ‘default’ verb form which is found in a main clause of the declarative, interrogative, and imperative mood, regardless of its polarity. When expressing the tense specification present vs. past, Murui relies on lexical time words, such as *jai* ‘already’ or *jaa* ‘soon’ (§7.2.1.3). The future tense, marked by the suffix *-i(t)i* and/or vowel lengthening of verbal roots, is found in the declarative and interrogative mood, and does not extend to the imperative mood (note, however, that Murui has a grammatical category of ‘immediate imperative’ expressed by the rapid action *-kai*, see §11.1.1). Tense in main clauses is absolute and always involves tense specification (either the ‘unmarked’ non-future or the future tense markers). There is no grammatical marking of relative tense in subordinate clauses. Some subordinate clauses involving event nominalizations have tense specification (non-future vs. future, such as the future event nominalizer *-ye*, which can also have ‘obligative’ meanings, see §7.2.3.3). Others, such as

²³⁰ The opposition non-future vs. future is not common cross-linguistically (Dixon 2012:14).

relative clauses, lack tense specification and their interpretations are dependent on the meaning of the verb of the main clause.

Aspect markers are quite extensive in Murui. The aspectual system covers the following categories: *phase of activity* (whether an activity is finishing), *temporal extent* (whether the activity extends over a period of time), *degree* (whether an action has high intensity), *frequency* (indicating whether something is repetitive or done once/little bit, whether it is (remotely) habitual or customary), and *manner* (these are suffixes which relate to the manner in which an action is performed, such as by means of scratching with small pointed objects or big round objects).

With respect to the system of modality, the language has an array of verbal suffixes which cover speaker's attitudes towards an event in terms of the desire, apprehension, and ability to perform an action (*attitudinal modalities*, §7.2.3.1-2). *Deontic modality* is expressed by means of a 'dedicated' future event nominalizer with obligative readings (§7.2.3.3) as well as by imperative mood (§11.1). There are two *epistemic modality* markers: 'unconfirmed' and 'confirmed certainty', which cover speaker's degree of confidence in utterance, willingness to vouch for information and the 'attitude' of the speaker towards that information (§7.2.3.4).

Murui has a simple system of evidentiality with two choices available, 'reported' (formally marked) and 'everything else' (unmarked) (Wojtylak, forthcoming-d).²³¹ Murui unmarked verbal forms typically refer to 'unspecified' information source. The meaning of the reported evidential is hearsay acquired through someone else's speech report. The marker

²³¹ In the literature, such a system has been termed as A3 'non-firsthand' vs. 'the rest' (Aikhenvald 2004).

can be used in declarative and interrogative clauses but not in the the imperative ones.

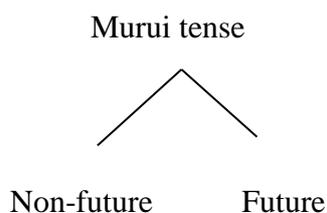
The system of mood indicates types of speech act (statements, commands, and questions). It applies to complete sentences rather than only the predicate or a clause.

Grammatical categories of mood in Murui are not part of the non-spatial setting specifications but they correlate to a certain degree. Depending on sentence type, there are fewer distinctions in expressing certain grammatical categories. For instance, evidentiality is neither expressed in commands, and it rarely occurs in questions.²³² Also, clause types and negation can affect expression of certain grammatical categories on the verb. An illustrative example of this are verbless clauses with cannot occur with any of the TAME markers (see §12.1.1).

7.2.1 Tense

The verbal category of tense in Murui displays a binary opposition between *non-future* and *future*, as illustrated below:

Diagram 7.1 Expression of tense in Murui



While the non-future tense is the unmarked ‘default’ verb form, the future tense is marked by a suffix and/or vowel lengthening of verbal roots.²³³ The future tense markers precede the

²³² Evidentiality is expressed only in special types of echo questions, see §7.2.4.

²³³ Phonological processes that apply to roots are discussed in Chapter 2.

allomorphs of the verbal linker *-di* and *-ti* which, in turn, are followed by the cross-referencing S/A markers. This is illustrated in (7.4) (for non-future) and in (7.5) (for future) below:

(7.4) (jai) *gui-t-e_{PRED}*
 already eat-LK-3
 ‘(she) (already) ate’ or ‘(she) eats’

(7.5) *guuit-e_{PRED}*
 eat.FUT.LK-3
 ‘(she) will eat’

There are a number of verbal structures which are ‘tense-less’ in that they do not take any type of tense markers. These are verbless clauses, as illustrated in (7.6):

(7.6) *nai-mie_{VCS}* [*oo biya-ma*]_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 2sg mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M
 ‘I am your uncle (lit. I – your uncle).’

To express tense specification, the VCC argument becomes the S NP and takes predicate markings, as in (7.7):

(7.7) *kue_S* [*ana uru-iai*]_{OBLIQUE} [*biya-ma*]-*di-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg below child-CLF:G.PL mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M-LK-1sg
 ‘I am the uncle of the children down (here).’

Event nominalizations (see §3.1.4) are a type of ‘stand-alone’ nominalizations which function as verbal predicates that background and set the stage of an event. The temporal reading of such nominalizations is determined by the context. They can refer to either past or present events, as illustrated in (7.8). To refer to future events, event nominalizations are marked by a special future marker *-ye*, as in (7.9); they are mainly used as clauses with purposive semantics (§12.3.1) and have ‘obligative’ meanings often used as a command strategy (§7.2.3.3 and §11.1.4). There is also evidence for certain lexical nouns to originate in future event nominalizations, as e.g. *gui-ye* (eat-FUT.E.NMZL) ‘food (eaten in the future)’ in (7.9).

- (7.8) [[jiai-e fie-mona-mo] oo bi-ya_{PRED} fakai] jaka
 other-CLF:G summer-CLF:SEASON-LOC 2sg come-E.NMLZ time always
 beno-mo_{LOC} iiti-kai_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist.LK.FUT-1pl
 ‘When you come here next year, we will be here.’
- (7.9) [ñaiño gui-ye]_S kue_{O:OBLIQUE} gui-ga_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F eat-FUT.E.NMLZ 1sg eat-PASS
 ‘Her food (lit. future eating) was eaten by me.’

Additionally, there is a separate future passive marker *-yi* that occurs on transitive verbs (see §8.1.2).²³⁴

The full tense system is found in the main and dependents clauses in the declarative and interrogative mood. The imperative mood does not mark tense distinctions; it relates to tense by differentiating between ‘default imperative’ vs. ‘immediate imperative’ (but these categories do not ‘belong’ to the tense system; see §11.1).

The section discusses the non-future tense (§7.2.1.1) and future tense (§7.2.1.2).

Lexical time words are focus of section 7.2.1.3.

7.2.1.1 *Non-future*

Non-future tense is a ‘general’ tense, that is formally and functionally unmarked. It covers all sorts of past events (mythical, distant, and immediate) as well as events unfolding at the time of utterance. A simple example of such forms is illustrated in (7.10). Without a context it can

²³⁴ In fact *-ye* as in *guiye* as in (7.9) might have its origins in the future passive marker *-yi*, rather than the nominalizer *-ye*. It was commented to me that long time ago speakers used to say *kue guiyi* for ‘my food (lit. that what will be eaten by me in the future)’, instead of *kue guiye* as it is pronounced nowadays. Synchronically the form *gui-yi* exists only only as a predicate in passive constructions, e.g. *kue_{O:OBLIQUE} gui-yi_{PRED}* (1sg eat-FUT.PASS) ‘eaten by me’ (see 8.1.2). This requires further research in the future.

have a past or a present tense reading. (7.10) is an excerpt from a procedural text about Murui hunters, and has the present-tense reading.

- (7.10) nano nai-no_{LOC} ñnua-no jeno-d-e_{PRED}
 FIRST ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE make.E.NMLZ-SEQ search-LK-3
 ðino-mo eimo_O fa-t-e_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC pig kill-LK-3
 ‘First, after doing that, (the hunter) looks for a place. There, (he) kills pig(s).’

The examples (7.11-11) below illustrate non-future forms used in various types of contexts relating to the past. In (7.11), the event is situated in ancient times of the mythical hero Jitoma. The past event in (7.12) is an excerpt from a narrative about the times when the Murui people used to live in communal roundhouses. (7.13) refers to an event which occurred a few weeks back. Finally, (7.14) is an example of an event that happened yesterday.

- (7.11) [Jitoma [nai-e aama Kechatoma ðiga]_S jaai-d-e_{PRED} naizo-do_{INS}
 Jitoma ANA.SP-CLF:G brother Kechatoma WITH go-LK-3 path-INS
 ‘Jitoma together with (his) brother *Kechatoma* went by a path.’

- (7.12) aki-e izoi jae=mei [kai jo-fo]_S i-t-e_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLG:G similar PAST=SO 1pl house-CLF:CAV exist-LK-3
 ‘This is the way (as you’ve heard) our houses were like in the past.’

- (7.13) ie-mo dakaiño²³⁵ River-na [da-je ñi-ma]_S rei²³⁶-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC one.time River-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G man.CLF:DR.M say-LK-3San
 ‘San Rafael-mo jifano-iti-kai=za_{PRED} jaaiti-o?’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 San Rafael-LOC play-FUT.LK-1pl=UNCERT go.FUT.LK-2sg say-LK-3
 nai-mie-nao
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘In this, once one man said to River “We are going to play in San Rafael, will you go?” he (the man) said to him.’

²³⁵ Depending on the speaker, the word ‘one time’ is either pronounced as *dakaiño* or *dakaño*.

²³⁶ Some speakers pronounce *rai-* ‘say’ as *rei-* in the non-future tense. Its future tense form is always pronounced as *raai-*.

- (7.14) ñaiño_s yo-a_{PR} nare bi-e_s afai jaai-d-e_{PR}
 CLF:PR.F tell-E.NMLZ yesterday this.CTS-CLF:G up.stream go-LK-3
 jai iba-ñe-d-e_{PR}
 already buy-NEG-LK-3
 ‘According to her. Yesterday she went upstream. She didn’t buy (it) anymore.’

The example (7.15) shows an event which happened on the day of the utterance while (7.16) refers to events unfolding at the time of utterance.

- (7.15) jaive jiti-ra-mo nai-mie_s
 some.time.ago darken-CLF:NEUT-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M
 mano-ri-ra-ko-mo_{LOC} bi-t-e_{PR} ra-ya-do
 heal-DUR-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER-LOC come-LK-3 thing-CLF:CRAFT-INS
 eo ira-re-na-ri
 very sick-ATT-E.NMLZ-CAUS.BENF
 ‘In the morning he came to the hospital by a boat because (he) was sick.’

- (7.16) bi-mie_A bu-e_O ñe-t-e!_{PR} kazi-ta=ua!_{PR}
 this.CTS-CLF:PR.M Q₁-CLF:G do-LK-3 sleep-CAUS=really
 ‘What is he doing!? Wake him up!’

Usually, events happening at the time of speaking bear aspectual markers to indicate that an action is taking place ‘right now’. Commonly this is done by verbal root reduplication (see §7.2.2.3). The non-future tense is also used in generic statements, as shown in (7.17). Such statements do not contain any non-spatial setting markers.

- (7.17) Ikanto-mo_{LOC} i-ya_{PR} mare mare-kinuai_s i-ya_{PR}
 El.Encanto-LOC exist-E.NMLZ good.ATT good.ATT-CLF:NEWS.PL exist-E.NMLZ
 nai-no-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PR} [komini Murui]_s
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3 person.CLF:DR.GR Murui
 ‘Life in El Encanto is good. (There) are good stories. The Murui people are there.’

7.2.1.2 Future

Future covers events expected to happen either in near or distant indefinite future. The morphological expression of future tense is done by regular suffixation with *-iti* and/or vowel lengthening (see §2.5 on morphophonological processes applicable to verbal roots that

express the future tense).²³⁷ The affixation and aphophony is applied to verbal roots regardless of their polarity. Murui future tense marking is obligatory throughout texts and can never be omitted without a change in meaning. A number of examples presented below.

(7.18) refers to near future ('tomorrow'), (7.19) talks about distant future; (7.20) is a statement about future in general.

(7.18) [jai naio] ikare juiyi-jio ooti-kue_{PRED}
 already night tomorrow yucca-CLF:TUBER get.FUT-LK-1sg
 juiyi-jio o-a-no juta-iti-kue_{PRED}
 yucca-CLF:TUBER get-E.NMZL-SEQ make.ripe.in.water-FUT.LK-1sg
 '(It's) night already. Tomorrow I will get the yucca. After having getting the yucca, I will mature it (in the water).'

(7.80) kue_A iko Bogotá-mo_{LOC} feeiti-kue=di!_{PRED}
 1sg ONE.DAY Bogotá.Sp-LOC fly.FUT.LK-1sg=CERT
 'One day I will fly to Bogotá! (You will see...)'

(7.20) 'bi-e_{VCS} [oo izo']_{VCC} [nai-e uai-na]_O
 this.CTS-CLF:G 2sg uncle ANA.SP-CLF:G word-N.S/A.TOP
 ñno-iti-o=za_{PRED}
 obey-FUT.LK-2sg=UNCERT
 "'This is your uncle". You will obey his words.'

The example (7.21) illustrates a negated verb with the future tense marker:

(7.21) nai-mie_S [bi-e semana-mo]_{LOC} bi-ñe-it-e_{PRED} eo
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M this.CLS-CLF:G week.Sp-LOC come-NEG-FUT-3 very
 maiji-a i-t-e=za_{PRED}
 work-E.NMLZ exist-LK-3=UNCERT
 'He won't come this week. He has a lot of work (lit. there is a lot of work).'

The future tense is not exclusively used to indicate future actions or processes, but also to express deontic modalities such as issuing requirements which must be executed at a later time. Such usage of the future tense can be regarded as an imperative strategy which has

²³⁷ The future suffix consists of the element *i-* followed obligatorily by the linker *-ti* (note that in non-future tense, the linker can have the form *-di* or *-ti*). As such, I treat *-iti* as one future tense suffix (see Chapter 2).

additional overtones of politeness (see also §11.1.4) (Cowell, 2007).²³⁸ In (7.22), a woman was giving an order to her daughter to stay at home and watch other children while she would be away. Her utterances are casted in the future tense:

- (7.22) kue_S [Izmael=dine]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue=za_{OPRED} oo_S jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 1sg Izmael=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-1sg=UNCERT 2sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 iiti-_{OPRED} uru-ia_{IO} zada-i-ti-_{OPRED} ni-ne_{LOC}
 exist.FUT.LK-2sg child-CLF:G.PL take.care-FUT-LK-2sg Q₂-LOC:NSP
 jaai-ñe-i-ti-_{OPRED} uri beno jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 go-NEG-FUT-LK-2pl calm HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 iiti-_{OPRED}
 exist.FUT.LK-2pl
 ‘I am going to Izmael’s, you stay at home. Watch the children. You (pl) will not go anywhere. You (pl) will stay quiet in the house.’

The future tense can also be employed when expressing obligative- and prohibitive-like meanings (see §7.2.3.3).²³⁹ Murui imperatives do not have dedicated tense-like distinctions (§11.1.1).

7.2.1.3 Use of lexical time words

Murui has an array of time words to specify when the event happened or will happen, such as *jai* ‘already’, *nare* ‘yesterday’, *jaie/jae* ‘in the past’, *jaa* ‘soon’, *ikare* ‘tomorrow’ (see §3.2.2 for details on time words). Murui time words frequently co-occur with verbs, especially those referring to the non-future tense. This is a lexical strategy to differentiate between the present vs. past meanings of the non-future verb forms which otherwise could potentially remain ambiguous. For instance, *jaai-d-e* (go-LK-3) can be interpreted in two ways, relating either to the past, as in ‘(she) went’, or the present, as in ‘(she) goes’. This ambiguity is resolved by

²³⁸ In Arapaho, an Algonquian languages, future forms are not used to cast commands but to express “(...) a recognition of the strong authority of the person who cannot be commanded” (Cowell 2007:57).

²³⁹ The event nominalizer *-ye* (or *-yena*) encodes also purposive meanings in Murui (see §12.3).

the preverbal *jai* ‘already’, as in *jai jaai-d-e* (already go-LK-3) ‘(she) has already gone’ where the past event reading is the only possible option. Lexical time words with verbs marked for future tense are common to specify when an event/an action will take place but are not crucial to understand the future tense reading (but see also the desiderative §7.2.3.1 used as an indicator of future tense).

7.2.2 *Aspect*

Murui has a quite extensive array of suffixes which are independent of other TAME marking. Some of the aspectual markers tend to co-occur, such as the durative, the reiterative, and the inceptive marker; others are restricted and cannot occur with other categories (for instance, the remote habitual is mutually exclusive with the inceptive marker). This means that in Murui, aspect is not only one slot. Murui aspect markers form a functionally and formally congruent class, but the terminative *-bi*, the semelfactive *-no*, and the body movement *-da* have slightly different properties than other aspectual markers (see Table 7.4 in §7.4). Synchronically, some of the Murui aspectual ‘manner’ markers are not productive (see §7.2.2.6). The scope of the system of aspect in Murui covers the following categories phase of activity (terminative, discussed in §7.2.2.1), temporal extent (durative, §7.2.2.2), degree (high intensity, §7.2.2.4), frequency (reiterative, semelfactive, remote habitual, customary, and habitual, §7.2.2.4), and manner (inceptive and body movement, §7.2.2.5). Murui unproductive miscellaneous affixes are discussed in §7.2.2.5.

7.2.2.1 *Phase of activity*

The phase of activity parameter of the non-spatial setting markers usually specify whether an activity is beginning, being in progress, or finishing. Murui has one value in this respect, the terminative *-bi* that is limited to certain verbs (mostly telic).

The terminative suffix *-bi* meaning ‘finish’ used for completed actions or processes (the suffix is not particularly productive, however).²⁴⁰ Compare (7.23a-b). It frequently occurs with the inceptive *-kai*, as in (7.23c).

- (7.23) a. bori-d-e_{PRED}
flash-LK-3
‘(Lightning) flashes.’
- b. bori-bi-d-e_{PRED}
flash-TERM-LK-3
‘(Lightning) flashed (and vanished).’
- c. aiyi guru-d-e_{PRED} iadi bori-bi-kai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
moment.ago thunder-LK-3 but flash-TERM-RAPID-LK-3
‘A brief moment ago a thunder struck but there was no lightning (lit. didn’t flash).’

Similarly, the verb *tame(de)* ‘mix’ in (7.24) has a terminative reading denoting the end (result) of an action. This is the same with the verb *feei(de)* ‘forget’ in (7.25) and *joko(de)* ‘wash’ in (7.26).

- (7.24) eni-e_s [juzefo diga] tame-bi-d-e_{PRED}
land-CLF:G ash WITH mix-TERM-LK-3
‘The ground is mixed (with ash).’

- (7.25) nai-e_s feei-bi-kai-d-e_{PRED} ua?
ANA.SP-CLF:G forget-TERM-RAPID-LK-3 really
‘This was forgotten, right?’

- (7.26) [bi-e iniroi]_s eo raize joko-bi-d-e_{PRED}
this.CTS-CLF:G clothes very well wash-TERM-LK-3
‘This cloth came out washed well.’

With the verb *kio(de)*, the suffix *-bi* yields a different readings which involves some type of a repetition of an action, as in (7.27):²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Cf. the verbal root *bi-* ‘come’.

²⁴¹ Some speakers consider *kiobi(de)* to be Minika, rather than Murui.

- (7.27) *uru-e!* *jito-ma_S* *kio-bi-d-e_{PRED}* *mai kai jaai!_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G son-CLF:DR.M see-TERM-LK-3 hort 1pl go.IMP
 ‘Children! The sun came up again (lit. sees again), let’s go!’

The terminative *-bi* can co-occur with a number of markers of non-spatial setting: the inceptive *-kai*, as in (7.28), the reiterative-*oi* as in (7.29), and the reduplicated root referring to a high intensity of an action, as in (7.30b).

- (7.28) *mare-na* *jifo-bi-kai-d-e_{PRED}*
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP weave-TERM-RAPID-LK-3
 ‘(The roof top) came out well (and quickly).’

- (7.29) *Jonatan_S [uri i-ñe-na jira] iki-bi-oi-d-e_{PRED}*
 Jonatan calm exist-NEG-E.NMLZ REASON reprimand-TERM-PROG-LK-3
 ‘Because of Jonatan not being calm, was being told off constantly.’

- (7.30) a. *ooi-ma_S* *ibai-bi-d-e_{PRED}*
 brother.in.law-CLF:DR.M close~RED-TERM-LK-3
 ‘The brother in law remained closed up.’
 b. *naze ibai~ibai-bi-d-e_{PRED}*
 door close~RED-TERM-LK-3
 ‘The door was being opened and closed (intensively).’

In fact, many of the verbs often tend to occur primarily with the terminative *-bi* followed directly by the inceptive *-kai*. For instance, the verb *ini(de)* ‘sleep’ cannot not occur with the terminative *-bi* alone (**ini-bi-d-e*) but one can say *ini-bi-kai-d-e* (sleep-TERM-RAPID-LK-3) ‘(he) fell asleep quickly’.

The stative verbs such as *jooi(de)* ‘lay down’, *biii(de)* ‘lay down’, and *fiii(de)* ‘lay down (in a hammock)’ also take the terminative *-bi*. The verb root final element *-i* is lost in such cases, e.g. *joo-bi-d-e* (lie-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) laid down’, *fii-bi-d-e* (lie.in.hammock-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) laid down (in a hammock)’.

The terminative marker appears to be a valency-reducing mechanism; it can further occur the causative, e.g. *bu-ta-bi-d-e* (hurt-CAUS-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) was made hurt (by being

hit upon once)', *fa-ta-bi-d-e* (hit-CAUS-TERM-LK-3) '(he) was made hit (once)', and *iki-bi-ga* (reprimand-TERM-PASS) '(he) was reprimanded'.

7.2.2.2 Temporal extent

Another parameter in the description of non-spatial setting in Murui is what Dixon (2012:33) refers to as 'temporal extent' indicating whether the activity extends over a period of time or not. Murui grammaticalized one aspectual value, the durative *-ri*. The durative marker is followed by the linker *-ti*, unless there are other marks following the durative suffix. For instance, *dobe-d-e* (crush-LK-3) 'crush (yucca)' > *dobe-ri-t-e* (crush-DUR-LK-3) 'keep crushing (yucca)' > *dobe-ri-kabi-d-e* (crush-DUR-HAB-LK-3) 'habitually keep crushing (yucca)'.

The durative marker *-ri* indicates that an action or a process indicated by the verb is not momentary but of a long duration and it is necessarily distributed over time. This is illustrated in (7.31-33):

(7.31) *nairai_s jobai-ri-ya_{PRE}*
 clan fight-DUR-EVENT.NMLZ
 'They fought (for a long time).' (talking about times of war)

(7.32) [*colegio ie uru-e_s eo fino-ri-t-e_{PRE}*]
 school.Sp CONN child-CLF:G very prepare-DUR-LK-3
 'The school child keeps 'preparing' himself very much (ritual preparations)'

(7.33) *ua rozi-nai-ti-aimi_{PRE} yai-ri-d-e_{PRE} [nofi-ki ana-mo]*
 really cold-BECOME-LK-1du.m strike.lighting-DUR-LK-3 stone-CLF below-LOC
reei-ri-tiaimaia_{PRE}
 hide-DUR-LK.1du.m
 '(They) really became cold. Lighting kept striking. They kept hiding under a stone.'

- (7.34) *ie jira aki-e ua maka-ri-t-e_{PRED} [konirue uizi]_O*
 CONN REASON **AUDIT**-CLF:G really walk-DUR-LK-3 youngster eye
dai-ti-kue_{PRED} [nai-e kome-ki-do
 throw.water.at.eyes-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF:G heart-CLF:ROUND-INS
maka-ri-ye-na]_{PUR}
 walk-DUR-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘That is why they keep going. I will cure the young men’s eyes so they keep walking
 with this thought (lit. heart).’

Additionally, the Murui durative marker implies pluractionality, or some sort of ‘multiplicity’ in the semantic reading of a verb (Wood, 2007). It reflects the plurality of events (when the S argument of an intransitive clause is involved) yielding the prototypical iterative reading, as in (7.35), or plurality of participants (involving the O argument of a transitive clause, regardless its number value), as in (7.36-38).

- (7.35) *irai bo-no-ñe-na jira miguis iki-ri-t-e_{PRED}*
 fire burn-SMLF-NEG-E.NMLZ REASON tintin reprimand-DUR-LK-3
 ‘As he did not light the fire, the tintin kept reprimanding (his sons).’
- (7.36) [*Ligia=dine*]_{LOC} *iba-ri-zai-di-kai_{PRED} ie-mo naiño*
 Ligia=AT.LOC:NSP buy-DUR-ANDTV-LK-1pl CONN-LOC CLF:PR.F
i-ñe-na-za iba-ri-ñe-no bi-ti-kai_{PRED}
 exist-NEG-E.NMLZ-EMPH buy-DUR-NEG-PRIV come-LK-1pl
 ‘We went to Ligia’s to buy (a lot of things). And as she was not there, we came back
 without having bought (things).’
- (7.37) [*kue evu-ño*]_S *iye-mo_{LOC} joko-ri-t-e_{PRED}*
 1sg sister.ego-CLF:DR.F river-LOC wash-DUR-LK-3
 ‘My sister keeps washing (a lot of clothes) in the river.’
- (7.38) *dobe-ri-d-e-mo rii-di-kue_{PRED}*
 wash-DUR-REPT-LK-3-TEMP arrive-DUR-LK-3
 ‘When (she) kept crushing (a lot of yucca), I came in.’

The iterative readings are especially evident when the durative occurs with the reiterative *-oi*, e.g. *iki-ri-oi-d-e* (reprimand-DUR-REPT-LK-3) ‘keep reprimanding and reprimanding’. This is illustrated by *joko-ri-oi-d-e-mo* ‘(they) kept washing and washing (a lot of clothes)’ in (7.39).

7.2.2.3 Degree

Another parameter of the Murui non-spatial setting markers involves ‘degree’, expressing high intensity of an action and, to an extent, its iteration; it is marked by a reduplication of verbal roots. Murui has one type of reduplication, a process which applies to intransitive and transitive verbal roots (this is one of the parameters that formally distinguishes between verbs and adjectives; adjectival roots cannot be reduplicated, see §9.1.2). The reduplicant is continuous with the verbal root; depending on the verb structure, the reduplication can be either partial (e.g. *jaai(de)* ‘go’ > *jaai~jai(de)* ‘going and going’) or full (e.g. *maka(de)* ‘walk’ > *maka~maka(de)* ‘walking and walking’).²⁴² Reduplication is a highly productive mechanism in Murui; reduplicated verbal roots are typically found in the everyday discourse when referring to actions that occur at the moment of speaking, but do also occur in other contexts. Some examples are given in (7.45-48) (see also examples T1.2, T2.19, T2.29, T3.14 in the Appendix).

(7.45) [kue jo-fo i-maki abi]_s jaye~jaye-re-d-e_{PREL}
 1sg house-CLF:CAV ANA-CLF:PL body smell~RED-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The people of my house are very smelly (intensively).’

(7.46) beno-mo_{LOC} oo-na_O raina~raina-da-ti-kue_{PREL}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 2sg-N.S/A.TOP sit.TH~RED-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘I am sitting you down (intensively) here.’

(7.47) Australia-mo iit-e_{PREL} iadi [nai-mie aijada-na]_O
 Australia.Sp-LOC exist.FUT.LK-3 but ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M goddaughter.Sp-N.S/A.TOP
 jika~jika-no-t-e_{PREL}
 request~RED-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘(He) will be in Australia but (he) will be asking (and asking) for his goddaughter.’

²⁴² Long vowels of the reduplicants lose their weight and become shortened (CVV > CVV~CV); short vowels in word initial position become lengthened (CV > CVV~CV) (see §X.X). The form of the linker is always *-di*, e.g. *du(te)* ‘chew coca’ > *duu-du-d-e* (chew.coca~RED-LK-3) ‘(he) is chewing coca (intensively)’.

- (7.48) *kue_s irazi-ye-mo ikare roo~ro-i-ti-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg *xxx-FUT.E.NMLZ-LOC* tomorrow *sing~RED-FUT-LK-1sg*
 ‘During the celebrations tomorrow I will be singing (and singing).’

The reduplicated verb can have clearly iterative readings as well, as in (7.49-53) (see T2.36, T2.59, T.2.94, T4.10, T4.12, T4.19).

- (7.49) *kue_s jaive-mona oo=dine bii~bi-di-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg *some.time.ago-ABL* 2sg=*AT.LOC:NSP* *come~RED-LK-1sg*
jaka bii~bi-ti-kue..._{PRED}
 always *come~RED-LK-1sg*
 ‘For some time now I have been coming to you. I will always come...’
- (7.50) *ie-mo... iye-mo eti~eti-ño-t-e_{PRED} no?*
CONN-LOC river-LOC light~RED-SMLF-LK-3 no.Sp
 ‘And so... (He) kept flashing light at the river, right?’
- (7.51) *maka~maka-kai-d-e-na mare*
walk~RED-RAPID-LK-3-COND₂ good.ATT
 ‘If (he) passes (from house to house visiting), it’s good.’
- (7.52) [*bi-e eni-e*]_o *ikare kai duu~du-ye_{PRED}*
this.CTS-CLF:G land-CLF:G tomorrow 1pl smash~RED-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘We will keep smashing the ground tomorrow.’
- (7.53) *iki~iki-d-e-mo jaka rii-di-_{OPRED}*
reprimand~RED-LK-3-TEMP always arrive-LK-2sg
 ‘You always come when (the child) is being reprimanded.’

A handful of verbs, such as *i(te)* ‘exist’, *kaje(de)* ‘be alive’, and *baai(de)* ‘die’ cannot undergo the process of reduplication.²⁴³ Similarly, position verbs, such as *jooi(de)* ‘lie down’ or *fii(de)* ‘lie down (in a hammock)’ are never reduplicated. Reduplicated verbs take also the nominalizer *-na*, cf. *maka-ja* (walk-E.NMLZ) ‘walking’ > *maka~maka-na* (walk~RED-E.NMLZ) ‘walking and walking’. There are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of reduplicated verbs with other types of TAME markers.

²⁴³ When the verb *baai(de)* ‘die’ is reduplicated, it gains a meaning of ‘losing consciousness’ rather than ‘die’.

7.2.2.4 Frequency

Activity can be viewed in terms of frequency of the action. Grammatical expression of ‘frequency’ indicates whether something is done once, more than once or habitually. In this respect, Murui has five suffixes that mark frequency of the action: reiterative, semelfactive, remote habitual, past habitual, and habitual. Each is discussed in turn.

A. REITERATIVE *-oi* – the suffix *-oi* expresses a notion of doing something again, as in examples (7.54-56) below.²⁴⁴

(7.54) naga-rui ua jifano-oi-di-maki_{PREP}
 each-clf:day really play-REIT-LK-3pl
 ‘They have a game every day.’

(7.55) [bi-e uru-e]_s jai zefui-re-d-e_{PREP} daa ee-oi-d-e_{PREP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G already tiring-ATT-LK-3 alone cry-REIT-LK-3
 ‘This child has become tiring; it cries on its own (again and again).’

(7.56) Katiña_A naze_O kaidi-a-no ibai-oi-d-e_{PREP}
 Katiña door be.stingy-E.NMLZ-SEQ close-REIT-LK-3
 ‘Katiña is stingy with the door; she keeps shutting it again and again.’

With verbs of bodily movement (like bathing, looking) and functions (like sleeping), *-oi* indicates a ‘brevity of an action, incompleteness’ (cf. with *-oi* ‘half’ with adjectives, see §9.1).

A set of contrastive examples is given in (7.57a-b). The reading of (7.57b) is that of a quick rinse.

(7.57) a. [kue abi]_O nooi-di-kue_{PREP}
 1sg body bathe-LK-1sg
 ‘I bathe myself.’ (a normal bath)

²⁴⁴ Unlike some other aspectual suffixes, the reiterative marker is not sensitive to the moraic weight of a syllable, with the *-i(ti)* marking future, e.g. *roko-oi-t-e* (cook-REIT-LK-3) ‘(she) will be cooking again and again’.

- b. [kue abi]_o nooi-oi-di-kue_{pred}
 1sg body wash-REIT-LK-1sg
 ‘I bathe myself again and again.’ (a quick rinse)

Another comparative set of examples is given in (7.58-59) below. The meaning of the verb *jibui(de)* is ‘look at, search, spy’. When it occurs with the reiterative *-oi*, the reading is that of a reiterative aspect with overtones of brevity of an action, such as ‘check, revise’:

- (7.58) [kue ei]_A [iye-mo ra-ya jaai-ya]_o jibui-d-e_{pred}
 1sg mother river-LOC thing-CLF:CRAFT go-E.NMLZ look.at-LK-3
 ‘My mother is looking at the boat going (down) the river.’

- (7.59) [kue ini] [daa ra-be-nigi]_o jibui-oi-d-e_{pred}
 1sg husband same thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THICK look.at-PRG-LK-3
 ‘My husband is checking the book again and again.’

This is similar in (7.60) where the reiterative *-oi* has overtones of an action not done ‘fully’; the reading is that of a short nap (during which he wakes up and goes back to sleep again), rather than a good sleep.

- (7.60) [kue moo]_s ini-oi-d-e_{pred} [[nai-mie ifo-gi]_s eo
 1sg father sleep-REIT-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M head-CLF:OVAL very
 izi-re-na-ri]
 hurt-ATT-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘My father was taking a nap again and again because of his headache (lit. his head hurting a lot).’

There are no restrictions as to the tense and aspect specifications. Frequently, the reiterative occurs easily with the reduplicated verbal roots (e.g. *guui~gui-oi-d-e* (eat~RED-REIT-LK-3) ‘(she) keeps eating again and again’) and with the durative *-ri* (as in *roko-ri-oi-d-e* (cook-DUR-REIT-LK-3) ‘(she) cooks for some time again and again’. Additionally, the durative and the reiterative markers can be followed by the inceptive *-kai*.

- (7.61) [kai uzu-ma]_A uai_o jai bi-rui-do_{ins}
 1pl grandparent-CLF:DR.M word already this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS
 jai feei-oi-kai-d-e_{pred}
 already forget-REIT-INCEP-LK-3
 ‘Our grandfathers have already started to forget (our) words.’

- (7.62) maka-ri-oi-kai-di-kue-mo_{TEMP} Lucio_A nai-kino_O yo-t-e_{PRED}
 walk-DUR-PRG-QUICK-LK-1sg-LOC Lucio ANA.SP-CLF:STORY tell-LK-3
 ‘When I was beginning to pass (along the houses), Lucio told (us) the news.’

B. SEMELFACTIVE *-no* – Murui has an aspectual marker to indicate whether an action is done once, the semelfactive *-no* (with its allomorph *-ño* following the front high vowel /i/) that occurs with transitive verbs. Compare (7.63a-b), (7.64a-b), (7.65a-b), (7.66a-b), and (7.67):

- (7.63) a. Rata_A gui-ye_O jika-d-e_{PRED} aime-tai-ya-ri
 Rata eat-FUT.E.NMLZ request-LK-3 hungry-BECOME₂-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘Rata requested food because of becoming hungry.’

- b. Kata_A uai-yaio jika-no-t-e_{PRED} uzu-ma-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 Kata word-pl ask-SMLF-LK-3 grandparent-CLF:DR.M-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘Rata requested food because of becoming hungry.’

- (7.64) a. bi-ya-no dane eti-d-e_{PRED}
 come-E.NMLZ-SEQ AGAIN light-LK-3
 ‘After having come, (he went to) flash (the river to spot the fish).’

- b. jaive-mona [kue koda]_O eti~eti-ño-t-e_{PRED}
 some.time.ago-ABL 1sg smokehouse light~RED-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘For some time now (she) keeps flashing (switch off and on the torch) at the smokehouse (making sure that the fish is not burning).’

- (7.65) a. Adam_A emodo_O kui-t-e_{PRED} [tai_i-re-na jira]
 Adam back scratch-LK-3 itchy-ATT-E.NMLZ REASON
 ‘Adam scratched his back because of itching.’

- b. Tadave_A [uzu-ño abi-mo i-t-e ioyo-ño]_O
 Tadave grandparent-CLF:DR.F body-LOC exist-LK-3 mite-CLF:DR.F
kui-ño-t-e_{PRED}
 scratch-smlf-lk-3
 ‘Tadave scratched out the itch mite that was in grandmother’s body.’

- (7.66) a. [noki deei-ya]_S jai faikai-d-e_{PRED}
 rain rain-E.NMLZ already stop-LK-3
 ‘The rain has stopped.’

- a. faikai-ño-t-e_{PRED} jaai-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 stop-LK-3 go-IMP-RAPID
 ‘(The rain) has stopped for a moment! Go quickly (before it starts raining again)!’

- (7.67) Marcia_s San Rafael jaai-ye-na [naiño pantalon
 Marcia San.Sp Rafael.Sp go-FUT.E.NMLZ CLF:PR.F pants.Sp
 fue jea-dai-ti-no]_o jari-re joko-no-t-e_{PR}
 mouth dirty-BECOME₃-LK-CLF:SP.PLACE quickly-ATT wash-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘Marcia was going to San Rafael. She was quickly a part of her pants that was dirty.’

Occasionally the interpretation of the semelfactive is ‘little bit’, rather than ‘once’. This is illustrated in (7.68):

- (7.68) [naiño daño]_s aro-ruño_o roko-no-t-e_{PR}
 CLF:PR.F alone-CLF:DR.F rice.Sp-?CLF cook-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘She cooked a bit of rice.’

Stative verbs marked with the semelfactive marker gain a causative reading, as in (7.69a-b) and (7.70ab-b).²⁴⁵ Another example of this kind is *kuei(de)* ‘be finished’ and *kueno(te)* ‘finish (something)’. Verbal roots that consist of long vowels become shortened when followed by the semelfactive marker, as illustrated in the examples below.

- (7.69) a. [uzu-ño irai]_s boo-d-e_{PR}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F fire burn-LK-3
 ‘The grandmother’s fire is lit.’
 b. jaa Water_A irai_o bo-no-it-e_{PR}
 soon Walter fire burn-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘Soon Walter will light up the fire.’
- (7.70) a. [kue moo mi_{kor}i] jai baai-d-e_{PR} i-ñe-d-e_{PR} jai
 1sg father late already die-LK-3 exist-NEG-LK-3 already
 nai-mie_s
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
 ‘My late father has died. He doesn’t live anymore.’
 b. [bai-no-d-e raa]_o nai-mie_A jirua_{PR} jira
 die-SMLF-LK-3 thing ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M drink.E.NMLZ REASON
 ‘Because he drunk the poison (lit. killing thing).’

²⁴⁵ See Haspelmath (1993) on the link between causatives and inchoatives.

The semelfactive follows by other aspectual markers, such as the reiterative *-oi*, as in *roko-no-oi-d-e* (cook-SMLF-REIT-LK-3) ‘cooks up again and again’. Some verbal roots obligatorily take the semelfactive markers, e.g. *ekono-* ‘open something up’ (there is no verb **eko(de)* at present in Murui), *jifano(te)* ‘play’ (cf. *jifai(de)* ‘get intoxicated’, *feño(te)* ‘receive’). A handful of transitive verbs, such as *gui(te)* ‘eat’, *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’, and *kue(te)* ‘write, scratch’, cannot take the semelfactive marking.

C. REMOTE HABITUAL *-vui* – the remote habitual covers past events which that happened long ago. It is marked with the suffix *-vui* (the form is *-zoi* following /i/), as illustrated in (7.71-72). It is not restricted to any tense-aspect-modality-evidentiality specifications. The remote habitual is commonly used in mythological narratives about events happening in a distant past, as in (7.71), the teachings about the norms (called *Yetarakino*), as in (7.72-73), as well as commentaries about events that happened long time ago, as in (7.74-76).

(7.71) [kaɪ jaie ra-gi-ma]_s bi-ziki-do
 1pl PAST thing-CLF:OVAL-CLF:DR.M this.CTS-CLF.REP:JUNGLE-INS
maka-vui-d-e_{PRED}
 walk-REM.HAB-LK-3
 ‘Our leaders from the past used to walk these forests.’

(7.72) [aki-e izoi] rai-zoi-d-e_{PRED} [ie jito-na]_o
 auditv-CLF:G similar say-REM.HAB -LK-3 CONN son-N.S/A.TOP
 ie yofuia_{PRED}
 CONN teach.E.NMLZ
 ‘She has been always saying this to her son, teaching this.’

(7.73) ie izoi airi-ji_o finua-no-na
 CONN similar cassava-CLF:CASSAVA make.E.NMLZ-SEQ-n.s/a.top
gui-zoi-ga_{PRED}
 eat-REM.HAB-PASS
 ‘Having made the cassave, it used to be eaten.’

(7.74) Porki bi-zoi-d-e_{PRED} jai bi-rui bi-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 Porki come-REM.HAB-LK-3 already this-CLF:DAY come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Porki used to come in the past, today he does not come (anymore).’

(7.75) Flor Nofiko-mo jaie i-zoi-d-e_{PRED}
 Flor La.Chorrera-LOC PAST exist-REM.HAB-LK-3
 ‘Flor used to live in La Chorrera in the past.’

(7.76) eo maka-i-aka-vui-di-kue..._{PRED}
 very walk-EMPH-DES-REM.HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘I used to want to come a lot...’

D. CUSTOMARY-*fī* – the suffix *-fī* refers to customary (but not habitual) activities or states, most often relating to the past (but never remote past; occasionally future). The suffix *-fī* is obligatorily followed by the attributive markers *-re* or *-ni*. This is illustrated in (7.77-78) that refer to past events, (7.79) refers to a present event:²⁴⁶

(7.77) [jito [kue diga]]_s jiai-kaño jaai-fī-re-d-e_{PRED}
 son 1sg WITH other-TIME go-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 ‘My son and me customarily used to go.’

(7.78) bi-kae-na ui-fī-re-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:REP:CANOA-N.S/A.TOP take.away-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 nai-mie_s aima-jai-a
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M fish-ANDTV-COND₁
 ‘He customarily used to take this canoe when he went away to fish.’

(7.79) Dana [ri-a ra-na]_o ri-fī-ni-d-e_{PRED} naiño
 Dana plant-E.NMLZ thing-N.S/A.TOP plant-CUST-NEG.ATT-LK-3 CLF:PR.F
 [jiai-no ri-ga]_o o-fī-re-d-e_{PRED}
 other-CLF:PR.GR.AN plant-PASS take.out-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Dana doesn’t customarily plant fruit, she takes these planted by others.’

In occurs on all types of verb. Generally there are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of the customary *-fī* with other types of tense-aspect, modality, and evidentiality markers (but see Table 7.4 in §7.4). (7.80) refers to the future; it co-occurs with the habitual *-kabi* in (7.81) and the reduplicated verbal root *joko-* ‘wash’ (7.82).

²⁴⁶ In her description of Murui, Burch (1983:135) assigns the marker *-fire-* as a dialectal variation of the customary marker *-kabi* in Minika. However, in Murui texts both markers can co-occur.

- (7.80) [Flor Angela]_s iko aiyue-nia roko-fi-re-it-e_{PRE}
 Flor Angela ONE.DAY big.CLF:G-COND₁ cook-CUST-ATT-FUT.LK-3
 ‘When Flor Angela is big, she will be a cook.’
- (7.81) naiño_s bi-kabi-fi-re-d-e_{PRE} ua
 CLF:PR.F come-HAB-CUST-ATT-LK-3 really
 ‘She comes (when she wants to, irregularly).’
- (7.82) [uzu-ño da-ño]_s beno_{LOC} joko~joko-fi-re-d-e_{PRE}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F one-CLF:DR.F HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE wash~RED-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The grandmother customarily washes and washes here alone.’

The customary *-fi* followed by the attributive *-re/-ni* form in fact complex affixes that have non-compositional meanings. As illustrated in (7.83), *-fi* (followed obligatorily by *-re*) can also be preceded by an additional attributive marker.

- (7.83) [kue gui-ye]_o roko-re-fi-re-di-kue_{PRE}
 1sg eat-FUT.E.NMLZ cook-ATT-CUST-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘Customarily I used to be able to cook my food.’

E. HABITUAL *-kabi* – the habitual *-kabi* implies a habitual repetitive character of an action or an event that refers in the present moment. The habitual marker occurs on all types of verbs. This is illustrated in (7.84-87). There are some restrictions on co-occurrence of the habitual with aspect, modality, and evidentiality suffixes (it cannot co-occur with the future tense, the inceptive, the attributive and apprehensive markers, as well as the future tense nominalizer).

- (7.84) [naga domingo-mo] [Adam diga] cerveza jiro-kabi-ti-kok_{OPRE}
 EACH Sunday.Sp-LOC Tadave WITH beer.Sp drink-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘Every Sunday we with Adam drink beer.’
- (7.85) [kue iyi] eo niri-a fiido iyi-na
 1sg garden very neglect-COND₁ guara.bird garden-N.S/A.TOP
 gui-kabi-d-e_{PRE}
 eat-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘When my garden is neglected, the *guara* bird eats my garden.’
- (7.86) [naga fie-mona muidomo] Elver_s Bogotá-mo jaai-kabi-d-e_{PRE}
 EACH summer-CLF:SEASON end-LOC Elver Bogota.Sp-LOC go-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘At the end of each summer, Elver goes to Bogotá.’

- (7.87) jamei airi-ji_o gui~gui-kabi-di-kai_{PRE} ie jiai-rui-do
 ONLY cassava-CLF:CASSAVA eat~RED-HAB-LK-1pl CONN other-CLF:DAY-INS
 jai aima-di-kai_{PRE}
 already starve-LK-1pl
 ‘So, we only kept eating the cassava (in that time). Other days we were starving.’

7.2.2.5 Manner

Other types of Murui non-spatial suffixes include manner and relate to the way in which an action is performed. Murui has a number of such suffixes, including whether an action has begun (or was performed quickly) or whether a bodily movement is included. The language has also a number of markers which relate to means by which an action was performed, such as scratching with small pointed objects or big round objects.

A. INCEPTIVE *-kai* – Murui has a special suffix on the verb which indicates a start point of an action (elsewhere *-kai* is a marker of ‘rapid action’, see §11.1).²⁴⁷ The inceptive often occurs with other aspectual markers, such as the reiterative *-oi* and the high intensity marker. When the inceptive co-occurs with reduplicated verbal roots, it has overtones of some type of temporal progression, extending over a period of time, which is slow.

- (7.87) jai ri_{ai}-ma_o jaai-oi-kai-di-kai_{PRE}
 already non.Witoto-CLF:DR.M go-REIT-INCEPT-LK-1pl
 ‘We are becoming (like) the white people.’

In (7.88), a woman was telling her story of a journey through the forest. She told how difficult it was and how little food they had with them. Another woman asked whether all they walking only eating rice.

²⁴⁷ Following the imperative, *-kai* refers to speed meaning ‘do it quickly, rapidly’ (see Chapter 11).

(7.88) arroz_o gui~gui-kai-do?_{PRED}
 cassava-CLF:CASSAVA eat~RED-INCEP-LK.2sg
 ‘Did you begin to keep eating the rice?’

(7.89) is an excerpt from the *Yetarafue* genre about prohibited food told by an elder to his grandsons. He narrates that as long as they ‘go’ with *Yetarafue*, it will not be forgotten:

(7.89) ie aki-e feei-ñe-i-t-e_{PRED} jaka ua jaai~jai-kai-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN AUDTV-CLG:G forget-NEG-FUT-LK-3 always really go~RED-INCEP-FUT.LK-3
 ‘And this (what has been heard) they will not forget. Always they will really keep following (it).’

(7.90) is a textual example from the Murui hunting discourse called *Moomo Jikakaza*, that can be translated as an ‘appeal to the Creator’ (see Text 4 in the Appendix). Here, the narrator makes a request to the Creator, to grant him successful hunting. Similarly to (7.89) above, in (7.90) the speaker is using the reduplicated verbal form *jaai~jai-* ‘going and going’ marked with the suffix *-kai* to indicate (slow) temporal progression.

(7.90) jae ua uzu-tia_s jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED} mei ifo
 PAST really grandparent-PL.KIN go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ so head
 [ni-no-mo_{LOC} obe-do_s uai-d-e_{PRED}]Cl.Comp
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC umarí.black-CLF.POINTED fall-LK-3
 ‘In the past, our forefathers used to go where black *umarí* fruits fall.’

B. BODY MOVEMENT *-da* – further aspectual markers include the suffix *-da* that describes actions or processes which cover some type of a bodily movement of the (animate and inanimate) A/S arguments. The body movement suffix occurs with a set of stative verbs (those marked with the thematic suffix *i-* following directly the verbal root, such as *jooi(de)* ‘lie down’, see §3.1.2). The stative intransitive verbs marked with *-da* remain intransitive (see Petersen de Piñeros 1998). Compare the set of illustrative examples below:

- (7.91) a. Rata_S kinai-mo_{LOC} fii-d-e_{PRED}
 Rata hammock-LOC lie.in.hammock-LK-3
 ‘Rata lies down in a hammock.’
- b. kinai-mo_{LOC} fii-da-di-kue_{PRED}
 hammock-LOC lay.down.in.hammock-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘I lay (my body) in a hammock.’
- (7.92) a. uzu-mas noki_O zeda-d-e=za_{PRED} [baai bati]_{LOC}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.M rain wait-LK-3=UNCERT THERE THERE
 naidai-ya_{PRED}
 stand-E.NMLZ
 ‘The grandfather is waiting for the rain. He is standing over there.’
- b. Kata naiada-da-kai-da jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 Kata stand-BODY-INCEP-LK-SEQ.COMPL go-LK-3
 ‘Kata after having stood up, went (away).’

A number of verbal roots occur obligatorily with the body movement suffix, such as *eroda-* ‘turn to look’ in (9.93) below.

- (7.93) bi-rui kue-mo ero-da-ti-o_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY 1sg-LOC look-BODY-LK-2sg
 ‘Today you (turned to) look at me.’

Murui has a number of unproductive thematic suffixes which co-occur with the body movement suffix *-da*. These are *-na* and *-ne* that occur on lexicalized verbal roots. Verbs marked with these suffixes and followed by the body suffix *-da* can occur with an O argument. Cf. the verbal root *joone-* ‘lay down’ in (7.91) with *jooi-* ‘lie down’ in (7.92).

- (7.94) Kata [naiño lapizero] abi-mo_{LOC} joone-t-e_{PRED}
 Kata CLF:PR.F pencil.Sp body-LOC lay.TH-LK-3
 ‘Kata put her pencil at her side.’

The element *-na* occur on a few intransitive verbs, such as *raai(de)* ‘sit’, and seems to turn them into transitive verbs that can further be passivized, e.g. *raaina-ka* (sit.TH-PASS) ‘be sitted, be placed’. They can be subsequently followed by the body movement suffix *-da* as in (9.95):

- (7.95) [jai jifai-ya meino] aa raina-da-t-e_{PRED} kome_s
 already get.intoxicated-E.NMLZ later-ABL above sit-BODY-LK-3 person
 ‘After drinking (celebration), a person sits up (to feel better).’

7.2.2.6 Miscellaneous affixes

There is a number of miscellaneous (but unproductive) affixes in Murui. They have a range of meanings, from manner markers that would be translatable as manner adverbs into Indo-European languages, to instrumental meanings such as ‘done with’. Some are homophonous with classifiers (I refer them here as ‘instrumental’), others have forms unlike those of classifiers (hereafter ‘spatial setting and manner affixes’). All require further study.

A. INSTRUMENTAL – some types of Murui verbal affixes modify verbs to indicate different types of manner with which an action is performed.²⁴⁸ These verbal affixes are not productive and occur only with a limited set of verbs. Synchronically, they are conventionalized verbal roots followed by an element which originally might have been a (verbal) classifier. They form a restricted set (consisting of eight forms). An example of this are the suffixes *-be* and *-do* in (7.96a-b) that are homophonous with classifiers *-be* for ‘oval oblong leaf-like shapes’ and *-do* for ‘small pointed objects (such as a seed or a tooth)’. Note that synchronically there is no verbal root *jai-*.

- (7.96) a. Flor_A [naiño farie]_o [beeí-ra idagi ie]_o
 Flor CLF:PR.F farina.Sp toast-CLF:NEUT toasting.plate CONN
 jai-be-d-e_{PRED}
 scratch.with.hoe-LK-3
 ‘Flor is scratching with a hoe of the toasting plate.’

²⁴⁸ These forms have segmental similarity to the classifiers. In nature, they could be similar to Bora instrumental prefixes, as in Thiesen and Weber (2012: 123) or the Panoan type body-part prefixes (Fleck, 2006; Fleck & Zariquiey Biondi, 2012).

- b. atava_A [kue jo-fo abi]_O jaido-d-e_{PRED}
 chicken 1sg house-CLF:CAV body scratch.with.claw-LK-3
 ‘A chicken scratches (with its claw) around my house.’

Another example of a comparative set of such verbal suffixes is given in (7.97-98). The root of the intransitive stative verb is *tuui(de)* ‘be open, rotten’ occurs with the element *-be*, similarly to (7.96) above. In (7.98), the verb *tuui(de)* includes the element *-ko* (c.f. form of the classifier *-ko* for ‘cover’ that include objects such as a banana rind).

- (7.97) Rata_A nai-e_O tuibe-d-e_{PRED}
 Rata ANA.SP-CLF:G open.plain.object-LK-3
 ‘Rata opened it (a thin package with a fish inside).’
- (7.98) Lucio komo ogo-do tuiko-d-e_{PRED}
 Lucio recently banana-CLF:POINTED open.plain.object-LK-3
 ‘Lucio has just peel off the rind of the banana.’

B. SPATIAL SETTINGS AND MANNER AFFIXES – Murui has a number of verbal affixes that modify a handful of verbs (such as *bo-* ‘split’ and *tie-* ‘cut’) according to their spatial settings. They do not classify nouns and they are not productive; they do not have forms of classifiers. The difference between the examples below is the final result, as a different type of split, as in (7.99a-c) below.

- (7.99) a. rerigai-na_O jenino bo-ti-ka_i_{PRED}
 firewood-N.S/A.TOP little split-LK-1pl
 ‘We split, cut a small amount of firewood’
- b. raize bo-ro-ye-za_{PRED} [sal-na_O
 well split-THIN-E.FUT.NMLZ-EMPH salt.Sp-N.S/A.TOP
 joone-ye-na]_{Plr}
 lay-E.FUT.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘One must split (the meat in thin pieces, like ham) well to put salt.’
- c. mero-zi_O bo-fe-ye!_{PRED}
 pig-CLF:MEAT split-PIECE-PASS
 ‘One must cut the meat of the pig (into bigger pieces).’
- (7.100) nai-e_O tie-kozi!_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G cut-SMALL.PIECE

‘Cut this into small pieces!’

7.2.3 Modality

With respect to the system of modality, the language has an array of verbal suffixes which cover speaker’s attitudes towards an event in terms of the desire and apprehension (attitudinal modalities are discussed in §7.2.3.1), as well as the ability to perform an action (ability is discussed in §7.2.3.2). Obligation is expressed by means of the future event nominalizer *-ye* (with ‘obligative’-like readings) (see §7.2.3.3). There is also a marker for ‘unconfirmed’ and ‘confirmed certainty’ which cover speaker’s degree of confidence in utterance, willingness to vouch for information, and the ‘attitude’ of the speaker towards that information (see §7.2.3.4). See also Table 7.4 (§7.4) on co-occurrence of modality markers with other TAME categories.

7.2.3.1 Attitudinal modalities

The grammatical categories of Murui attitudinal modality cover people’s desirability of states of affair (the desiderative) and apprehension that may or will happen in the future (the apprehensive).

A. DESIDERATIVE *-aka* – Murui expresses desiderative modality by means of the suffix *-aka*, as illustrated in (7.101-102) (see also T1.39 and T2.84 in the Appendix). The desiderative marker is not restricted to any tense, aspect, modality (excluding obligation), and evidentiality specifications.

(7.101) [kue da-je jiko]_o ua raize tooi-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg one-CLF:G dog really well grow-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘I want to bring up my dog well.’

- (7.102) ‘kue-mo yo-ñe-iti-maki!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED} nai-e-na_o
 1sg-LOC tell-NEG-FUT.LK-3pl say-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 hear.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3
 ‘“Do not tell me!” (she) said. (She) didn’t want to listen to this.’

The desiderative marker is frequently followed by the emphatic *-i*, as in (7.103-7.106) (for more examples with the emphatic *i*- see also T2.14, T2.52, T3.3, and T4.7):

- (7.103) i-kino_o fino-i-aka-d-e=za iko ua kai-mo
 ANA.NSP-CLF:STORY make-EMPH-DES-LK-3=UNCERT one.day really 1pl-LOC
 yo-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 tell-NEG-LK3
 ‘(He) wanted to do this but really didn’t tell us!’

- (7.104) jamai eben-na mai-i-aka-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} iadi
 only straight-N.S/A.TOP work-EMPH-DES-NEG-LK-1sg but
 iba-ja-na jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 buy-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1sg
 ‘I do not want to work straight away but I need to be paid’

- (7.105) jii! [ziga-kai_o bo-no-ye-na]_{Pur} ie jira
 yes cigarette-CLF:STEM burn-SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP CONN REASON
 eo fuma-i-aka-d-e_{PRED}
 very smoke.Sp-EMPH-DES-LK-3
 ‘Yes, to light a cigarette. That’s why she wants to smoke so much.’

(7.107-108) are a textual excerpt of a woman was talking about her plans for the next day.

The preceding part of the story was casted in the future tense. Once the desiderative marker was used, the speaker, when talking about his future intentions, decided to shift to use the non-future tense.

- (7.107) dane afai bene kue jaai-ye-na
 ONCE upstream HERE.LOC:NSP 1sg go-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 dino-mona dane aima-jai-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE fish-ANDTV-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘After going up the river, I (will) want to go to fish.’

- (7.108) *aïma-jai-ya* *dino-ri* *koda-i-aka-di-kue*_{PRED}
 fish-ANDTV-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-? smoke-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg
ie=mei *da-ma* *jo-fo-mo* *bi-aka-di-kue*_{PRED}
 CONN=SO one-CLF:DR.M house-CLF:CAV-LOC come-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘Because of fishing, I (will) want to smoke (my fish), and come back home alone afterwards.’

B. APPREHENSIVE *-iza* – Murui has a marker which indicates apprehension or dread of something that may or will happen in the future and is an attempt to do something so as to avoid the feared entity, an action, or an event.²⁴⁹ The apprehensive modality is marked with the suffix *-iza* (or *-za* following /i/). Its syntactic scope is the main clause, and it is available for the first and the second person (cf. as it is the case for Murui canonical and non-canonical imperatives, see §11.1). Examples of the apprehensive are given below. In (7.108), a child called Rata was walking over a high tree trunk in the jungle, and a man warned her:

- (7.108) Rata! [*jadi-e* *ra-egi*]_s *rifi-re-d-e*!_{PRED} *uai-za*!_{PRED}
 Rata this.cth-CLF:G thing-CLF:OVAL.BIG slippery-ATT-LK-3 fall-APPR
 ‘Rata! This three trunk is slippery! Be careful, you might fall!’

The apprehensive does not distinguish whether an action is controlled or not. That is, a warning ‘be careful, you might fall’ and ‘be careful with you jumping!’ is marked in the same fashion. In the following example, a child was trying to lick the liquid tobacco. Liquid tobacco is a powerful intoxicant. An elder warned him:

- (7.109) moo! *bi-e*_{VCS} [*kue yera*]_{VCC} oo *mei-za*!_{PRED}
 son.ENDEAR this-CLF:G 1sg liquid.tobacco 2sg lick.tobacco-APPR
yera *mei-ñe-no*!_{PRED} oo *jifai-za*!_{PRED}
 liquid.tobacco lick.tobacco-NEG-PRIV.PROH 2sg get.intoxicated-APPR
 ‘Son! This is my *yera*! Be careful to lick it! Don’t like it! You might get ‘drunk’!’

²⁴⁹ The apprehensive modality marker has been attested in other Amazonian languages, such as those of the Carib family (Meira 2005, Derbyshire 1979), Takanan (Vuillermet 2013), Arawak (Aikhenvald 2003) and Nambiquara (Eberhard 2009).

Murui apprehensive can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe* (e.g. *kai iba-ñe-iza!* (pay-NEG-APPR) ‘be careful, they might not pay us!’) with the negative attributive *-ni* (e.g. *maka-ni-za!* (walk-NEG.ATT-APPR) ‘be careful, you might not be able to walk!’). The apprehensive rarely co-occurs with only markers of non-spatial setting (see Table 7.4 for restrictions on its co-occurrence). One of the most frequently co-occurring markers with the apprehensive is the durative marker *-ri*, as in (7.110):

- (7.110) [jiai-ma jo-fo-mo]_{LOC} maka-ri-za!_{PRED}
 other-CLF:DR.M house-CLF:CAV-LOC walk-DUR-APRH
 ‘Be careful with walking into somebody’s (male’s) house!’

7.2.3.2 Ability

Murui has two grammatical markers on verbs expressing ability or its lack: the attributive *-re* ‘having capability to, being allowed to’ and the negative attributive *-ni* ‘not having capability to, not being allowed to’ (see §10.1 on the discussion of the attributive markers with nouns, verbs, and adjectives).²⁵⁰ Compare the following pair of examples:

- (7.111) bi-e_O oo-mo_O rei-re-di-kue_{PRED} nia afai jaai-ye
 this.CTS-CLF:G 2sg-LOC say-ATT-LK-1sg STILL upstream go-FUT.E.NMLZ
 baaɪ i-ñe-d-e=za_{PRED}
 THERE exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘I can say this to you (I have time to do so). It is not the hour to go up the river yet.’
- (7.112) mare-kino=ta oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} yo-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 good.ATT-CLF:STORY=REP 2sg-LOC tell-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘This I cannot tell you (because I am not allowed to).’
- (7.113) iye-mo_{LOC} ii-ni-d-e=za_{PRED}
 river-LOC swim-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘(He) cannot swim (because he is drunk).’

²⁵⁰ The attributive marker *-re* can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe* in the speech of your Murui speakers (instead of being negative with the negative attributive *-ni*) (see Chapter 10).

The attributive markers are not restricted to co-occur with any of the TAME markers (see Table 7.4 in §7.4).

7.2.3.3 *Obligation*

In addition to the imperative (§11.1), Murui uses the future event nominalizer *-ye* (often followed by the emphatic *-za*, §11.1.4) to express obligation, and, when *-ye* is negated, also prohibition of sorts. Its reading is always impersonal in nature (unlike the readings of Murui imperatives):

(7.114) Walter! [kai ri-ye]_s i-ñe-d-e=*za*_{PRED} jaa navuida
 Walter 1pl eat.meat-FUT.E.NMLZ exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT soon evening
aima-ye-za!_{PRED}
 fish-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘Walter! We have nothing to eat! Soon it’s evening! One must fish!’

(7.115) jai jito-mas aa i-t-e=*za*!_{PRED} ini-ñei-ye-za!_{PRED}
 already sun-CLF:DR.M above exist-LK-3=UNCERT sleep-NEG-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘The sun is already high up the sky! One must not sleep!’

7.2.3.4 *Epistemic modality*

Murui epistemic modality covers speaker’s degree of confidence in utterance, willingness to vouch for information, and the ‘attitude’ of the speaker towards that information. It is expressed with two choices: =*za* (meaning ‘unconfirmed certainty’ from the speaker’s perspective) and =*di* (‘confirmed certainty’, as the speaker believes it to be ‘true, valid’); see Wojtylak (forthcoming-d) for details. Modality-neutral terms are unmarked forms expressed in the same way as the evidentiality-neutral verbs. Such unmarked statements can be based on all kind of semantic parameters, e.g. sensory evidence, assumption, general knowledge. Murui epistemic modality markers are used in declarative clauses.

A. ‘UNCONFIRMED CERTAINTY’ =*za* – the epistemic marker =*za* expresses speakers’ fair conviction that something must be the case (based on their own knowledge and experience) but it is not yet completely affirmed (as opposed to the ‘confirmed knowledge’ =*di*, see further this section).²⁵¹ Compare the following examples:

- (7.116) a. *nai-ñ*_{OBLIQUE} *fii-ka*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F rob-PASS
 ‘(It) was stolen by her.’ (general statement)
- b. *nai-ñ*_{OBLIQUE} *fii-ka=za*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F rob-PASS=UNCERT
 ‘(It) must have been stolen by her.’ (unconfirmed)

The following excerpt in (7.117) is a narration about how Murui children cease to speak Murui. In that example, the speaker is condemning this. As there are still some children who still speak the language, he is using =*za* (implying in a subtle way all children seem to adapt to ‘the new ways’):

- (7.117) *ie-mo* *uru-iai=di=mei* *ua* *fibi-d-e=za*_{PRED} *jai* *kai*
 CONN-LOC child-CLF:G.PL=S/A.TOP=so really adapt-LK-3=UNCERT already 1pl
mei ua *uai-na*_O *jaka* *ua* *uiño-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 so really word-N.S/A.TOP always really know-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Then (lit. in this situation), children got used to (it). They do not know the words.’

The epistemic =*za* can occur in a variety of contexts. It is found with future tense, as in

(7.118), where =*za* is followed by *-i(ti)*:

²⁵¹ The ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* therefore has often emphatic-like readings. To indicate uncertainty in Murui, one frequently uses periphrastic expressions, such as these with the verb root *izoi-* ‘be similar’. Murui has also a particle *nibai* ‘maybe’ indicating uncertainly. It has a dubiative meaning, that may be might be somewhat different from =*za*. It occurs in the contexts of verbs marked with the epistemic =*di* but not =*za*.

- (7.118) ie-mo **dakaiño** River-na [da-je ñi-ma]_s rei-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC ONE.TIME River-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 “San Rafael-mo jifano-i-ti-kai=za_{PRED} jaaiti-o?”_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 San Rafael-LOC play-FUT-LK-1pl-UNCERT go.FUT.LK-2sg say-LK-3
 nai-mie-na_o
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘In this (situation), one man said to River: “We are going to play in San Rafael, are you going?” he said to him.’

The ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =za can also occur with other modality markers, such as the desiderative *-aka*. This shows that Murui has more than one modal slot marked on the verb structure (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1). In the following example, the cat called *Iyaiiki* is sitting on the ground in the kitchen crying for food. Tadave, after kicking the cat, says:

- (7.119) Iyai-ki_s gui-aka-d-e=za_{PRED}
 bone-CLF:INHER eat-DES-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘*Iyaiiki* wants to eat.’

In (7.120), =za occurs with a directional marker, the adative *-jai*:

- (7.120) mare aima-jai-d-e=za_{PRED} jai fui-ta-di-kai_{PRED}
 good.ATT fish-ANDTV-LK-3=UNCERT already finish-CAUS-LK-1pl
 ðino-mo eo aare ñai-ti-kai_{PRED} izoi-d-e_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC very long speak-LK-1pl similar-LK-3
 ‘Good. He must have gone fishing. We have already finished here. We have talked for a long time, it seems.’

The epistemic modalities usually occur with the third person; however, they can occur with non-third person. In the following example, Tadave was criticizing me for not staying with the group to watch men playing football but walking around the village instead and talking to people:

- (7.121) oo_s fibi-ñe-do=za oni baa ua ari
 2sg adapt-NEG-LK.2sg=UNCERT LOCAL₂ INTERJ really uphill
 maka-do-na maka-do_{PRED}
 walk-LK.2sg-COND₂ walk-LK.2sg
 ‘You do not adapt (to stay) by (our) side. If you walk by land, (just) walk (don’t do other things).’

Overall, although there appear to be no semantic exclusions on co-occurrence of epistemic markers with aspect, tense, and modality markers (except for the apprehensive). The ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* is mutually exclusive with the ‘confirmed certainty’ =*dī* and the reported =*ta* (see Table 7.4 in §7.4)

Unmarked verbal forms typically refer to ‘unspecified’ information source with no overtones of any kind of ‘attitude’ of the speaker towards their knowledge of reality. Compare the following examples where (7.122) relates a reported information source while (7.123) is unmarked neutral-term:

(7.122) *ni-ne* *i-t-e?*_{PRED} *beno-mo* *i-t-e=za!*_{PRED}
 Q2-LOC:NSP exist-LK-3 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘Where it is?! (I was told that) it was here!’ (reported evidentiality)

(7.123) *gato* *i-t-e*_{PRED} *izoi-d-e*_{PRED}
 cat.Sp exist-LK-3 similar-LK-3
 ‘The cat is (there), it seems.’ (neutral form)

B. ‘CONFIRMED CERTAINTY’ =*dī* – the epistemic modality marker -*dī* indicates speaker’s conviction that something is true (‘confirmed certainty’ where the speaker knows something for a fact/believes it to be true). For instance, (7.124) is Tadave’s answer when she was asked what happened to the camera as it was lying on the ground outside the house. Tadave knew that it fell as she was cleaning the house and she pushed it by accident. She answered:

(7.124) *camaras* *uai-d-e=dī*_{PRED}
 camera.Sp fall-LK-3=CERT
 ‘The camera fell (I am sure of this).’

In the following example, Tadave is narrating a story where *Kiña* is the person who brought the canoe to her house in the morning:

(7.125) *Kiña*_{OBLIQUE} *ui-ga=dī*_{PRED} *fuirī* *aīma-jai-d-e*_{PRED} *aki*
 Kiña take.away-PASS=CERT downstream fish-ANDTV-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘(The canoe) was taken away by *Kiña*. He went to fish (as heard).’

- (7.128) *nai-ños* *jai* *ini-d-e=za*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F already sleep-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘She must be already asleep.’ (assumption)

Another example (7.129) illustrates an inference. Flor prepared food for Rata and left her home alone. Upon returning, the food was gone and Rata was nowhere to be found. I asked Flor what happened to the food. She answered:

- (7.129) *Rata*_A *bi-e-na*_O *gui-t-e=za*_{PRED}
 Rata this.CTS-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP eat-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘Rata must have eaten this.’ (inferred)

(7.130) is an example of a man who was talking loudly in the *maloca*. Tadave knew that Walter was supposed to be at that time inside the *maloca*. As she could not see who was inside, she commented:

- (7.130) *Walter*_S *anane*_{KO}-*mo*_{LOC} *i-t-e=za*_{PRED}
 Walter *maloca*-LOC exist-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘Walter is in the *maloca*.’ (assumption)

B. ‘CONFIRMED CERTAINTY’ TO ‘FIRSTHAND’ KNOWLEDGE – The ‘confirmed certainty’ epistemic *-di* can gain additional meaning of ‘firsthand’ knowledge. As such, it can be interpreted as a confirmation that something is true, based on visual and sensory evidence. In the example (7.131), I was with some women in the kitchen. At some point we hear someone farting. We all know that there are two children playing outside, Neily and Rata. Since I thought it was the child Neily (she always does this), I said:

- (7.131) *Neily*_S *jame-d-e=di!*_{PRED}
 Neily fart-LK-3=CERT
 ‘Neily farted.’

This did not seem to be correct: I was corrected by Francisca who used the unmarked form *jamede*. She added that I did not see Neily farting. In the next situation from the example

(7.132), Izmael, an elder from La Chorrera, was complaining about Elver not being home.

Tadave knew otherwise – she just saw Elver outside.²⁵² She said:

(7.132) Elver bi-t-e=di!_{PRED}
 Elver come-LK-3=CERT
 ‘(But) Elver came!’

7.2.4 Evidentiality

Murui has a simple system of evidentiality with two choices available, ‘reported’ and ‘everything else’ (termed as the A3 ‘non-firsthand’ vs. ‘the rest’ type of an evidentiality system), used in declarative and interrogative sentences.²⁵³ The language has one overtly marked evidential whose meaning is ‘verbal report’ or hearsay acquired through someone else’s narration, the reported evidential =*ta*. The reported evidential does not seem to have additional overtones of e.g. doubt like some other Amazonian languages have. Nevertheless, there are instances where =*ta* can gain additional meanings of some kind of auditory information. This is the topic of §7.2.4.1. Murui evidentiality (reported) and epistemic modality values (‘unconfirmed’ and ‘confirmed certainty’) are compared in §7.2.4.2.

7.2.4.1 Reported evidential

The evidential =*ta* is used for reported information (with no reference to who it was reported by; there is no distinction between second and third hand report). The expression of the

²⁵² In example (7.132) the ‘confirmed certainty’ =*di* might possibly have some type of a contrastive function. In Murui, the S/A arguments are marked with =*di* that can have contrastive functions (see §6.2.1.1).

²⁵³ Following Aikhenvald (2004:31): “In languages with A3 systems, the reported term is marked and the non-reported term is never marked. There are no markings of the opposite sort”.

reported evidential is autonomous in that it is not fused with any other grammatical category. Unmarked verbal forms typically refer to ‘unspecified’ information source, such as common knowledge, with no overtones of any kind of ‘attitude’ of the speaker towards their knowledge of reality. Compare the following examples where (7.133) relates a reported information source while (7.134) is the unmarked neutral-term:

(7.133) beno-mo bi-t-e=ta_{PRED} naiño_s yua_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC come-LK-3=REP ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F tell.E.NMLZ
 ‘(I was told that he) came here, she said!’ (reported evidentiality)

(7.134) beno-mo_{LOC} i-t-e..._{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘It is there (pointing at a plate in the kitchen).’ (neutral form)

The reported evidential =*ta* can also be used in some interrogative sentences. In the following example, Tadave is narrating a story of how she came back from La Chorrera to San Rafael being picked up by a man called Yonatan. She mentions Yonatan several times in her story. Monica, who listens to it, asks for clarification with an echo question asking about Yonatan and using the evidential =*ta*.

(7.134) S: jii jo-fo-ñaiño_A kai_O eka-ja_{PRED} ie aki baai
 yes house-CLF:CAV-CLF:PR.F 1pl feed-E.NMLZ CONN AUDIT THERE
 jai [kai Yonatan diga] fuiri=bene
 already 1pl Yonatan WITH downstream=HERE.LOC:NSP
 bi-zai-di-kai_{PRED}
 come-ANDTV-LK-1pl
 ‘Yes, the housewife fed us. And this way (as you heard) we already went downstream with our Yonatan.’

M:aaaj... i oo-na_O kio-d-e=ta_{PRED} yo-t-e?_{PRED}
 INTERJ and.Sp 2sg-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3-REP tell-LK-3
 ‘Ah, and he saw you, he said?’

S: jii! [ie diga] bi-zai-di-kai_{PRED} iadi nai-maki_s rei-t-e_{PRED}
 yes CONN WITH come-ANDTV-LK-1pl but ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN say-LK-3
 ‘ua ocho-mo jaaiti-kai’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 really eight.Sp-LOC go.FUT-LK-1pl say-LK-3
 ‘Yes, with him we came. And they said “We’ll go at eight”, they said.’

The reported =*ta* is not used in traditional stories; rather it is used to report an information in every-day conversations (the quotative verb *rei(te)* ‘say’ or *yo(te)* ‘tell’ is used instead, as in (7.134) above). Native speakers can easily reflect on the meaning of the reported evidential; they usually explain it as ‘somebody said’ or ‘it is a comment’ (this is unlike the epistemic modality markers which are ‘hard to explain’).

The reported evidential cannot be used with non-third person. In my collection of texts, =*ta* occurs with third person only. The reported evidential can be used with the future tense marker, as in (7.135) below. In this example, Tadave is repeating after her brother Walter. The repetition is not entirely verbatim (‘put by me’ vs ‘put by you’):

- (7.135) [[bi-e jea-kuai]_s bene kue_{OBLIQUE} joone-ga]_s
 this.CTS-CLF:G dirty-CLF:COVER.PL HERE.LOC:NSP 1sg put-PASS
 nana_s bo-i-t-e=ta_{PRED}
 ALL burn-FUT-LK-3=REP
 ‘These dirty things (trash) put here by me, will all burn (I was told)’

The reported evidential can also occur with desiderative modality. In the following example, the dog *Kodoro* was in the *maloca* trying to steal a piece of meat. *Ebe! Riakade!* ‘Be careful!’ says Tadave ‘Kodoro wants to eat meat!’. Flor repeats this to others (the O NP is not stated):

- (7.136) ebe! Kodoro_A ri-aka-d-e=ta!_{PRED}
 INTERJ Kodoro eat.meat-DES-LK-3=REP
 ‘Be careful! Kodoro wants to eat meat! (I was told)’

In (7.137), there is the reported=*ta* occurring with the negated *ui-* ‘take away’. In this example, Tadave’s mother was reporting that she heard that somebody did not ‘take away’ her belongings (as she previously thought):

- (7.137) [kue ra-niai-na]_o ui-ñe-d-e=ta_{PRED}
 1sg thing-COLL-N.S/A.TOP take.away-LK-NEG-3=REP
 ‘(She) did not take away my things! (I was told)’

Although the occurrence of the evidential is sparse in the collected texts, the marker is not restricted to any tense, aspect, and modality specification (but is mutually exclusive with the ‘unconfirmed’ and ‘confirmed certainty’ markers, see §7.2.4.3). Nowadays, many Murui speakers omit the reported evidential, and use a quotative verb instead of the reported =*ta*.

The reported =*ta* might extend to other non-visual sensory information coding other types of auditory information.²⁵⁴ In the following example, Tadave was calling Walter who was in the *maloca* singing loudly (all could hear him). Walter would not respond and kept singing. Tadave commented on this by using the reported evidential:

(7.138) Walter_S roo-ro-d-e=*ta*_{PRED}
 Walter sing~RED-LK-3=REP
 ‘Walter is singing (intensively).’ (Tadave hears Walter singing)

In (7.140) below, Neily (Tadave’s daughter) was playing outside. As we were in the kitchen, we could not see her. At some point, we heard Neily laughing. Tadave commented:

(7.139) Neily jaizi-d-e=*ta*_{PRED}
 Neily laugh-LK-3=REP
 ‘Neily laughed.’ (Tadave hears Neily laugh)

Examples where =*ta* extendeds to cover such auditory information are quite rare. Frequently, verbs are left unmarked or followed by a quotative verb (typically *reite* ‘say’). In the following example, I was in the forest with Walter. At some point we heard a sound made by a wild pig quite close to us. The verb *kaiyi(de)* ‘scream’ is not marked for the reported evidential:

²⁵⁴ Cross-linguistically, languages with two-terms evidentiality system tend not to have epistemic (such as probability) semantic extensions (Aikhenvald 2003a:13).

- (7.140) *kaka-di-o*_{OPRED} *Kata?* *meros* *beno-mo*_{LOC} *kaiyi-d-e*_{CPRED}
 hear-LK-2 *Kata* pig *HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC* *scream-LK-3*
 ‘Did you hear, Kata? A pig screamed over here!’

Rather than the actual semantic extension of the reported evidential, such usage of the reported =*ta* could also be the result of the influence of the Spanish *dizque* ‘it is said that’ which marks some kind of conceptual distance and doubt in Spanish (Travis 2006:1293).

Murui has no separate quotative marker that would indicate reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source. In direct quotations, Murui strongly prefers analytical constructions with the fully inflected quotative verbal root *rei-* ‘say’ (less frequently also *yo-* ‘tell’). The content of the speech report is always verbatim. The quotative verb is not genre-dependent and can occur in any type of narration (e.g. traditional stories, ritual discourse, every-day conversation, etc.). (7.141-142) are an excerpt from the mythological narrative about two heroes, Jitoma and Kechatoma:

- (7.141) [*Jitoma* *dine-na* *rei-t-e*_{CPRED} *Kecha-nao*
Jitoma *AT.LOC:NSP-ABL* *say-LK-3* *Kechatoma-N.S/A.TOP*
 ‘*jaai-ñe-no!*’_{PRED:SPEECH REPORT} *rei-t-e*_{CPRED} ‘*bi-e*
go-NEG-PRIV.PROH *say-LK-3* *this.CTS-CLF:G*
koko *ore-ka-mo*_{TEMP} *jaaiti-koko*’_{PRED:SPEECH REPORT} *rei-t-e*_{CPRED}
1du.masc *send-PASS-LOC* *go.FUT.LK-1du.masc* *say-LK-3*
 ‘Jitoma said to Kechatoma “Do not go!”, he said. “In that we were sent, we will go”, he (Jitoma) said.’

- (7.142) *ie* *nai-mie*_S *rei-t-e*_{CPRED} ‘[*uzu-ma*
CONN *ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M* *say-LK-3* *grandparent-CLF:DR.M*
*Jobai]*_S *bu-e-nao* *joone-ñe-d-e=di*_{CPRED}
Jobai *Q2-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP* *put-NEG-LK-3=CERT*
jamei *koko*_O *jifue-t-e*’_{PRED:SPEECH REPORT} *rei-t-e*_{CPRED}
only *1du.masc* *play-LK-3* *say-LK-3*
 ‘And he (Jitoma) said: “Grandfather Jobai did not put anything. So, he played us”, he said.’

The fact that the reported evidential is rather restricted in its usage (that is, it does not occur in traditional stories), suggests that it may be a recent innovation, rather than an archaic feature of Murui. Additionally, the reported =*ta* is rather simple in its overtones: it does not

indicate doubt and is used just for speech report. Often, it can be omitted, possibly calquing the Colombian Spanish *dizque* ‘the say that’ (which is optional in Spanish and has other overtones, such as a doubt). The meaning of =*ta* is quite transparent – native speakers have a clear ‘intuition’ what the meaning of the reported evidential is. In the area where Murui is spoken in Northwest Amazonia, many languages have large(r) evidentiality systems, such as the Bora, with who the Witoto people have been in contact for centuries (Wojtylak, forthcoming-d).²⁵⁵ Murui reported evidential may have developed as a consequence of language contact and areal diffusion. In addition, Murui has also the demonstrative *aki* ‘as heard’ which indicates auditory information and can be extended to refer to something that was previously said (see §3.3.3) which combine with non-spatial setting markers.

7.2.4.2 Epistemic modality vs. evidentiality

Although evidentiality and epistemic modality (§7.2.3.4) markers occur in the same slot on the verb and are mutually exclusive, they encode different semantic parameters. Murui evidentiality covers two choices, ‘reported’ (overtly marked) and ‘everything else’ (unmarked). Epistemic modality offers three choices, the overtly marked certainty ‘confirmed’ and ‘unconfirmed’, and the unmarked epistemic-neutral value.

While evidentiality is an obligatory grammatical category in Murui, epistemic modality is not. Instead, it is rather concerned with the expression of speakers’ willingness to vouch for the contents of the sentence. If speakers are reluctant to express any kind of ‘attitude’ towards the utterance, the verb remains ‘unspecified’ (that is, unmarked).

Modality markers can be semantically extended to express evidential meanings. The

²⁵⁵ In any case, Bora reported evidential is used in traditional stories and legends (Thiesen and Weber 2012).

‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* can acquire the meaning of ‘non-firsthand’ knowledge (assumption, inference), and the ‘confirmed certainty’ =*di* can have overtones of ‘firsthand’ knowledge. The reported =*ta*, on the other hand, may be extended to cover auditory information. Murui evidentiality and epistemic modality are summarized in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Murui evidentiality and epistemic modality - summary

| Parameter | Evidentiality | Epistemic modality |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| Form and meaning | = <i>ta</i> ‘reported’ | = <i>za</i> ‘unconfirmed certainty’ = <i>di</i> ‘confirmed certainty’ |
| Expression | autonomous | autonomous |
| Structural slot on the verb | final slot on complex verbs | final slot on complex verbs |
| Scope | clause/sentence | clause/sentence |
| Obligatory use | yes (but falling into disuse) | no (willingness of the speaker) |
| Semantic extensions | auditory information | ‘non-firsthand knowledge’- and ‘firsthand knowledge’-like meanings |
| Double marking | no | no |
| Usage in sentence types | declarative, interrogative | declarative |
| Usage with tense and aspect | yes | yes |
| Usage with modalities | desiderative, attributive, ‘obligative’ | desiderative, attributive, ‘obligative’ |
| Restrictions with person | only third person | all persons |
| Genre preference | everyday conversations, in narrations <i>aki</i> used instead | everyday conversations, also used in narrations |

7.3 Spatial setting

Murui has two distinct direction markers, the andative and the ventive, by which the language explicitly encodes the shift in the orientation to the reference point, the speaker. Spatial setting of a clause is typically shown with oblique noun phrases, adverbs, and demonstratives. The direction markers are not restricted to any person or TAME specification. The andative and the ventive markers are discussed in turn.

A. ANDATIVE *-ai* – the andative encodes a movement where the orientation of the motion is away from the reference point. The andative has a several allomorphs including *-ai*, *-zai*, and *-jai* conditioned phonologically (see §2.5.2).²⁵⁶ The andative marker follows directly verbal roots, as illustrated in (7.143).

- (7.143) *bueñe ini-ai-d-e?*_{PRED}
 WHY sleep-ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘Why did (she) go (away) to sleep?’

The andative occurs with verbs unmarked for tense (with the non-future readings), as in (7.144), as well as with verbs marked with the future marker, as in (7.145):

- (7.144) *nare okozi-nai-di-kue=za*_{PRED} [kue kinai]_O *niai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 yesterday tired-BECOME₁-LK-1sg=UNCERT 1sg hammock weave-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘Yesterday, as I become tired, I went (away) to hang my hammock.’

- (7.145) *koko_A jaa jiibi-e_O uai-ti-kok*_{PRED}
 1du.m soon coca-CLF:G get-ANDTV-LK-1du.m
 ‘Soon we (two) will go (away) to get coca (of the trees).’

Curiously, the occurrence with the future tense marker is not very common. Often, to indicate future tense readings, verbs with a directional suffix are not marked for tense. This is illustrated in (7.146), where the speaker was talking about planning to burn his jungle garden. The verb takes the andative *-zai* but it has no future tense marking. This is similar in (7.147).

- (7.146) [*fi*-mona i-ya jira] [kue iy_i]_O *jobai-zai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 summer-CLF:SEASON exist-E.NMLZ REASON 1sg garden burn-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘Because the summer came, I will go to burn my (jungle) garden.’

²⁵⁶ The forms of the allomorphs are the following: *-zai* following /i/ (as in *nooi-zai-di-kue* (bathe-ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to bathe’, *-jai* following /a/ (as in *aïma-jai-di-kue* (fish-ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to fish’, *-ai* following /i/ (as in *ini-ai-di-kue* (fish-ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to sleep’, *-ai + /o/ > /u/* following /o/ (as in *uai-di-kue* (take.out-ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to take out’), and *-ai + /e/ > /i/* following /e/ (as in *nïai-di-kue* ‘I go (away) to do’.

- (7.147) ikare Kata=dine_{LOC} gui-zai-di-o?_{PRED}
 tomorrow Kata=AT.LOC:NSP eat-ANDTV-LK-2sg
 ‘Tomorrow you will eat at Kata’s?’

Similarly to the construction with the ventive marker, there is also an additional marker on the noun phrase that indicates motion away from the speaker’s direction, the locative *-mo*, as in (7.148).

- (7.148) [oo moo]_s iye-mo aima-jai-d-e_{PRED}
 2sg father river-LOC fish-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘Your father is going to the river to fish.’

Interestingly, when the andative marker occurs on the inherently locational verb *jaai(de)* ‘go’, it has frustrative readings indicating that the action did not take place.

- (7.149) Eu_s afai jaai-zai-d-e_{PRED} iadi navuirai-t-e=ta_{PRED}
 Eu upriver go-ANDTV-LK-3 but surprised.by.night-LK-3=REP
 Eu was going to go up the river but the night surprised him.’

B. VENTIVE *-aibi* – the ventive encodes a movement in a direction towards the reference point. Similar to the andative, the ventive has a number allomorphs including *-aibi*, *-zaibi*, and *-jaibi*.²⁵⁷ An example of the ventive marker on a verb is given in (7.150) (cf. with (7.143) above). See also (7.151-153) below.

- (7.150) jaka [kue=dine]_{LOC} ini-aibi-d-e_{PRED}
 always 1sg=AT.LOC:NSP sleep-VENTV-LK-3
 ‘(She) always comes to sleep at my place (lit. at me).’

²⁵⁷ The forms of the allomorphs are the following: *-zaibi* following /i/ (as in *nooi-zaibi-di-kue* (bathe-VENTV-LK-1sg) ‘I come to bathe’, *-jaibi* following /a/ (as in *aima-jaibi-di-kue* (fish-VENTV-LK-1sg) ‘I come to to fish’), *-aibi* following /i/ (as in *ini-aibi-di-kue* (fish-VENTV-LK-1sg) ‘I come to sleep’), *-aibi* + /o/ > /u/ following /o/ (as in *uaibi-di-kue* (take.out-VENTV-LK-1sg) ‘I come to take out’), and *-aibi* + /e/ > /i/ following /e/ (as in *ñiaibi-di-kue* (do-VENTV-LK-1sg) ‘I come to do’).

- (7.151) *jiti-ra-mo* *nooi-zaibi-fi-re-di-kue*_{PRED}
 darken-CLF:NEUT-LOC bathe-VENTV-PAST.HAB-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘In the mornings I used to come to bathe.’
- (7.152) *oo_s bu-e* *beno-mo*_{LOC} *dobe-ri-zaibi-di-o?*_{PRED}
 2sg Q₂-CLF:G HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC crush-DUR-VENTV-LK-2sg
 ‘You came here here to crush (yucca) for what?’ (reprimand)
- (7.153) [*ruika* *bai-ñaiño*]_A *beno-mo*_{LOC} *joko-ri-zai-bi-d-e*_{PRED}
 other.side that.FSH-CLF:PR.F HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC wash-DUR-ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘The woman of the other side came to wash.’

In a clause an NP takes additional markers to indicate motion in the speaker’s direction and encode a shift in the reference point, as in (7.154-155).

- (7.154) [*kue* *uzu-ma*]_A *Leticia-mona*_{ABL} *raa_o* *uaibi-t-e*_{PRED}
 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.M Leticia-ABL thing get.VENTV-LK-3
 ‘My father came to get things from Leticia.’
- (7.155) [*Alexis* *jo-fo-mona*]_{ABL} *Francisca=dino-mo*_{LOC} *gui-zaibi-t-e*_{PRED}
 Alexis house-CLF:CAV-ABL Francisca=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC eat-ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘From the house of Alexis (she) came to eat at Francisca’s.’

The ventive contains the element *-bi* which might have originated in the verbal root *bi-* meaning ‘come’, as in *bi(te)* ‘(he) came’.

7.4 Summary

This chapter focused on the elements of the non-spatial setting in Murui. The verbal category of tense in Murui is manifested as a binary opposition between non-future and future. The non-future tense is the unmarked ‘default’ verb form. The language has an extensive array of aspectual markers on the verb, which cover phase of activity, temporal extent, degree, frequency, and manner. With respect to the system of modality, verbal suffixes include attitudinal modalities (speaker’s attitudes towards an event in terms of the desire, apprehension, and ability to perform an action), epistemic modalities (‘unconfirmed’ and ‘confirmed certainty’ which cover speaker’s degree of confidence in utterance); the deontic

modality is expressed by a future tense nominalizer. Murui has a simple system of evidentiality with two choices available, ‘reported’ (formally marked) and ‘everything else’ (unmarked). Murui has two distinct direction markers, the andative and the ventive. A complete list of Murui TAME markers, together with their semantics, is given in Table 7.3. Table 7.4 illustrates their co-occurrences in the language.

Table 7.3 Murui TAME markers

| Non-spatial setting parameter | | Gloss | Semantics | Marker | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|---------------------------|------------|
| Tense | | non-future | 'general' tense that covers all sorts of past events (mythical, distant and immediate) as well as events unfolding at the time of utterance | unmarked | |
| | | future | covers events expected to happen either in near or distant indefinite future | <i>-it(i)</i> | |
| Aspect | Phase of activity | terminative | completed actions or processes | <i>-bi</i> | |
| | Temporal extent | durative | indicates that an action is not momentary but necessarily distributed over time | <i>-ri</i> | |
| | Degree | high intensity | high degree of intensity of an activity, also iteration | RED of verbal roots | |
| | Frequency | reiterative | iteration of an action | <i>-oi</i> | |
| | | semelfactive | indicating whether an action is done once or a little bit | <i>-no</i> | |
| | | remote habitual | covers remote past events which refer to events that happened very long ago | <i>-vui</i> | |
| | | customary | indicates customary activity (not necessarily regular), often in the past | <i>-fi</i> | |
| | Manner | habitual | implies habitual character of an action | <i>-kabi</i> | |
| | | inceptive | indicates that the action has begun | <i>-kai</i> | |
| | | body | bodily movement of the human A/S argument | <i>-da</i> | |
| Modality | Attitudinal | manner | indicating different type of manner with which action/process is performed | various | |
| | | desiderative | indicating a desire to perform an action | <i>-aka</i> | |
| | Ability | apprehensive | indicates apprehension or dread of something that may or will happen | <i>-iza</i> | |
| | | attributive | having capability to, being allowed to | <i>-re, -ni</i> | |
| | Epistemic modality | Obligation | nominalizer | action done by obligation | <i>-ye</i> |
| | | unconfirmed certainty | fair conviction that something must be the case (based on speaker's own knowledge and experience) but it is not yet completely affirmed | <i>=za</i> | |
| Evidentiality | confirmed certainty | confirmation that something is true, based on visual and sensory evidence | <i>=di</i> | | |
| | unmarked form | generic reading | unmarked | | |
| | reported | reported information | <i>=ta</i> | | |

Table 7.4 Co-occurrences of Murui TAME markers

| TAME | Non-spatial setting parameter | -bi | -ri | RED | -oi | -no | -vui | -fi | -kabi | -kai | -da | -aka | -iza | -re -ni | -ye | =za | =di | =ta |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|------|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-------|------|-----|------|------|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Tense | non-future | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | yes |
| | future <i>-it(i)</i> | yes | some | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | no | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | no | yes | yes | yes |
| Aspect | terminative <i>-bi</i> | - | no | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | yes | no | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | durative <i>-ri</i> | no | - | yes | yes | ?no | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | high intensity RED | yes | yes | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | repetitive <i>-oi</i> | yes | yes | yes | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | semelfactive <i>-no</i> | ?no | no | yes | no | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | remote habitual <i>-vui</i> | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | - | no | yes | no | yes | yes | no | yes | no | yes | yes | yes |
| | customary <i>-fi</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | - | yes | no | yes | yes | no | yes | no | yes | yes | yes |
| | habitual <i>-kabi</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | - | no | yes | yes | no | yes | no | yes | yes |
| | inceptive <i>-kai</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes |
| | body <i>-da</i> | no | no | yes | ?yes | no | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| Modality | desiderative <i>-aka</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | - | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | apprehensive <i>-iza</i> | ?yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | no | no | yes | yes | yes | - | yes | no | no | no | no |
| | attributive <i>-re/-ni</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | - | yes | yes | yes | yes |
| | future event nominalizer <i>-ye</i> | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | no | no | no | yes | yes | no | yes | - | yes | yes | yes |
| | unconfirmed certainty =za | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | yes | yes | - | no |
| confirmed certainty =di | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | - | no |
| Evidentiality | reported =ta | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | no | no | - |

8 Valency-changing mechanisms

While the valency-reducing mechanisms signal the removal of a participant - the erstwhile transitive verbs become intransitive, valency-increasing devices indicate that a participant has been added. Murui has one type of valency-reducing mechanisms – the passive (discussed in §8.1), and one valency-increasing mechanism – the causative (§8.2). Murui reflexive and reciprocal constructions are not valency-changing mechanisms (they maintain the clauses as transitive) but are included in this chapter in section §8.3. The last section §8.4 offers a brief summary.

8.1 Valency reducing devices: the passive

Murui passive applies exclusively to transitive and ditransitive verbs forming a derived intransitive where the underlying O becomes S of the passive and the A argument is demoted to the periphery. Murui passive distinguishes between those markers whose reading refers to either past or present tense and those which indicate future tense (note that this division roughly corresponds to the Murui binary tense distinction: non-future vs. future). The passive construction typically indicates the result of some action underlying the S (former O) argument and backgrounding the underlying A. Murui passive can be nominalized with classifiers (see §3.1.4).

The primary function of the Murui passive construction is to put underlying O argument into S function and place underlying A argument in a peripheral function. The passive is formed with the suffixes *-ka/-ga* (non-future passive) and *-yi* (future passive) that

follow verbal roots and can co-occur with all types of non-spatial and spatial setting markers.²⁵⁸

8.1.1 *Non-future passive*

The non-future passive is formed with the suffixes *-ka* and *-ga*. The basic syntax of a transitive clause is illustrated in the examples (8.1) and (8.2). Elements between brackets are optional.

(8.1) (kue)_A kiri-gai(-na)_O ati-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg basket-CLF-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-1sg
 ‘I brought a basket.’

(8.2) [(kue moo)] yiki-ai-(na)_O o-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg father fish.PL-N.S/A.TOP take.out-LK-3
 ‘(My father) caught the fish.’

If we want to focus on the O argument, we intransitivize (8.1) by passivizing the verb and putting the O argument in the S function, as in (8.2). The original A becomes a peripheral (oblique) argument that might be omitted (but frequently it is retained). The syntax of such passive derivation is illustrated with a set of examples in (8.3-7):

²⁵⁸ Mrui verbal category of tense displays a binary opposition between *non-future* and *future* (see Chapter 7 on non-spatial setting). The distinction between non-future and future passive adheres to this pattern as well. The non-future passive *-ka* and *-ga* occupy the slot of the predicate markers *-di* and *-ti* (§2.5). Cf. *boyi-d-e* (urinate-LK-3) ‘urinate’ > *boyi-ka* (urinate-PASS) ‘be urinated upon’; *gui-t-e* (eat-LK-3) ‘eat’ > *gui-ga* (eat-PASS) ‘be eaten’.

- (8.3) kiri-gai_S [kue ini]_{O:OBLIQUE} ati-ka_{PRED}
 basket-CLF:BASKET 1sg husband bring-PASS
 ‘The basket was brought by my husband’
- (8.4) [bi-e ra-be-niko]_S [kue ini]_{O:OBLIQUE} kue-ga_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THIN 1sg husband write-PASS
 ‘This notebook was written by my husband.’
- (8.5) jai [kue moo]_{O:OBLIQUE} yiki-ai_S o-ga_{PRED}
 already 1sg father fish-PL take.out-PASS
 ‘The fish was caught (by my father).’
- (8.6) [[kue uru-e]_{O:OBLIQUE} fa-ga_{PRED} gato]_S i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:G hit-PASS cat.Sp exist-LK-3
 ‘The cat that was hit by my child hit, lives.’
- (8.7) oo_{O:OBLIQUE} [nai-e naze]_S ibai-ka?_{PRED}
 2sg ANA.SP-CLF:G door close-PASS
 ‘Was the door closed by you?’

The S argument (the former O) is always preposed to both the verb and the peripheral argument, as in (8.5-7) above, but can also occur following them when used within a clause, as in (8.8-9) below. In such cases, the peripheral argument (the former A) is always present. It can be marked with the topical S/A subject marker =*di*, as in (8.10).

- (8.8) [[kue ini]_{O:OBLIQUE} ati-ka_{PRED} kiri-gai]_S ni-no-mo_{LOC}
 1sg husband bring-PASS basket-CLF:BASKET Q₂-CLF:PLACE-LOC
 ie_{O:OBLIQUE} raaina-ka?_{PRED}
 CONN sit.TH-PASS
 ‘Where is the basket that was brought by my husband placed (by him)?’
- (8.9) [[kue moo]_{O:OBLIQUE} o-ga_{PRED} yiki-ai]_{NP}
 1sg father take.out-PASS fish-PL
 ‘the fish caught by my father’
- (8.10) noka=*di*_S Rubio_{O:OBLIQUE} fno-ka_{PRED}
 canoe-S/A.TOP Rubio make-PASS
 ‘The canoe was made by Rubio.’

If the peripheral argument is a pronoun, it always precedes the passivized verb, as in (8.11a-b) below (cf. (8.7) above).

- (8.11) a. [kue_{O:OBLIQUE} ati-ka_{PRED} kiri-gai_S]_{NP}
 1sg bring-PASS basket-CLF:BASKET
 ‘the basket was brought (by me)’
- b. [bi-e jea-kuai beno kue joone-ga]_S
 this.CTS-CLF:G ugly-CLF.REP:DOG.PL HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE 1sg put-PASS
 nana_S bo-i-t-e=ta_{PRED}
 ALL burn-FUT-LK-3=REP
 ‘These dirty things (trash) put here by me, will all burn (I was told).’

Occasionally, the S argument and the peripheral argument can be omitted under condition that they are retrievable from the immediate context. (8.12) is an example of an omitted S argument. The interpretation is driven by the context - a child is the maker of an object which has been a topic of a conversation - a canoe. This could possibly be related to the high animacy of the underlying A argument vs. low animacy of the O > S argument.

- (8.12) uru-e_{O:OBLIQUE} fi_{no}-ka_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G make-PASS
 ‘made by a child’ (but never ‘*child was made’)

Although the former A argument can be removed from a passivized construction, occasionally such clauses have some kind of an impersonal ‘effect’ reading. Compare (8.12) above with (8.13) below. The reading of (8.13) cannot be that of ‘being made by a canoe’; this has to do with the fact that the former A argument in passivized constructions tend to be high on the animacy hierarchy. In this case, it is a child who made the canoe.

- (8.13) noka_S fi_{no}-ka?_{PRED}
 canoe make-PASS
 ‘A canoe is ready (lit. was made)?’ (but never ‘*made by a canoe’)

In the everyday discourse, the passive constructions are frequently used; almost as often as the complex verbal predicates marked with the *-ti/-di* linker. (8.14a-b) are typical examples of question - answer sets.

- (8.14) a. Q: ni-rui-do **naiño**_S biit-e?_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:DAY-INS CLF:PR.F come.FUT.LK-3
 ‘When will she come back home?’
- A: jaka uiño-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 always know-NEG-PASS
 ‘(This) is not known.’
- b. Q: [bi-e sopa]_O jai faka-di-o?_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G soup.Sp already try-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you try this soup?’
- A: faka-ne-ga_{PRED}
 try-NEG-PASS
 ‘(It) is not tried.’

The peripheral argument, the former A (if stated), always remains unmarked for case.²⁵⁹ If the S arguments (the former O) are highly topical referents, they can take the topical subject S/A marker =*di* (it the S/A arguments but never the O, see Chapter 6). The S argument cannot be marked for the topical non-S/A subject case marker *-na*. Compare examples (8.15-16):

- (8.15) ñi-ma(=*di*)_S nokae(-*na*)_O ñino-d-e_{PRED}
 man-CLF:DR.M(=S/A.TOP) canoe(-N.S/A.TOP) make-LK-3
 ‘The man made the canoe.’
- (8.16) L: nokae(=*di*)_S ñino-ka?_{PRED}
 canoe(=S/A.TOP) make-PASS
 ‘The canoe was made?’
- A: jii Rubi_{O:OBLIQUE} ñino-ka=*di*_{PRED}
 yes Rubio make-PASS=CERT
 ‘Yes, it was made by Rubio.’

The topical S/A subject maker *-di* can also be suffixed to the passivized verb if it is an action that is topical, as in (8.17):

²⁵⁹ Confirm that the former A argument cannot be marked with the topicalizer *-di*, e.g. *urue-di ñino-ka* ‘made by a child’.

- (8.17) Kiña_{O:OBLIQUE} ui-ga=di_{PRED} furi aima-jai-d-e_{PRED} aki
 Kiña bring-PASS=CERT downstream fish-ANDTV-LK-3 AUDTV
 ‘(The canoe) was brought by Kiña. He went to fish (as heard).’

If a ditransitive verb is passivized, the underlying O > S and the argument A (if stated) becomes a demoted to the periphery. The secondary object is preposed to the underlying A argument, and it is indexed as the recipient suffixed with the locative case marker *-mo*.

Compare the ditransitive construction in (8.18) with the passivized (8.19-20):

- (8.18) [kue ini-na]_O [kue moo-mo]_{O:ADDRESSEE} akata-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg husband-N.S/A.TOP 1sg father-LOC show-LK-1sg
 ‘I show my husband to my father.’
- (8.19) jai [kue ini]_S [kue moo-mo]_{O:ADDRESSEE} kue_{O:OBLIQUE} akata-ga_{PRED}
 already 1sg husband 1sg father-LOC 1sg show-PASS
 ‘My husband has already been shown to my father by me.’
- (8.20) [bi-e ri-ño]_S jai [nai-e moo-mo]_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 this.CTS-CL:G woman-CLF:DR.F already ANA.SP-CLF:G father-LOC
 jika-no-ga_{PRED}
 ask-SMLF-PASS
 ‘This woman has already asked her father.’

Passive constructions do not limit the co-occurrences of verbal roots with markers of (non-) spatial setting. In (8.21), the passivized verb *o(te)* ‘take’, is marked with the customary *-kabi*; in (8.22), it contains a reduplicated root *kue(te)* ‘scratch, write’.

- (8.21) o-kabi-ga
 take-HAB.REM-PASS
 ‘(this is) usually taken’
- (8.22) kue~kue-ga
 write~RED-PASS
 ‘it is being written’

Occasionally, the passive constructions can also be derived from the descriptive verbal roots followed by the transformative ‘become’ suffixes, as in (8.23). Such passivized verbs have habitual connotations. In (8.23), a speaker is describing Jose as a man who everybody tends to like.

- (8.23) [nai-e mame-ki]_{VCS} Jose_{VCC} nai-mie_S buu_{OBLIQUE}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G name-CLF:INHER Jose ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M Q₁
 jea-rui-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 smear-MANNER-NEG-PASS
 ‘His name was Jose. He is not hated (lit. smeared) by anybody.’

Further examples of the passive constructions are presented in (8.24-26):

- (8.24) ji-gi_S bojo-fire-d-e_{PRED} uyi-mo_{LOC} ze-ga_{PRED}
 egg-CLF:OVAL split-HAB.PAST-LK-3 boiling.water-LOC break-PASS
 ‘Eggs always split (when) cooked in boiling water’
- (8.25) [kai jiko-niai]_S janayari_{O:OBLIQUE} zozi-ka=za_{PRED} maka-ni-d-e_{PRED}
 1pl dog-COLL jaguar bite-PASS=UNCERT walk-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘Our dogs were (supposedly) bitten by jaguar; (now) they cannot walk.’
- (8.26) ie-ri [kai komini=di]_S baai i-mie_{O:OBLIQUE}
 CONN-BENEF.CAUS 1pl people.CLF:DR.GR=S/A.TOP THERE ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M
 keno-ka_{PRED}
 kill.off-PASS
 ‘That is why our people were killed off there.’

The passive forms can take the locative and ablative case markers. This is illustrated in (8.27-29). In (8.27-28) where uttered when a speaker was showing her mother’s work and asked to pay attention to what she has written. In (8.28) the locative is marks the O argument of the verb *erode(te)* ‘look’. In (8.29) the locative has the temporal reading.

- (8.27) [da-je ra-be]_S i-t-e_{PRED} [[kue ei]_{O:OBLIQUE} kue-ga-mona]
 one-CLF:G thing-CLF:LEAF exist-LK-3 1sg mother write-PASS-ABL
 ‘There is one book (containing) what was written by my mother.’
- (8.28) eroda_{PRED} [[kue ei]_{O:OBLIQUE} kue-ga-mo]_O
 look.BODY 1sg mother write-PASS-LOC
 ‘Look at what your husband wrote.’
- (8.29) ‘jaai-ñe-no!’ rei-t-e_{PRED} ‘bi-e koko
 go-NEG-PRIV.PROH say-LK-3 this.CTS-CLF:G 1du.masc
 ore-ka-mo jaai-ti-koko!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 send-PASS-LOC go.FUT-LK-1du.masc say-LK-3
 ‘“Do not go!” he said. “In that we were sent, we will go!”, he said.’

Murui passive with non-third person show a somewhat different construction type. These constructions are unusual in that clitized pronouns are postposed to passivized verbs, rather

than preceding them. An example is given in (8.30). The grammatical subject in such passive clauses is always animate.²⁶⁰ Such passive constructions are productively used in Murui.

- (8.30) *janayari*_{O:OBLIQUE} *ri-ga-kue*_{PRED}
 jaguar eat.meat-PASS-1sg
 ‘I was eaten by a tiger.’

(8.31-32) are further examples of this. Compare also the difference in passive constructions of both types in (8.32). Note the pronoun occurring in the same structural position as the pronominal subject suffixed cross-referenced on verb as in (8.32a).

- (8.31) *bi-es* *jai* (*kue*)_{O:OBLIQUE} *gui-ga*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G already 1sg eat-PASS
 ‘This is already eaten (by me).’

- (8.32) a. *giriki-ño*_A *oo-na*_O *mai-t-e*_{PRED}
 bee.type-CLF:DR.F 2sg-N.S/A.TOP sting-LK-3
 ‘The *girikiño* bee stung you.’

- b. *une-ma*_{O:OBLIQUE} *mai-ga-kue*_{PRED}
 wasp-CLF:DR.M sting-PASS-1sg
 ‘I was stung by the *unema* wasp.’

- c. *nokiki*_S *kai*_{O:OBLIQUE} *mai-ga*_{PRED}
 mojojoi 1pl sting-PASS
 ‘We stung the *mojojoi* grub.’ (joking)

8.1.2 Future passive

The future passive is formed with the suffix *-yi* which follow verbal roots. The occurrence of this suffix is very rare in the discourse, and remains a topic for future investigation. Such constructions are structurally similar to passive with non-third person, as illustrated in

²⁶⁰ Or possibly high human; *janayari* ‘jaguar’ in example (8.30) might have been interpreted not just as an animal but a shaman who turned to a jaguar to devour a person in their dreams.

examples (8.30-32) in §8.1.1. The suffix *-yi* appears to have the same structural position, semantics, and syntactic values as the passive *-ka/-ga*:

- it occurs only with transitive verbs,
- it puts underlying O argument into S function and place underlying A argument in a peripheral function,
- has the same forms with non-third person as the non-future passive (§8.1.1.),
- has a clear future tense reading.

Example of the future passive construction with *-yi* are given in (8.33-34):

(8.33) *kue eo arui-re-di-kue=za_{PRED} nai-maki_{O:OBLIQUE} oni*
 1sg very naughty-ATT-LK-1pl=UNCERT ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN LOCAL₂
o-yi-kue_{PRED}
 take.out-FUT.PASS-1sg
 ‘I am very naughty (so) I will be taken aside (from the team).’

(8.34) *kue-yi-kue_{PRED}*
 write-PASS.FUT-1sg
 ‘I will be written (about).’

Example (8.35) is part of a religious oration; (8.36) is an excerpt from a story about documenting the Murui oral literature.

(8.35) *mo_{O:OBLIQUE} zeda-yi=kue_{PRED}*
 father care-FUT.PASS=1sg
 ‘Father, protect me (I will be protected).’

(8.36) [*kai ra-fue kue-yi-mona*] [*kai uru-ia_i*]_S *fueo-it-e_{PRED}*
 1pl thing-CLF:STORY write-FUT.PASS-ABL 1pl child-CLF:G.PL learn-FUT.LK-3
 ‘Our children will learn from our stories (from stories that will be written).’

The future passive markers can also be followed by classifiers, as in *feto-yi-ñaiño* (choose-PASS.FUT-CLF:PR.F) ‘(a female) that will be chosen’; cf. with *feto-ga-ñaiño* (choose-PASS-CLF:PR.F) ‘(a female) that was chosen’ (see §3.1.4 on nominalizations with classifiers).

8.2 Valency increasing devices: the causative

All types of Murui verbs can be subject of derivations which increase valence and participate in causative derivation. There are two types of causative derivation in the language: the causative *-ta* (most common, §8.2.1.1) and the double causative *-tata* (§8.2.1.2).

8.2.1 Causative

A prototypical Murui causative derivation takes an S argument and places it in derived O function. In agreement with R. M. W. Dixon (2012), Murui causative constructions are syntactically similar to existing non-causative clause types. The Murui causative construction has the following properties:

- A. It applies to both underlying intransitive and transitive clauses forming derived transitives.
- B. A new argument (the CAUSER) is introduced in A function.
- C1. In the intransitive clause, the underlying argument in the S function goes onto O function. The new O argument can take on the O-marking.
- C2. In the transitive clauses, the underlying A argument becomes O and can optionally take the O-marking. The original core O argument always retains the O-marking.
- D. The construction involves a morphological process; there is an explicit formal marking *-ta*.

An example of the causative derivation is given below. We start with a simple intransitive verb *ini(de)* ‘sleep’ in (8.37):

- (8.37) *uru-e_S ini-d-e_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G sleep-LK-3
 ‘The child sleep.’

To derive a causative from an intransitive verb, verbal roots are marked with the suffix *-ta*, illustrated in (8.38-41) below. The O argument can be either marked with the O-marking *-na*, as in (8.40-41), or remain unmarked, as in (8.38-39) (see also §6.2.1.5 on factors conditioning the O marking). Such O arguments cannot take other case markers.

- (8.38) *nai-ñaiño_A uru-e_O ini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F child-CLF:G sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He is making the child to sleep (e.g. by putting the child to bed, the child might fall asleep at a later stage).’

- (8.39) *noki_A iye_O jinui-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 rain river water-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘The rain made the river to rise.’

- (8.40) *nai-ñaiño_A uru-e-na_O ini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F child-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He is making the child to go to sleep (e.g. by rocking the child; the child is about the fall asleep).’

- (8.41) *noki_A iye-na_O jinui-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 rain river-N.S/A.TOP water-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘The rain made the river to rise.’ (speaker is surprised, astonished how quickly the water has risen)

The A argument can be optionally marked with the topical S/A subject marker *=di*, as in (8.42) (see also §6.2.1.2 on differential subject marking).

- (8.42) *Sandriela=di_A Maria_O jo-fo-mo_{LOC} maka-ri-ta-d-e_{PRED}*
 Sandriela=S/A.TOP Maria house-CLF:CAV-LOC walk-DUR-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Sandriela made Maria walk home.’

The causative derivation applies equally to intransitive as well as transitive verbs. The transitive verbs are causativized in the same manner as are the intransitive verbs in that the verb is marked with the suffix *-ta*. In intransitive clauses all arguments have to be present; in transitive clauses occasionally arguments can be omitted, if they are retrievable from the

context. In terms of the syntactic possibilities of the causative of transitive clause, the CAUSER is now placed in the A function, the original A (the CAUSEE) takes on O-marking and the original O retains the O-marking. The A argument may be omitted if it can be inferred from the context (note the presence of the cross-referencing pronominal subject marking on the verb). Examples are given in (8.43-44):

- (8.43) *nai-mie*_A *kie-na*_{O1} *jo-fo-na*_{O2} *kio-ta-t-e*_{PRD}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg-N.S/A.TOP house-CLF:CAV-N.S/A.TOP see-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He made me see the house.’
- (8.44) *Rata*_A [*da-je* *jiko-na*]_{O1} *kie-na*_{O2} *fii-ta-t-e*_{PRD}
 Rata one-CLF:G dog-N.S/A.TOP 1sg-N.S/A.TOP rob-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Rata made still my dog.’

Seemingly, the case marking of the two O arguments is identical. However, they differ in two respects: i) the constituent order where the first O argument (*kuena*) precedes the original object O (*jofona*) and can be preposed to the verb, as in (8.42); ii) of the two O arguments, only the first argument has the optionality of being left unmarked; the second O argument is always obligatorily marked. This makes it possible to differentiate between the two arguments and define them further as as the ‘primary’ O₁ and ‘secondary’ O₂.²⁶¹

The A argument, the CAUSER, may refer to either a person, an object, an event, or a state. Murui shows no restrictions on the animacy of the CAUSER. In (8.45) below, it is the nominalized clause ‘your funny speaking’; in (8.45) the CAUSER is the nominalized ‘sleeping’:

- (8.45) [*oo ua* *kaima-re* *ñai-a*]_A *eo* *kie-na*_O *jaizi-ta-d-e*_{PRD}
 2sg really happy-ATT speak.E.NMLZ very 1sg-N.S/A.TOP laugh-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Your joke (lit. your happy speaking) made me laugh.’

²⁶¹ Whether both arguments can be passivized on remains a topic for future investigation.

While the CAUSER is the one who is manipulating the activity, the CAUSEE does not have control over the activity they are being ‘made’ to do, as in (8.46).

- (8.46) Pedro Maria-na jaki-nai-ta-d-e_{PRED} ie=ta ñaiño
 Pedro Maria-N.S/A.TOP scared-BECOME₁-CAUS-LK-3 CONN=REP CLF:PR.F
 jaki-nai-ta-ga_{PRED}
 scared-BECOME₁-CAUS-PASS
 ‘Pedro made Maria scared. So she become scared.’

The CAUSER may or may not be involved in the performed activity, and the willingness of the CAUSEE to perform the activity is not relevant. In the example (8.47), the CAUSEE is the one who is being made fall by the Pedro, the CAUSER.

- (8.47) [kue ñio]_A kue-na_O kome-ki_O faka-ta-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg brother 1sg-N.S/A.TOP heart-CLF:ROUND think-CAUS-LK-3
 ie-mo mairi-ñaiño-di-kue_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC strong-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg
 ‘My brother made me think that I am strong.’

Although a result of an action does not necessarily have to involve an effort, as in (8.48-49), is usually achieved on purpose, rarely ‘by accident’:

- (8.48) Kata_A corrector_O dota-ta-t-e_{PRED}
 Kata tipp.ex.Sp throw-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Kata knocked the tipp-ex (off a table, on purpose as she got angry).’

- (8.49) mare... aima-jai-d-e=za_{PRED} jai fui-ta-di-kai_{PRED}
 good.ATT fish-ANDTV-LK-3=UNCERT already finish-CAUS-LK-1pl
 dino-mo_{LOC} eo aare ñai-ti-kai_{PRED} izoi-d-e_{PRED} jii
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC very long talk-LK-1pl similar-LK-3 yes
 ‘Good... He must have gone fishing. We have already finished here (lit. we made it finish). We have talked for a long time, it seems. Yes.’

That the result can however be unintentional, as presented in (8.50-51):

- (8.50) jino-na aifi_S beta-d-e_{PRED} [jo-fo jerai-mo]_{LOC} kue_O
 outside-ABL wind blow-LK-3 house-CLF:CAV inside-LOC 1sg
 jaki-nai-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 scared-BECOME₁-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘From outside the wind blew inside the house. It scared me.’

- (8.51) *ua jari-re-na casi naio-na=mei kai zai-ta-d-e_{PRED}*
 really quick-ATT-E.NMLZ almost.Sp night-N.S/A.TOP=so 1pl step-CAUS-LK
naze=mei fue=koni ua bii-di-kai_{PRED}
 door=so mouth=LOCAL₁ really lay-LK-1pl
 ‘It was really quick. They almost stepped on us at night, we were laying at the side
 of the door.’

The default order of the constituents in the causative construction is ${}_X\text{AO}_X\text{V}_X$, as illustrated in the examples discussed throughout this section.²⁶² The importance of the constituent order is shown in (8.52-53). Note that fronted O NP are marked with the topical non-S/A marker *-na*, as in (8.53).

- (8.52) *nai-ñaiño_A uru-e_O ini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F child-CLF:G sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘She makes the baby sleep.’

- (8.53) *nai-mie-na_O Katiña_A kinai-mo_{LOC} ini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F-N.S/A.TOP Katiña hammock-LOC sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Katiña makes him fall asleep in the hammock.’

Peripheral arguments are usually preposed to the verb; occasionally they also are expressed in clause final positions (this is similar to the double causative constructions, §8.2.1.2).

Murui causative *-ta* applies to all sorts of verbs. In addition to intransitive and transitive verbs illustrated in the previous examples, they can also apply to adjectives as well when they are followed by the attributive *-re* and *-ni* or the transformative ‘become’ suffixes *-nai*, *-tai*, and *-dai*, as in (8.54-56). The Murui causative cannot occur on predicatively used nouns.²⁶³

²⁶² Compare this with ${}_X\text{AO}_1\text{VO}_2\text{X}$ of the double causative construction in which only O_2 can be postposed to the verb yielding the basic AOV constituent order.

²⁶³ For instance, the predicative intransitive construction that expresses possession (see §5.1.3.1), as in *urue-re-di-kue* (child-clf:g-ATT-LK-1sg) ‘I have a child’, cannot occur with the causative. Forms such as **urue-re-ta-di-kue* (child-clf:g-ATT-CAUS-LK-1sg) are ungrammatical.

- (8.54) [kue uru-e-na]_o yiki-nai-ta-di-kue_{pred}
 1sg child-N.S/A.TOP flat-BECOME₁-CAUS-LK-1
 ‘I make my child become thin.’
- (8.55) jaa navuida gurua_A [kome kome-ki]_o zuu-re-ta-d-e_{pred}
 soon evening thunder.E.NMLZ person heart-CLF:ROUND sad-ATT-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘The thunder in the evening makes one’s heart sad.’
- (8.56) [kue aama diga] fuiri-di-kue_{pred} nai-mie_A [kue
 1sg brother WITH fight-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg
 ifo-gi]_o izi-re-ta-d-e_{pred}
 head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER painful-ATT-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘I fought with my brother. He made my head hurt.’

A few lexicalized verbs have to contain the unproductive suffix *-no* to be able to take on the causative *-ta* (elsewhere in the language *-no* is a semelfactive marker, see §7.X). These are verb that refer to states, such as *baai(de)* ‘die, be dead’ in (8.57).

- (8.57) a. jiko baai-d-e_{pred}
 dog die-LK-3
 ‘The dog died.’ or ‘The dog is dead.’
- b. nai-mie_A [kue jiko]_o baino-d-e_{pred}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg dog die.TH-LK-3
 ‘He killed my dog.’
- c. Flaco [kue jiko]_o baino-ta-t-e_{pred}
 Flaco 1sg dog die.TH-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Flaco got my dog killed.’

A few verbs contain the element *-ta*, which originally might have been the causative suffix. Synchronically, the element *-ta* is fused with the root. These verbs include *akata(te)* ‘show’, *bita(de)* ‘lay down’, *jeta(de)* ‘touch’ and *jaita(de)* ‘cut’.

Generally, the possibility of taking the causative *-ta* remain open to the vast majority of the verbs and adjectives (see §8.2.2). There are however some verbs which cannot occur with the causative *-ta*; instead, they obligatory occur with the double causative marker *-tata*. Others occur only with the double causative. For instance, the locational verb *i(te)* ‘exist’ can

- (8.63) *nai-mie*_A *okui-d-e*_{PRED} [*kue bi-ye-na*]_{PUR}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M send-LK-3 1sg come-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘He send for me to come.’ (by forcing me)
- (8.64) *bi-rui-do* *Aldo*_A *kue-na*_O *okui-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS Aldo 1sg-N.S/A.TOP send-NEG-LK-3
*mai-ji-ye-na*_{PUR}
 work-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Aldo didn’t send for me to work today.’

Causative meanings in Murui are also frequently achieved by direct quotations, employing the quotative verb *rei(te)* ‘say’, as in (8.65):

- (8.65) *nai-mie*_A *kue-na*_O *rei-t-e*_{PRED} ‘*mai-ji-iti-o!*’_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M 1sg-N.S/A.TOP say-LK-3 work-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘He said to me: “You will work!”’

8.2.2 *Double causative*

Murui has a morphological mechanism, which allows for the causative *-ta* to be applied twice yielding a causative of a causative - the double causative - forming the contiguous *-ta-ta* string of suffixes.²⁶⁵ It applies to both underlying intransitive and transitive clauses forming derived extended transitives. This is how the double causative works. Let us take as an example the simple intransitive verb *ini(de)* ‘sleep’ from (8.37-38) in §8.2.1. To derive the double causative, the verbal root *ini-* is:

- i) suffixed with two contiguous tokens of the causative suffix *-ta*,
- ii) the new A argument is introduced, and can be optionally marked with the topical S/A subject marker *=di*,
- iii) the underlying A argument goes into O function, and is usually marked with the

²⁶⁵ Cross-linguistically, double causatives tend to consist of two tokens of the same causative affix (Dixon, 2012:267). Capanawa (Pano) has a double causative, formed with the same causative suffix applied twice (Payne 1990:266).

topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* (less frequently, it can also be zero-marked),

iv) the original O remains the core argument and is obligatorily marked with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*.

As the result, we get the double causative constructions, as illustrated in (8.66-67) below:

(8.66) *nai-ñaiño_A kue-na_{O1} uru-e-na_{O2} ini-ta-ta-d-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F 1sg-N.S/A.TOP child-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘She makes me make the child fall sleep.’

(8.67) *nai-mie_A kue-na_{O1} bai-mie-na_{O2}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M 1sg-N.S/A.TOP that.FSH-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP
gaai-ta-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 like-CAUS-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He made me make like him.’

Although syntactically, causatives and double causatives are marked in the same way, the causative marker *-ta* introduces only one CAUSER, unlike the double causative where two CAUSERS are introduced. Walter Agga explained that culturally the Murui always look for a solution to a problem: ‘(...) if I know that I cannot make somebody drink, I will relegate the task, so a person would look for somebody else to make them drink. I will then say: *Chombo, Kata-na jiro-ta-ta!* (Chombo Kata-N.S/A.TOP drink-CAUS-CAUS) ‘Chombo, send somebody to make Kata drink (lit. make (somebody) to make Kata drink!)’. Another example of an imperative that contains double causative is illustrated in (8.68):

(8.68) *Kata! [uru-e Walter-na]_{O1} Jordano-na_{O2} nooi-ta-ta!_{PRED}*
 Kata child-CLF:G Walter-N.S/A.TOP Jordan-N.S/A.TOP wash-CAUS-CAUS
 ‘Kata! Send Jordan to make wash Walter’s child!’

Three overtly stated core arguments are only occasionally present; commonly only A NP and one O NP argument are stated.

The transitive verbs are causativized with the markers of double causative in the same way as are the intransitive verbs. In terms of the syntactic possibilities of the causative of

transitive clause, the CAUSER is now placed in the A function, the original A (the CAUSEE) takes on O-marking and the original O retains the O-marking. O NP takes always the topical non-S/A maker *-na* and cannot occur with types of case markers.

The default order of the constituents is AO₁O₂V, where the A and the first O arguments are in the CAUSER function and the second O argument is the CAUSEE. Peripheral arguments can be usually expressed in clause initial positions, and somewhat less often in clause final positions, as in (8.69).

- (8.69) *bi-rui-do* *Izmael_A* *kue-na_{O1}* *ra-fue-na_{O2}*
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS *Izmael* 1sg-N.S/A.TOP thing-CLF:STORY-N.S/A.TOP
uiño-ta-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 know-CAUS-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Today Izmael teaches me (lit. making me know) the story.’

The only variant of the default constituent order is AO₁VO₂ where the second O argument is postposed to the verb, as in (8.70).

- (8.70) *River_A* *Walter-na_{O1}* *mai-ji-ta-ta-d-e_{PRED}* [*kai*
River *Walter-N.S/A.TOP* work-CAUS-CAUS-LK-3 1pl
komini-na]_{O2}
 people.CLF:DR.GR-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘River send Walter to make us (lit. our Murui people) work.’

Similarly to the causative, the double causative shows no restrictions regarding the animacy of the CAUSER, as in (8.71). The double causative has occasionally overtones of some type of cultural obligation. The reading of (8.71) is an invitation that one has to obey. If not, they have to ask for forgiveness:

- (8.71) *nai-mie_A* *kue-na_O* *bi-ta-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg-N.S/A.TOP come-CAUS-CASU-LK-3
 ‘He made me come.’

Note that the process of reduplication precludes the double causative morphology; reduplication is possible only with the causative *-ta*, never the double causative.

As mentioned previously, the possibilities of both the causative *-ta* and the double causative *-tata* remain open to the vast majority of the verbs. Some verbs however differ in types of morphological causatives they occur with. These possibilities are outlined here:

A. Verbs which occur with the CAUSATIVE BUT NOT WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE - this is primarily the verb *i(te)* ‘give’.

B. VERBS WHICH CONTAIN THE ELEMENT *-ta* AND CANNOT OCCUR WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE - A few verbs contain the element *-ta* fused to their roots cannot occur with the double causative, e.g. *akata(te)* ‘show’ (see §8.2.1).

C. VERBS WHICH DO NOT OCCUR WITH THE CAUSATIVE BUT DO OCCUR WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE - these are the intransitive verb *i(te)* ‘exist’, *bi(te)* ‘come’, *rai(te)* ‘say’, *ñai(te)* ‘speak’, *raai(de)* ‘sit’, *zai(te)* ‘step’, *fa(te)* ‘kill’, *kue(te)* ‘write’, *kio(de)* ‘see’, *yo(te)* ‘tell’.

8.3 Reflexive and reciprocal

In a reflexive construction, transitive subject A and transitive object O coincide; in a reciprocal construction ‘the referents of A and O for one instance are interchanged for another instance of the same action’ (R. M. W. Dixon, 2012: 138-196). Murui has no ‘dedicated’ constructions for reflexive or reciprocal, but a set of mechanisms through which reflexive and reciprocal meanings are expressed (there are no affixes marking reflexive and reciprocal derivations on the verb). The language employs a similar technique to express reflexive and reciprocal meanings. It involves:

(8.75) uri! kue_A [oo abi]_O zuku-di-kue_{PRED}
 calm 1sg 2sg body wash.skin-LK-1sg
 ‘Quiet! I wash you (lit. your body).’

The noun *abi* refers to the notion of ‘self’ and does not refer only to ‘body’. A speaker of Murui does not usually specify what body part they refer to. For instance, in a sentence like ‘he cut himself’, the plain noun *abi* can denote either a ‘finger’, ‘leg’, or ‘skin’. Very often, a speaker makes a gesture to show which body part he refers to.²⁶⁷ This is illustrated in (8.76):

(8.76) Elger [da-ma abi]_O jaita-d-e_{PRED}
 Elger one-CLF:DR.M body cut-LK-1sg
 ‘Elger cut himself (his own body, nobody helped him).’

Murui has many lexicalized expressions with *abi*, such as *abi uiño(te)* ‘realize (lit. know one’s body)’, *abi iino(te)* ‘dare, be confident (lit. obey one’s body)’, *abi jano(te)* ‘not to let be known, hide (lit. hide one’s body)’, *abi moziño(te)* ‘stop something bad (lit. stop one’s body)’, and *abi nikai(de)* ‘witness an accident in one’s dream (lit. dream one’s body)’.²⁶⁸

(8.77) is a frequent warning said by Murui elders to naughty boys. The nominal modifier *da-* ‘own (lit. alone)’ followed by an animate classifier almost always accompanies the possessed noun *abi* (and, as an NP, can be followed by the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*).

(8.77) naiyi [da-ma abi]_O uuiño-it-e_{PRED}
 later one-CLF:DR.M body know-FUT.LK-3
 ‘Soon, he will realize (it) by himself (lit. his own body will know).’

Somehow similar to *abi* is perhaps the noun *komeki* ‘heart’, as in (8.78) (see also examples T3.8, T3.12, T.317, and T3.39 in the Appendix).

²⁶⁷ In Murui, the noun *abi* also denote other physical body notions, such as *jofo abi* ‘body of the house’, *iye abi* ‘riven bank (area)’.

²⁶⁸ Interestingly, all these meanings require a physical presence of person’s body to perform an action. See also (Petersen de Piñeros, 1998: 35).

- (8.78) [kue kome-ki]_s oo-mo faka-di-kue²⁶⁹_{PRED}
 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND 2sg-LOC think-LK-3
 ‘I think of you (lit. I contemplate my heart in you).’

The possessed noun is usually accompanied by a nominal modifier that consists of the bound number word *da-* ‘alone, one’ followed by ‘derivational’ animate classifiers *-ma* (masculine), *-ño* (feminine), and *-ni* (group) (see §3.2.3 and §4.2.2.2).²⁷⁰ A nominal modifier is included in the O argument (always preposed to head noun, and it has a structure of a possessive construction). It can be interpreted as ‘own’ (or more literally: ‘one, alone’) and has autoreflexive meanings; cf. (8.67) above. The forms of the nominal modifiers that occur in such position are given in (8.79). Examples are illustrated in (8.80-82) below.

- (8.79) *da-ma* (one-CLF:DR.M) ‘own, one (male) alone’
da-ño (one-CLF:DR.F) ‘own, one (female) alone’
da-ni (one-CLF:DR.GR) ‘own, one (group human) alone’

- (8.80) nai-mie_A [da-ma abi]_{NP:O} fa-t-e_{PRED} yoe-fai-do
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M one-CLF:DR.M body kill-LK-3 metal-CLF:SHORT.THICKER-INS
 ‘He killed himself with a machete (lit. he killed his (own) body).’

- (8.81) nai-ñaiño_A [[da-ño ie]_R abi]_{ID}_{NP:O} eo izi-rui-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F one-CLF:DR.F CONN body very admire-MANNER-LK-3
 [ie]_R ini-na_D_O izi-rui-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 CONN husband-N.S/A.TOP **admire**-MANNER-NEG-LK-3
 ‘She loves herself (lit. she loves her (own) body), not her husband.’

Such NP’s can take case markers, and further accompany a head noun in an NP, as in examples (8.82-83).

- (8.82) jidoro-do [da-ño abi-na]_{NP:O} jide-di-o_{PRED}
 paint-INS one-CLF:DR.F body-N.S/A.TOP paint-LK-2sg
 ‘You painted yourself (lit. own body).’

²⁶⁹ The verbal root *faka-* has many meanings including ‘think, contemplate, try, count, experience’.

²⁷⁰ The number word *da-* can also take ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers: *da-mie* (one-CLF:PR.M) ‘one (male)’ *da-ñaiño* (one-CLF:PR.F) ‘one (female)’, *da-no* (one-CLF:PR.GR) ‘one (group)’.

- (8.83) [kue da-ño jiro-ra]_{NP:O} jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg one-CLF:DR.F drink-CLF:NEUT need-LK-1sg
 ‘I need my own drink.’ (said by an elder woman during a ritual dance)

The nominal modifiers *dama*, *daño*, and *dani* may follow a noun in the A NP preceding the intransitive predicate, as in (8.84) (with the omitted O NP):

- (8.84) [Maria da-ño]_A jide-ri-t-e_{PRED}
 Maria one-CLF:DR.F paint-DUR-LK-3
 ‘Maria paints herself.’ or ‘Maria paints alone.’

The possessed noun *abi* can also be omitted. The S/A NP consists then just of *dama*, *daño*, and *dani*, as in (8.85-87). Often the meaning of such sentences is ambiguous between a reflexive and non-reflexive meaning. It might carry reflexive overtones, as in (8.85-86) (note that the animate classifier is coreferential with S/A NPs), but it can mean just ‘alone’, as in (8.87).

- (8.85) da-ni_A joko-di-maki_{PRED}
 one-CLF:DR.GR wash-LK-3pl
 ‘(They) wash themselves.’ or ‘(They) washed alone.’
- (8.86) da-ños ee-di-kue_{PRED}
 one-CLF:DR.F cry-LK-1sg
 ‘(I) cried by myself.’ or ‘(I) cried alone.’
- (8.87) Rubio_S nooi-zai-d-e_{PRED} da-ma_S jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 Rubio bathe-ANDTV-LK-3 one-CLF:DR.M come-LK-3pl
 ‘Rubio went to bathe. He went alone.’

Although in Muri reflexive constructions usually the most frequent controller is human and animate, Murui has no constraint concerning the identity of the controller. This is illustrated in (8.88-89) where *dama* is used for inanimate participants.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Interestingly, the inanimate referents agree with the nominal modifier in masculine gender (which in Murui is a functionally unmarked gender, see §3.1.1).

- (8.88) [bai-e radio da-ma]_s roo~ro-d-e_{PREL}
 that.FSH-CLF:G radio.Sp one-CLF:DR.M sing~RED-LK-3
 ‘That radio is playing on its own (lit. alone)’
- (8.89) [bi-e nokae da-ma]_s fairi-yai-kai-d-e_{PREL} joraida ie
 this.CTS-CLF:G canoe one-CLF:DR.M float-ANDTV-INCEPT-LK-3 lake CONN
 dane abido rii-zai-bi-d-e_{PREL}
 ONCE AGAIN arrive-VENTV-LK-3
 ‘This canoe floated away (lit. alone) at the lake and once again it came back.’

8.3.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal meanings in Murui are expressed with the bound form *koni-* which can be roughly translated as ‘between’.²⁷² A reciprocal clause has a transitive verb and a A NP as arguments. *Koni-* has to agree in gender with A NPs by means of animate classifiers (and it that respect it is similar to the nominal modifiers with *da-* present in reflexive constructions, see §8.3.1). The reciprocal marker is placed immediately after the A NP argument in the clause. This is illustrated in (8.90) below. It can also be followed by case markers, such as the topical non-S/A subject in (8.91) and the locative in (8.92).

- (8.90) [Jose [Maria diga]]_{NP:A} koni-ma_O jide-d-e_{PREL} i-aimaia_A
 Jose Maria WITH RECIP-CLF:DR.M paint-LK-3 ANA.NSP-3du.m
 koni-ma_O=ua jide-d-e_{PREL}
 RECIP-CLF:DR.M=really paint-LK-3
 ‘Jose and Maria painted each other, they painted each other.’
- (8.91) [naga kome]_A koni-ma-na_O izi-rui-t-e_{PREL}
 EACH person RECIP-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP adore-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘Everybody loves each other.’

²⁷² Elsewhere in the grammar, *koni* is a locational adverb, e.g. *Leticia=koni* (*Leticia=LOCAL₁*) ‘in Leticia’. It appears to be a different type of a marker as it cannot be followed by classifiers. In Murui there is also a noun *konirue* for ‘youngster, fellow’ which diachronically might be related to *koni-* (cf. the classifier *-rue* for ‘bung of objects, things’, see §4.2.2.1).

- (8.92) dakaiño [ñeniño [yaiño diga]]_A koni-ma-mo_{LOC} rii-d-e_{PRED}
 one.time armadillo chucha WITH RECIP-CLF:DR.M-LOC arrive-LK-3
 ‘One time the armadillo and the chucha met (each other) (lit. arrived at one another).’

The noun *abi* can be optionally used in reciprocal constructions. In such cases, the reciprocal marker functions as a modifier within NP, with *abi* as the head, as in (8.93-94).

- (8.93) bai-ziaimaiaia_A [koni-ma abi]_O joko-di-aimaiaia_{PRED}
 that.FSH-3du.m RECIP-CLF:DR.M body wash-LK-3du.m
 ‘They (two) washed one another.’

- (8.94) [bai-e ue-ñuai]_A [koni-ño abi]_O joko-d-e_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:G frog-CLF:DR.F.PL RECIP-CLF:DR.F body wash-LK-3
 ‘The frogs washed each other (one another).’

The nominal modifiers *dama*, *daño*, and *dani* can also be employed in reciprocal constructions. They are postposed to the head of the NP, as in (8.95). The possessed noun *abi* is optional.

- (8.95) [nai-maki da-ni]_{NP:OBLIQUE} [koni-ni (abi)]_{NP:S} jaita-ka_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR one-CLF:DR.GR RECIP-CLF:DR.GR body cut-PASS
 ‘Each other’s bodies were cut by them (alone, by no one else).’

The plural marking on A NP is optional; the plural reading is understood from both the context and the fact that the reciprocal *koni-* is used.²⁷³ This is illustrated in (8.97-98).

- (8.96) jiko_A koni-ma_O aini-d-e_{PRED}
 dog RECIP-CLF:DR.M bite-LK-3
 ‘Dogs bit each other.’

- (8.97) komini_A koni-ma_O gireko-t-e_{PRED}
 people.CLF:DR.GR RECIP-CLF:DR.M turn-LK-3
 ‘People turned each other around.’

²⁷³ Plural in Murui is formally unmarked, unless the plurality of the referents is important in the context, see §5.2. Note that the reciprocal *koni-* does not need to be marked for the animate derivational classifier to have non-singular readings, as in example (8.95-96) where *koni-* is marked with the animate classifier *-ma* for masculine referents.

8.3.3 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions - a summary

A summary of structures of expressions of reflexive and reciprocal meanings in Murui is given in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Expression of reflexive and reciprocal meanings in Murui

| | Structure | Examples in this chapter |
|-------------------|--|--------------------------|
| REFLEXIVE | [N/Pro/NomMod <i>abi</i> (-case)] _o | (73, 74, 75) |
| | <i>da</i> +classifier _{S/A} | (85, 86, 87) |
| | N/Pro/NomMod _A [<i>da</i> +classifier <i>abi</i> (-case)] _o | (76, 77, 80, 81, 82) |
| | [N/Pro/NomMod <i>da</i> +classifier] _{S/A} | (84, 88, 89) |
| RECIPROCAL | N/Pro/NomMod _A <i>koni</i> +classifier(-case) _o | (90, 91, 92, 96, 97) |
| | N/Pro/NomMod _A [<i>koni</i> +classifier <i>abi</i> (-case)] _o | (93, 94) |
| | [N/Pro/NomMod <i>da</i> +classifier] _A [<i>koni</i> +classifier <i>abi</i> (-case)] _o | (95) |

8.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed a valency-reducing mechanism, the passive (*-ka/-ga* and *-yi*), a valency-increasing mechanism, the causative *-ta* and the double causative *-tata*. Murui reflexive and reciprocal constructions are not a valency-changing device as they maintain the clauses as transitive. Murui employs a similar technique for reflexive and reciprocal by using free informative markers that take classifiers; the reciprocal and reflexive is indicated by using the possessed noun *abi* ‘body’.

9 Adjectives and comparative constructions

This chapter discusses the word class of Murui adjectives (§9.1) and comparative constructions (§9.2). The last section 9.3 offers a brief summary.

9.1 Adjectives - general remarks

Murui has two classes of adjectives, underived and derived. Underived adjectives form a small closed class with no more than six members. This class includes the following semantic groups: dimension, age, value, and physical property. Adjectives that are open to derivation form a semi-large open class with about hundred members. Derived adjectives have various semantic meanings such as physical dimension, value, property, human propensity, colour, and others (see §9.1.1).²⁷⁴ Spanish loan words do not occur in neither class of adjectives.

Murui adjectives share a number of features with (intransitive) verbs and with nouns. They can head intransitive clauses ('verb-like adjectives'), as in *ebi-re-d-e* (nice-ATT-LK-3) '(it's) nice', and be used as heads of nominal modifiers ('noun-like adjectives'), as in *ebi-fue* (nice-CLF:STORY) 'a nice story' (see §3.1.3 for details). The semantic difference between an adjective used as a head of an intransitive predicate or as base form of a nominal modifier relates to temporality ('temporal' vs 'timeless', examples (3.15-16) in §3.1.3 are case in point). Out of the two construction types, the former can be negated; the latter can only be negated when used intransitively. Murui adjectives have also a number of features on their

²⁷⁴ Core semantic types typologically associated with both large and small adjective classes include dimension, value, color, and age. Other core semantic types, such as physical property, human propensity, speed, difficulty, and time are cross-linguistically associated with medium-sized and large adjective classes (Dixon, 1982 > endnote).

own, such as the obligatory co-occurrence with the attributive suffixes (see §9.1.2 on criteria for distinguishing adjectives from verbs and nouns). Both verb-like and noun-like adjectives can occur as a Parameter of comparison in comparative constructions (see §9.2). Murui underived and derived adjectives – unlike nouns and verbs – can have adverbial functions and occur as modifiers to verbs, e.g. *ebi-re ro-t-e* (nice-ATT sing-LK-3) ‘(she) sings nicely’.

9.1.1 *Adjective types and their semantic content*

Murui adjectives are members of both closed and open word classes, and as such, they are morphologically different from one another. According to their status, Murui adjectives can be divided into those adjectives that are underived, and those which contain some formative elements. The former type consists of a very small word class, the latter forms an open word class. Depending on their noun- and verb-like status, Murui adjectives can be divided into:

A. NOUN-LIKE UNDERIVED ADJECTIVES - noun-like underived adjectives form a small closed class of six items. These adjectives have are morphosyntactically different from other adjectives as they cannot function as intransitive predicates. There are three subclasses of noun-like underived adjectives.

A1. NOUN-LIKE UNDERIVED ADJECTIVES THAT CAN OCCUR AS FREE FORMS - this class includes:

DIMENSION: *aiyo* ‘big’
 AGE: *komo* ‘new’

These adjectives take the general classifier *-e* when they function as modifiers within an NP, as in *aiyue* ‘big’ and *komue* ‘new’.²⁷⁵ Within an NP, they are always pre-posed to noun and are unmarked for case. The head noun takes case markers, as illustrated in (9.1).

- (9.1) [bi-e ñi-ñiai]_A [komue jo-fo-na]_o [jiai-e
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-COLL new.CLF:G house-CLF:CAV-N.S/A.TOP other-CLF:G
 fie-mona-mo] fino-it-*e*_{PRED}
 summer-CLF:SEASON-LOC make-FUT.LK-3
 ‘These man will finish the new house next summer.’

The adjectives *aiyo* ‘big’ and *komo* ‘new’ can also form nominal modifiers when they are followed directly by classifiers, such as *komo-ko* (new-CLF:COVER) ‘new house’ and *aiyo-neko* (big-CLF.REP.MALOCA) ‘big *maloca*’. As such they can further function as heads of intransitive predicates. This is illustrated in (9.2) where the adjective *aiyo* ‘big’ followed by the general classifier *-e* takes the predicate marking.

- (9.2) [komue jaai-ra Walter ie]_s aiyue-d-*e*_{PRED}
 new.CLF:G go-CLF:NEUT Walter CONN big.CLF:G-LK-3
 ‘The new ladder of Walter is big.’

Without any further derivation, they can be used as modifiers to verbs, e.g. *komo rii-d-e* (recently arrive-LK-3) ‘(he) came recently’, *eo aiyu i-t-e* (very a.lot exist-LK-3) ‘there is a lot (of it)’ (see also §3.2.1).

A2. NOUN-LIKE UNDERIVED ADJECTIVES THAT CANNOT FUNCTION AS FREE FORMS - are underived adjectives that are bound forms, and have to take the general classifier *-e*, e.g. *eo jakai-e jaai-ra* (very old-CLF:G go-CLF:G) ‘a old ladder’:

²⁷⁵ In some dialects of Murui (e.g. as spoken by the *Monanizai* clan), *komue* is pronounced as *komoie* (see Footnote 4 in §5.1.1.2).

DIMENSION: *jedaki-* ‘thick’
 AGE: *jakai-* ‘old’

Similar to underived adjectives A1, underived adjectives A2 take the general classifier *-e* when they function as modifiers within an NP, as in (9.3).

(9.3) *nibai* [*jakai-e* *jiko*]_s *nai-fo-mo*_{LOC} *uai-d-e*..._{PRED}
 maybe old-CLF:G dog ANA.SP-CLF:CAV-LOC fall-LK-3
 ‘Maybe the old dog fell into that hole...’

Such noun-like underived adjectives can also function as base of nominal modifiers, e.g.

jedaki-roi (thick-CLF:CLOTHES) ‘thick clothes’. When the adjective *jakai-* ‘old’ functions as a base of a nominal modifier, its formed is reduced to *jaka-*, as in *jaka-ko* (old-CLF.REP:DOG) ‘old dog’.²⁷⁶

A3. NOUN-LIKE LEXICALIZED ADJECTIVES - synchronically, there are two adjectives which obligatorily contain the attributive ‘positive’ marker *-re*, but have many of morphosyntactic properties of underived adjectives (i.e. they can neither head intransitive predicates nor can they occur with the negative attributive *-ni*) but not all (i.e. they do not occur with the general classifier *-e*). This class includes:

VALUE: *mare* ‘good’
 PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *aare* ‘long, far away’

The adjective *mare* ‘good’ is unusual in that under negation, it undergoes an uncommon phonological change: *maraiñe-d-e* (good.ATT.NEG-LK-3) rather than **mare-ñe-d-e* (see §10.3).

²⁷⁶ The form *jaka-* as base of the nominal modifier *jakai-* suggests that *jakaie* ‘old’ could be related to the time word *jaka* ‘always, never’ followed either by the by the connective *ie*, as in *jaka ie* (lit. relating to the time), or the general classifier *-e*.

As underived adjectives A1 and A2, adjectives A3 function as modifiers within an NP but take no general classifier *-e*. An example of *mare* that functions as a modifier within an NP is given in (9.4). Alternatively, *mare jiza* ‘good daughter’ could be referred to with the nominal modifier *mare-za* (good._{ATT-CLF:IMMATURE}) ‘good (young person)’. A similar example is given in (9.5).

(9.4) [eo mare jiza]_S bi-gobe-mo_{LOC} korobai-ya_{PRED}
 very good.ATT daughter this.CTS-CLF:PLATFORM-LOC drown-E.NMLZ
 ‘A very good daughter has drown in this (canoe) deck.’

(9.5) bi-mona-do [are naizo-do] rauai-ti-kue_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS long path-INS hunt.ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘Today I will go hunting along the long path.’

They can function as modifiers to verbs only if they take the non-topical S/A marker *-na*, e.g. *mare-na ii!* (good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP exist.IMP) ‘Be well!’ (see §3.2.1).

B. VERB-LIKE ADJECTIVES - include a small class of adjectives that contain *-ri* and *-re*.

B. VERB-LIKE ADJECTIVES CONTAINING *-ri* - they form a small closed class of adjectives that share the formative *-ri* as part of their roots, e.g. *mairi-di-kue* (strong-LK-1sg) ‘I am strong’.²⁷⁷ This class includes:

DIMENSION: *ianori-* ‘short’,
 HUMAN PROPENSITY: *mairi-* ‘strong’, *uairi-* ‘moody’

²⁷⁷ Although on verbs *-ri* has durative meanings, it is most probable that *-ri* on adjectives is a variant of the attributive *-re*, that has been reanalyzed as part of the adjectival root. Seemingly, it includes the classifier *-no* referring to a specific place. The reason for this is the co-existence of the expressions *ianori i-t-e* (close exist-LK-3) and *iano-re i-t-e* (close-attexist-lk-3) for ‘be close’ (pronunciation depends on a Murui variant). Additionally, there is also an adjective *ia-* ‘short’, as in *ia-mie* (short-CLF:PR.M) ‘(a) short (male)’. The form *ianori-* is synchronically one word. The adjective *mairi-* ‘strong’ may be related with the verbal root *mairj-* for ‘work’.

Out of these adjectives, only *ianori-* can function as an adverb without a further derivation meaning ‘close’, e.g. *ianori i-t-e* (close exist-LK-3) ‘(it’s) close’.

C. VERB-LIKE ADJECTIVES CONTAINING THE ATTRIBUTIVE *-re* - they form an open class of about hundred members and can be divided into the following sematic types:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| DIMENSION: | <i>jano-</i> ‘small’ |
| VALUE: | <i>ebi-</i> ‘nice, amusing’, <i>jea-</i> ‘dirty, ugly’ |
| COLOUR: | <i>moko-</i> ‘green/blue’, <i>uze-</i> ‘white’, <i>jiti-</i> ‘black’, <i>jiai-</i> ‘red’ |
| HUMAN PROPENSITY: | <i>uri-</i> ‘jealous’, <i>jaki-</i> ‘scared’, <i>zuu-</i> ‘sad’, <i>kaima-</i> ‘happy, tasty’, <i>mei-</i> ‘ashamed’, <i>rii-</i> ‘strong, angry’, <i>jerai-</i> ‘greedy’ |
| PHYSICAL PROPERTY: | <i>mee-</i> ‘heavy’, <i>uzi-</i> ‘hot’, <i>rozi-</i> ‘cold’, <i>eri-</i> ‘bitter’, <i>kue-</i> ‘salty’, <i>naime-</i> ‘sweet’, <i>izi-</i> ‘spicy’, <i>kairi-</i> ‘acidy’, <i>riji-</i> ‘slippery’, <i>eri-</i> ‘bitter’, <i>fare-</i> ‘fatty’; <i>mana-</i> ‘cold’, <i>mara-</i> ‘sticky’ |
| SPEED: | <i>jari-</i> ‘quick’ |
| OTHER: | <i>feei-</i> ‘difficult’ |

Some of these verb-like adjectives historically originate in verbs. For instance, the adjective root *jea-* ‘dirty, ugly’ and the verbal root *jea-* ‘smear, cover in mud’ are clearly related but synchronically they do differ in a number of ways (see §9.1.2).

Murui classifiers of certain semantics tend to co-occur with ‘matching’ adjectives. The speakers find it bizarre when an adjective does not ‘match’ the inherent semantics of a classifier. For instance, the adjective *jano-* for ‘small’ can be followed by classifiers such as *-ki* for ‘round objects (like a fruit), not big’ and *-ji* for ‘small, pointed objects (like a tooth or a seed)’, but not by the classifier *-bogi* for ‘big, very round shaped objects (like a big person, a big tree)’. Rather, *-bogi* would combine with an adjective that might have similar meanings, such as *fare-* ‘fatty’ and *mee-* ‘heavy’.

9.1.2 *Criteria for recognition*

There are semantic and grammatical criteria for recognition of adjectives a separate word class in Murui. These are discussed in turn.²⁷⁸

A. SEMANTIC CRITERIA – from the point of view of semantics, Murui adjectives:

A1. STATE A PROPERTY (OR ITS LACK) – Murui adjectives state a property of a noun referent (or its lack) when they function as heads of intransitive predicates or form nominal modifiers. In addition, the attribution of property can either be ‘timeless’ or ‘temporal’ (see §3.1.3 for details).

A2. SPECIFY A REFERENT OF A NOUN – adjectives help to identify a referent of the head noun in an NP, as illustrated in (9.6) where the adjective root *jano-* ‘small’ specifies the noun *kirigai* ‘basket’ within an NP. This is similar in (9.7):

(9.6) [bi-e kiri-gai jano-gai]_o ati-di-kue_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G basket-CLF:BASKET small-CLF:BASKET bring-LK-1sg
 ‘I brought a basket which is small (lit. I brought a basket which is a small basket).’

(9.7) [kue jo-fo jaka-ko]_s eo jano-re-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg house-CLF:CAV old-CLF:COVER very small-ATT-LK-3
 ‘My house which is old is very small.’

A3. SERVE AS THE PARAMETER IN COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS – although both nouns and verbs can occur as the Parameter of comparison, there is a strong tendency for adjectives to occur in this function (see §9.2).

²⁷⁸ The discussion follows R. M. W. Dixon (2010a: 62-114).

B. GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA - based on their grammatical properties, adjectives share features with noun and with intransitive verbs. Since both verb-like adjectives and verbs can fill intransitive predicate slot, criteria for distinguishing adjectives from verbs and nouns are:

- B1. Different possibilities within the predicate slot,
- B2. Formation of adverbs possible for adjectives but not verbs,
- B3. Inability to function in the majority of verbal constructions,
- B4. The structure of nominal modifiers with adjectives is similar to that of other nominal modifiers, but that with verbs,
- B5. The occurrence with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ with adjectives but not with nouns,
- B6. Different morphological possibilities for nominal modifiers and nouns.

Each criterion is discussed in turn.

B1. DIFFERENT POSSIBILITIES WITHIN THE PREDICATE SLOT – verb-like adjectives can occur only with a limited number of verbal suffixes (see Scheme 3.4 in §3.1.3). Unlike verbs, adjectives obligatorily occur with the attributive markers or the transformative ‘become’ suffixes, e.g. *moko-re-d-e* (green-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s) green’, *zuu-nai-t-e* (sad-BECOME₁-LK-3) ‘become sad’.

The semantics of the attributive markers *-re* and *-ni* with adjectives are different than those of verbs. They involve ‘ability’ with verbs (‘can’ and ‘cannot’) but ‘property’ with adjectives (‘having the property’ and ‘not having the property’, see §10.1). This is illustrated with the abilitative readings on the verb *kue(te)* ‘write’ in (9.8). This is unlike the example with an adjective in (9.9); the meaning of the adjective *kaimare(de)* ‘tasty’ has no abilitative overtones.

- (9.8) *nai-ñaiño* *kue-re-d-e=ta*_{PRED} *kue-t-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F write-ATT-LK-3=REP write-LK-3
 ‘She can write, (so she) writes.’
- (9.9) [*bi-e* *jaiga-bi* *eo* *kaima-re-d-e-na*]_o
 this.CTS-CLF:G cahuana-CLF:SUB very tasty-ATT-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP
*kue jiro-ta!*_{PRED}
 1sg drink-CAUS
 ‘Give me (lit. make me drink) this tasty cahuana (drink)!’

Unlike verbs, adjectives can be marked with the suffix *-oi* to denote ‘little bit’. There is a homophonous durative *-oi* on verbs but it occurs in a different structural position (see Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.2) and has different semantics. On adjectives *-oi* follows the attributive *-re* (cf. Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.2), e.g. *kaima-re-oi-d-e* (happy-ATT-LITTLE-LK-3) ‘half-happy’, *naime-re-oi-d-e* (sweet-ATT-LITTLE-LK-3) ‘half-sweet’. There is no marker for verbs that would mean ‘little bit’ (see Chapter 7). An example is given in (9.10).

- (9.10) [*kai jo-fo*]_s *jea-re-oi-d-e-mo* *nai-maki*_s
 1pl house-CLF:CAV dirty-ATT-LITTLE-LK-3-TEMP ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
*bi-t-e*_{PRED}
 come-LK-3
 ‘When our house was half-dirty, they arrived.’

Verb-like adjectives differ also from verbs in forms of nominalizers. In addition of the attributive *-re*, adjectives take the suffix *-na*, as illustrated in (9.11); on verbs they have the forms *-a*, *-ja*, and *-ya* (see §3.1.4 on nominalizations):

- (9.11) [*Kata_A izi-do* *izi-re-na*] *okui-d-e*_{PRED}
 Kata tooth-CLF:POINTED hurt-ATT-E.NMLZ endure-LK-3
 ‘Kata endures the pain of the tooth.’

A few affixes have the same meanings with both verbs and adjectives. This is the case for the manner suffix *-rui* illustrated in (9.18) (cf. the manner *-rui* with verbal roots, Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.2 and the manner *-rui* with adjectival roots, Scheme 3.4 in §3.1.3).

- (9.18) [kue moo airijj]o raize dobe-i-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg father cassava well.SIMIL crush-EMPH-NEG-LK-3
 nia nai-mie_s eo naize-rui-t-e_{PRED}
 STILL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M very rubbery-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘(She) doesn’t crush the casaba of my father well as he feels like it is then very rubberlike.’

B2. FORMATION OF ADVERBS - most of the adverbs have adjectival origin. Such adverbs consist just of an adjectival root and the attributive suffix *-re* and obligatorily occur in the pre-verbal position, as in (9.19). Such formations are not possible for the majority of the Murui verbs.²⁸⁰

- (9.19) [kue tooi]s jano-re i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg pet small-ATT exist-LK-3
 ‘I have a few pets (lit. there is little of my pets).’

B3. INABILITY TO FUNCTION IN THE MAJORITY OF VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS – an important distinction between verbs and adjectives is the possibility to occur in imperative, passive, and causative constructions. This also includes the standard negative marker *-ñe* and Murui clause linking markers. Verbs can be negated by both the general negative marker *-ñe* and by the negative attributive *-ni* (for ‘lack of ability’). Murui adjectives (those that are used intransitively) are negated by suffixing the negative attributive marker *-ni* to the root. That is, *bora-re-d-e* (yellow-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s) yellow’ is negated as *bora-ni-d-e* (yellow-NEG.ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s not) yellow’ (see Chapter 10 for details). Adjectives are do not occur with the

²⁸⁰ Unless adverbs are verbal in origins (see §3.2.1).

majority of clause linking markers such as the future event nominalizer *-ye* (followed by the non-topical S/A marker *-na*) that normally occur on verbs in purposive clauses (see §12.3.1).

B4. THE STRUCTURE OF NOMINAL MODIFIERS WITH ADJECTIVES IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF OTHER NOMINAL MODIFIERS – ‘nominal modifiers’ which make up a complete NP in Murui, are formed from other word classes (nouns and noun roots, adjectives, pronouns, as well as number, demonstrative, and interrogative roots) by means of classifiers (see §4.2.1), e.g. *jano-kae* (small-CLF.REP.CANOE) ‘little canoe’. They take nominal morphology that includes plural/collective and case marking. In such structures, classifiers are directly suffixed to nominal roots. Verbal roots require a linker position to be able to take on a classifier, e.g. *maka-di-mie* (walk-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘the (male) who walks’.²⁸¹

B5. THE OCCURRENCE WITH THE INTENSIFIER *eo* ‘very’ - the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ occurs as a pre-modifier with adjectives and those nominal modifiers that have an adjective as their base (see §3.3.1 on Murui intensifiers). An example of *eo* occurring in the adverbial position with the nominal modifier is given in (9.20).

(9.20) [bi-e jiko]_{vcs} eo jea-ko_{vcc}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog very ugly-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘this dog is very ugly (lit. this dog – very ugly-dog)’

The intensifier *eo* can also occur in the adverbial position modifying verbs; it can neither modify nouns nor nominal modifiers whose head is not an adjective (see §3.3.1).

²⁸¹ Only a limited number of nouns can directly take on classifiers and such derivations are not productive in the language, see §4.2.2)

B6. DIFFERENT MORPHOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES – derived adjectives cannot take the general classifier *-e* (unlike nouns, noun roots, pronouns, as well as number, demonstrative, and interrogative roots). If they refer to a human referent, they are obligatorily suffixed with the pronominal animate classifiers, e.g. *uze-ñaiño* (white-CLF:PR.F) ‘white woman’. This is similarly to nouns, noun roots, pronouns, and number, demonstrative, and interrogative roots, but unlike verbal roots which typically occur with derivational animate classifiers, e.g. *dobe-ño* (crush-CLF:DR.F) ‘basin (to crush unprocessed yucca)’.

9.2 Comparative constructions - general remarks

Murui has a number of dedicated comparative constructions that are characterised by the occurrence of special forms of standard markers of comparative construction, as well as by their specific structure.²⁸² All Murui comparative constructions as mono-clausal. The structural elements of Murui comparative constructions are outlined in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Syntactic status of structural elements of Murui comparative constructions

| element | status |
|---------------------------|--|
| comparee | nominal modifier, pronoun, noun |
| standard | nominal modifier, pronoun, noun |
| parameter | nominal modifier, noun, verb |
| standard marker (S-MARK) | noun followed by the classifier <i>-fe</i> and the locative <i>-mo</i> |
| parameter marker (P-MARK) | intensifier <i>eo</i> ‘very’ |

²⁸² The terminology used throughout this paper follows R. M. W. Dixon (2012: 343-375). In Dixon’s terminology, the prototypical comparative construction scheme in the English example ‘John is more handsome than Felix’ consists of: ‘the COMPAREE (that which is being compared) - ‘John’, the STANDARD of comparison (what the comparee is being compared against) - ‘Felix’, the PARAMETER of comparison (the property of comparison) - ‘handsome’, the PARAMETER MARKER (called hereafter P-MARK) of comparison - ‘more’ (or *-er* as in ‘tall-*er*’), and the STANDARD MARKER (called hereafter S-MARK) of grammatical function of the STANDARD - ‘than’. In terms of Dixon’s (2012) classification of prototypical comparative constructions, all Murui comparatives are of the A type.

As mentioned in §9.1, the semantic difference between nominal modifiers with adjectives as their base and adjectives functioning as heads of intransitive predicates relates to the temporality of attribution (the former is ‘timeless’, the latter is ‘temporal’) (Wojtylak, forthcoming-b). A similar two-fold division can be made for the Murui comparative constructions:

A. TIMELESS ATTRIBUTION COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS – those comparative constructions that involve verbless clauses, and have those grammatical properties similar to nouns,

B. TEMPORAL ATTRIBUTION COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS – those comparative constructions involve intransitive predicates, and have those grammatical properties similar to verbs.

Both types of constructions are commonly used for comparison in Murui. This is illustrated by the comparative set of examples in (9.21-22). The comparative construction Type A (‘timeless attribution’) is shown in (9.21); the comparative construction Type B (‘temporal attribution’) is given in (9.22). The structural elements of the comparative constructions are indicated for each example.

(9.21) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARK
 nai-ñaiño_{VCS} (eo) jano-ñaiño_{VCC} [kue baaï-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very small-CLF:PR.F 1sg THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘She is smaller than I am (lit. she - very small (female), on the ahead side of me).’

(9.22) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARK
 nai-ñaiño_S (eo) jano-re-d-e_{PRED} [kue baaï-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very small-ATT-LK-3 1sg THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘She is smaller than I am (lit. she is very small, on the ahead side of me).’

In such constructions, the PARAMETER is stated only once, and the STANDARD and S-MARK of comparison form an oblique argument. The COMPAREE can either be the verbless copula subject (VCS) or the S of an intransitive clause. Adjectives, nouns, and verbs can function as

the PARAMETER but there is a strong tendency for the PARAMETER to be an adjective. The P-MARK, the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ (§3.3.1), is an optional element. The *S*-MARK can have numerous forms that allow distinguishing the following types of comparative constructions:

- i) Comparatives with the classifier *-fe* followed by the locative *-mo* (see Table 9.2),
- ii) Comparatives with *emodo* ‘back’ followed by the locative *-mo* (Table 9.3), and
- iii) Comparatives with the locative *-mo* (Table 9.4).

All types of comparative constructions appear to be in free variation although some speakers appear to have a preference for one construction type over the other. Each type of a construction is discussed in turn below.

Table 9.2 Comparative constructions with S-MARK *-femo*

| Type and meaning | COMPAREE | P-MARK | PARAMETER | STANDARD | S-MARK | Usage |
|------------------|----------|---|------------------------|----------|------------|--------|
| 'timeless' (A) | VCS | optional modifier in VCC | head of VCC | NP | oblique NP | common |
| 'temporal' (B) | S | optional modifier in intransitive predicate | intransitive predicate | NP | oblique NP | common |

Table 9.3 Comparative constructions with the S-MARK *emodomo*

| Type and meaning | COMPAREE | STANDARD | S-MARK | P-MARK | PARAMETER | Usage |
|------------------|----------|----------|------------|---|------------------------|------------|
| 'timeless' (A) | VCS | NP | oblique NP | optional modifier in VCC | head of VCC | occasional |
| 'temporal' (B) | S | NP | oblique NP | optional modifier in intransitive predicate | intransitive predicate | occasional |

Table 9.4 Comparative constructions with the S-MARK *-mo*

| Type and meaning | COMPAREE | PARAMETER | STANDARD | S-MARK | Usage |
|------------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|------------|-------|
| 'timeless' (A) | VCS | optional modifier in VCC | NP | oblique NP | rare |

9.2.1 Comparatives with the classifier *-fe* followed by the locative *-mo*

Comparative construction with the S-MARK *-femo* involve the comparative constructions of the ‘timeless’ (A) and ‘temporal’ (B) types. Examples of this were shown in (9.21-22) in §9.2. An example of a construction type B with the adjective *ia-* ‘short’ that functions as a head of an intransitive predicate is given in (9.23).

| | | | | |
|--------|--|----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (9.23) | COMPAREE | STANDARD | S-MARK | PARAMETER |
| | kue _s | [oo | ana-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} | ia-mie-di-kue _{PRED} |
| | 1sg | 2sg | below-CLF:SIDE-LOC | short-CLF:PR.M-LK-1sg |
| | ‘I (male) am smaller than you (lit. I, you on the down side, (I) am small).’ | | | |

(9.24) illustrates a negated comparative construction with the noun *uaikima* ‘aged man’.

Negated comparative constructions are not frequent; when they occur, usually, the STANDARD and S-MARK are not expressed (see Chapter 10 for negation).

| | | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| (9.24) | COMPAREE | PARAMETER | STANDARD | S-MARK |
| | Jose _s | uaikima-ñe-d- _C PRED | [Caro | baai-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} |
| | Jose | aged.CLF:DR.M-NEG-LK-3 | Carlos | THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC |
| | ‘Jose is not older than Carlos (lit. Jose is not aged (man), on the ahead side of Carlos).’ | | | |

The S-MARK of comparison is a noun derived from the adverbial demonstrative *baai* ‘ahead, over there’ (§3.2.3) and the adverbs *foo* ‘inside’, *aa* ‘above’, *ana* ‘below’, and *jino* ‘outside’ (§3.2.1) followed by the classifier *-fe* ‘side’ and the locative *-mo*. Its meanings, therefore, are related to distance (*baai* ‘ahead, over there’), interiority (*foo* ‘inside’, *jino* ‘outside’), and position in space (*aa* ‘high’, *ana* ‘low’).²⁸³ By far, the most common form of the S-MARK *-femo* is *baaifemo* ‘on the ahead side (of)’ (expressing relative superiority ‘more’) and its

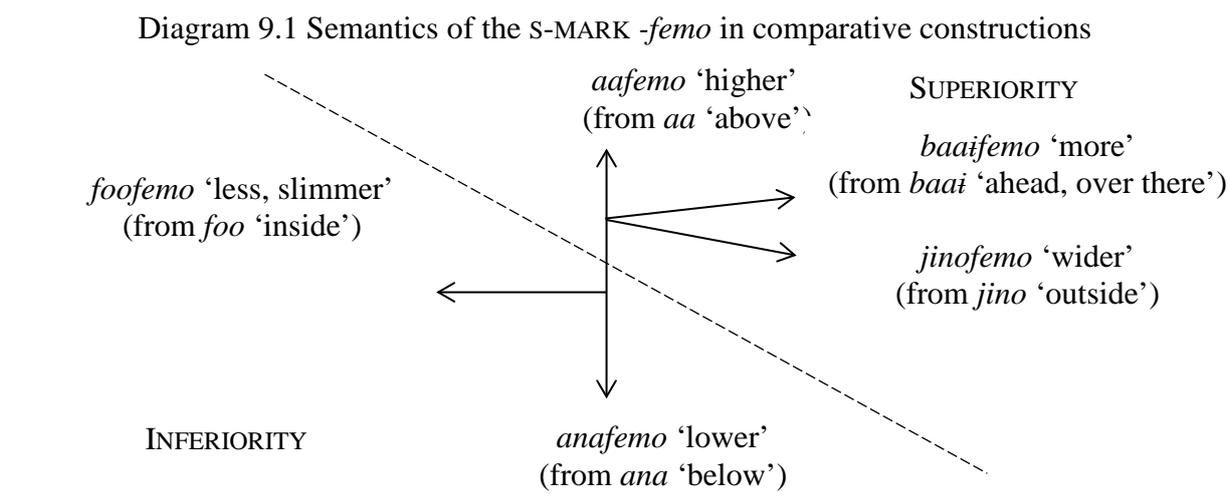
²⁸³ Such a semantic division S-MARK could possibly be related to the importance of object’s physical properties in terms of their shape and position in space in Murui.

‘negative’ equivalent *foofemo* ‘on the inside side (of)’ used for expression of relative inferiority ‘less’.²⁸⁴ The forms of S-MARK in Murui are given in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 Forms of the S-MARK *-femo* and their readings

| S-Mark | Gloss | Meaning | Reading |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>baai-fe-mo</i> | there-CLF:SIDE-LOC | ‘on the ahead/over there side’ | ‘more’ |
| <i>foo-fe-mo</i> | inside-CLF:SIDE-LOC | ‘on the inside’ | ‘less, slimmer’ |
| <i>aa-fe-mo</i> | above-CLF:SIDE-LOC | ‘on the top side’ | ‘higher’ |
| <i>ana-fe-mo</i> | below-CLF:SIDE-LOC | ‘on the down side’ | ‘lower’ |
| <i>jino-fe-mo</i> | outside-CLF:SIDE-LOC | ‘on the outside side’ | ‘wider’ |

The semantics of the S-MARK forms allow a division between two parallel types of comparative constructions, those that express superiority, and those which convey the notions of inferiority, illustrated in Diagram 9.1.²⁸⁵ The S-MARKS expressing superiority make more formal distinctions than those of inferiority.



²⁸⁴ Nowadays, forms of the S-MARK other than *baaifemo* ‘more (lit. on the ahead/over there side)’ are almost exclusively used by elder speakers of the language. In the speech of younger Murui speakers, all other forms of the S-MARK are falling by the wayside while *baaifemo* ‘ahead, over there’ is robustly productive in such contexts.

²⁸⁵ Superiority and inferiority are understood here in terms of the position in space, rather than expressing ‘more’ and ‘less’. This is shown in That way, the forms of the S-MARK mark ‘higher degree of a property’, which can be either superior or inferior. For instance, when the inferiority S-MARK *foofemo* ‘inside, on the inside’ occurs with adjective ‘small’, it expresses ‘higher degree of smallness’, rather than simply ‘less small, lower degree of smallness’.

I. COMPARISON OF SUPERIORITY - the comparison of superiority in Murui relates to the notions of distance (*baai* ‘ahead, over there’), interiority (*jino* ‘outside’), and position in space (*aa* ‘high’). The most prevalent comparative construction type that denotes superiority involves distance. Forms with *baai* ‘ahead, there’ mark all types of comparison involving superiority but excluding those referring to measurement and position in space. Examples of comparative constructions with the S-MARK *baaifemo* are provided throughout this chapter. They involve comparison of quality, as for instance in (9.21), quality in (9.28), and quantity (Wojtylak, forthcoming-b).

The position and location in space is an important parameter in Murui comparative constructions. The form of the S-MARK *aafemo* ‘higher (lit. on the top side)’ describes superiority of an object’s quality on a vertical plane. This is illustrated in (9.25).

| | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| (9.25) | COMPAREE | P-MARK | PARAMETER | STANDARD |
| | kue _s | eo | aare-ñaiño-di-kue _{PRED} | [nai-maki |
| | 1sg | very | long-CLF:PR.F-LK-1 | ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN |
| | S-MARK | | | |
| | aa-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} | | | |
| | above-CLF:SIDE-LOC | | | |
| | ‘I am taller than them (lit. I am very long, above them).’ | | | |

Marking of interiority in comparative constructions is to indicate if an object is seen from either outside (that is, as being superior, for which *jino* ‘wider (lit. on the outside)’ is used) or inside (viewed as being inferior, marked with *foofemo* ‘less, slimmer (lit. on the inside)’). The S-MARK *jino* is used to refer to objects that are physically and horizontally wider (in terms of their size), as illustrated in (9.26).

| | | | | |
|--------|--|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (9.26) | COMPAREE | STANDARD | S-MARK | PARAMETER |
| | ria-ma _{VCS} | [kai | jino-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} | fare-bogi _{VCC} |
| | non.Witoto-CLF:PR.M | 1pl | outside-CLF:SIDE-LOC | fatty-CLF:BIG.ROUND |
| | ‘The white man is bulkier than us (lit. white man, us on the outside, fatty-ball-like).’ | | | |

The use of S-MARKS referring to position in space and interiority almost exclusively is a feature of the speech of Murui elders. Young Murui speakers predominantly use the form *baaifemo* for all types of comparison.²⁸⁶

II. COMPARISON OF INFERIORITY - the comparison of inferiority in Murui relates to interiority (*foo* ‘inside’) and position in space (*ana* ‘low’). By far, interiority is the most prevalent notion expressing ‘less’ in the language. The form of the S-MARK derived with *foo* ‘inside’ is used to refer to all types of comparison of inferiority, including the ones involving the ‘slimmer’ - ‘wider’ distinction, as in (9.27-28) below:

- | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (9.27) | COMPAREE | | STANDARD | S-MARK |
| | pila-ji=dī _s | | [mechera | foo-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} |
| | battery.Sp-CLF:SMALL.ROUND=S/A.TOP | | lighter.Sp | inside-CLF:SIDE-LOC |
| | PARAMETER | | | |
| | jano-re-d-e _{PRED} | | | |
| | small-ATT-LK-3 | | | |
| | ‘The battery is smaller than the lighter (lit. the battery, inside of the lighter, (it’s) small).’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| (9.28) | COMPAREE | PARAMETER | STANDARD | S-MARK |
| | nai-ñaiño _s | jano-re | kio-d-e _{PRED} | [kue |
| | ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F | small-ATT | see-LK-3 | 1sg |
| | | | | foo-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE} |
| | | | | inside-CLF:SIDE-LOC |
| | ‘She sees less than me (lit. She sees little, inside of me).’ | | | |

When referring to objects located in space and expressing ‘y less than x’ meanings, Murui elders tend to use the S-MARK *anafemo* ‘lower (lit. on the down side)’, as exemplified in (9.29). This is unlike young Murui speakers, who employ *foofemo* ‘less, slimmer (lit. on the inside)’ at all times.

²⁸⁶ This is an indication that in the past Murui comparative constructions involved an extensive use of different types of S-MARKS of comparison.

- (9.29) COMPAREE PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARK
 kues ia-ñaiño-dí-ku_e_{PRED} [Sandriela ana-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 1sg short-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg Sandriela below-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘I am shorter than Sandriela (lit. I am short, on the down side of Sandriela).’

9.2.2 Comparatives with *emodo* ‘back’ followed by the locative *-mo*

Another type of Murui comparative constructions involves the S-MARK *emodomo*. It is used used for comparison of superiority. Unlike the comparatives involving S-MARK *-femo* (discussed in §9.1.1), comparatives marked with *emodomo* are not used often. They are mono-clausal, and also distinguish between clauses with ‘temporal’ and ‘timeless’ semantics (see §9.2). In such constructions, the COMPAREE and STANDARD are expressed by NPs (the COMPAREE in the VCS or S function, the STANDARD is an oblique argument). Adjectives, verbs, and nouns (as heads of intransitive predicates) can function as PARAMETERS. The S-MARK of comparison *emodomo* is best interpreted as ‘over’ where the noun *emodo* ‘back, backside, top’ is followed by the locative *-mo*.²⁸⁷ The P-MARK *eo* ‘very, a lot’ is optional. Examples of such constructions are illustrated in (9.30-31) below.

- (9.30) COMPAREE STANDARD S-MARK
 [bai-e anane-ko]_S [bi-e emodo-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 that.FSH-CLF:G maloca-CLF:COVER this.CSH-CLF:G back-LOC
 PARAMETER
 maraiñe-d-_e_{PRED}
 good.ATT.NEG-LK-3
 ‘That maloca is not better than this one (lit. that maloca, over this one, isn’t good).’

²⁸⁷ The S-MARK *emodomo* is not unique to comparative constructions in Murui and is found elsewhere in the grammar, e.g. *kué emodo* (1sg back) for ‘my back’. The form *emodo-mo* is also used for counting, e.g. *da-be-kuiro emodo-mo mena* (one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL over-LOC two) ‘seven (lit. one leaf peel over more two)’ (see §3.2.3).

- (9.31) COMPAREE STANDARD
 [bi-e raai-ra-ko]_{VCS} [oni bi-e
 this.CTS-CLF:G sit-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER LOCAL₂ this.CTS-CLF:G
 S-MARK PARAMETER
 emodo-mo]_{OBLIQUE} aiyue_{VCC}
 back-LOC big.CLF:G
 ‘This seat is bigger than this seat here (lit. This seat - big (seat), over this one here).’

Occasionally, the ordering of the COMPAREE and STANDARD can be reversed, and the STANDARD can be pre-posed to the COMPAREE. This is used for emphasis, as in (9.X). Such types of comparative constructions are used relatively often in the everyday discourse.

- (9.32) COMPAREE STANDARD S-MARK PARAMETER
 Jose_{VCS} [Pedro emodo-mo]_{OBLIQUE} aare-mie_{VCC}
 Jose Pedro back-LOC long-CLF:PR.M
 ‘Jose is taller than Pedro (lit. Jose he-big, over Pedro).’

The difference between those comparative constructions involving *-femo* (§9.2.1), and those marked with *emodomo*, is semantic, as well as pragmatic. People usually interpret the _{S-MARK} *emodomo* ‘over’ as having transparent meanings that refer to one’s back, and being ‘somewhat stronger’ than *-femo*. Others prefer not to use it at all, pointing to the fact that such constructions are more commonly used in Minika, rather than in Murui.²⁸⁸

9.2.3 Comparatives with the locative *-mo*

In addition to the comparative constructions with *-femo* (§9.2.1) and *emodomo* (§9.2.2), Murui has a marginally occurring biclausal construction that involves a two verbless clauses, where the first clause is marked the locative *-mo*.²⁸⁹ In such constructions, the pre-posed NP is the STANDARD of comparison, and it is marked by the locative *-mo*. Such comparative

²⁸⁸ Whether such constructions are ‘borrowed’ from Minika, remains a topic for further investigation.

²⁸⁹ Those types of biclausal constructions might in fact a comparative strategy, which readings impute opposite properties to two participants.

constructions are similar to other comparative construction types in use of the locative marker but differ in that they are biclausal, and they can have only inanimate objects as referents. An example is given in (9.33).²⁹⁰

- (9.33) [bi-be_{VCS} jano-be-mo]_{VCC} bai-be_{VCS} eo aiyo-be_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:LEAF small-CLF:LEAF-LOC that.FSH-CLF:LEAF very big-CLF:LEAF
 ‘This leaf is smaller than that leaf (lit. In this leaf - small leaf, that leaf - very big leaf).’

9.2.4 Superlative strategies

Murui has two independent strategies to indicate a superlative reading. One is contextual, where a simple use of an adjective, a noun, or a verb always followed by the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ can be interpreted as having superlative meanings. The second strategy involves a modification of a noun to indicate a set of referents. Both strategies are discussed in turn.

I. SUPERLATIVE INTERPRETATION - this is a conventional way of expressing superlative meanings. In fact, these types of clauses are no different from non-comparative constructions, as illustrated for instance in example (9.7) in §9.1.2. They involve the PARAMETER obligatorily preceded by the intensifier *eo*. Depending on the situation and context, they have implicit superlative readings. In the example (9.34) a mother was praising her favorite daughter while discussing a picture of her daughter studying with her girlfriends.

- (9.34) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER
 [kue jiza]_{VCS} eo mare-ñaiño_{VCC}
 1sg daughter very good.ATT-CLF:PR.F
 ‘My daughter is the best one (lit. my daughter - very good).’

²⁹⁰ The fact that such comparative constructions are rare might be indicative of an incipient comparative construction type where S-MARK undergoes reduction and is represented solely by the locative *-mo*.

large set of referents against which the COMPAREE is compared. Such constructions, however, are not commonly used. They seem to be triggered by the Spanish superlative constructions, where the STANDARD is always expressed by a noun referring to as a set of referents, e.g. *el abuelo más anciano de todos que están aquí* ‘the oldest elder out of everybody who are here’.

In such constructions, the COMPAREE takes always plural/collective marking.

- (9.38) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD
 kueS eo mare-ñaiño-di-kue_{PR} [ua nana ri-ño-niai
 1sg very good.ATT-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg really ALL woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL
 S-MARK
 baai-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 ahead-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘I am the most beautiful out of all women (lit. I am very good, ahead of all the women).’

- (9.39) COMPAREE STANDARD S-MARK P-MARK PARAMETER
 Kata_{VCS} [jiai-ñainuai baai-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE} eo aiyo-ñaiño_{VCC}
 Kata other-CLF:PR.F.PL ahead-CLF:SIDE-LOC very big-CLF:PR.F
 ‘Kata is the biggest of all (lit. Kata, over other females, she - very big).’

9.2.5 Comparison of equality

In a prototypical equative construction in Murui two entities (the COMPAREE and the STANDARD) are ascribed to the PARAMETER to the same or similar extent. In those types of constructions, the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ is never used. Murui equational constructions are monoclausal; the STANDARD is expressed by a pronoun or a noun followed by the postposition *izoi* ‘similar’, as in (9.40).

- (9.40) nai-ñaiño_{VCS} eo mare-ñaiño_{VCC} [kue izoi]_{OBLIQUE}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very good-CLF:PR.F 1sg similar
 ‘She is as good as me (lit. she very good - similar to me).’

The following example illustrates a comparison of equality construction with the *izoi* element pre-posed to the PARAMETER, as in (9.41).

- (9.41) *nai-ñaiño_s* [kue izoi]_{OBLIQUE} raize ro-t-e_{PRD}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F 1sg similar well.SIMIL sing-LK-3
 ‘She sings as well as me (lit. she, similar to me, sings well).’

In Murui non-verbal forms require the predicate linker and subject marking under negation.

The postposition *izoi* in (9.41) is negated in the similar fashion, that is, *izoi-ñe-di-kue* (similar-NEG-LK-1sg) ‘I’m not the same/similar’. In (9.41) what is negated is the main verb *ro-ñe-d-e* (sing-NEG-LK-3) ‘(she) doesn’t sing’.

Murui has a number of lexical verbs which express similitive and ‘transformative-like’ meanings. These include the extended transitive verbs *jaai(de)* ‘go, become (in shamanic practices)’, *i(te)* ‘exist’, and *janai(de)* ‘behave similar’. They are most frequently used in the context of physical and spiritual transformations. The object of transformation is always obligatorily marked with the topical non-subject marker *-na*, as in (9.42):

- (9.42) *uzu-ma_A* janayari-na_O jaai-d-e_{PRD}
 grandfather-CLF:DR.M jaguar-N.S/A.TOP go-LK-3
 ‘Grandfather transformed into a jaguar.’ (meaning: he becomes a jaguar)

- (9.43) *uzu-ma_A* janayari-na_O i-t-e_{PRD}
 grandfather-CLF:DR.M jaguar-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3
 ‘Grandfather turned into a jaguar.’ (meaning: he becomes similar to a jaguar)

- (9.44) Alexis_A iyai-ma-na_O janai-d-e_{PRD}
 Alexis chief-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A behave.similar-LK-3
 ‘Alexis is like a chief.’ (meaning: when a person behaves like a chief, but is not one)

9.2.6 *Similitive and meanings of equal size*

Murui has a category which expresses the notion of ‘Y like/as X in terms of object’s size’.

The occurrence of the similitive *-ze* is limited to nouns, demonstratives, the question word *ni-*

e (Q2-CLF:G) ‘which (one)’, and the connective *ie*.²⁹³ For example, *ananeko* ‘maloca (communal roundhouse)’ marked with *-ze* has the equal size meaning of ‘an object Y being like/as a *maloca*, having the size of a *maloca*’.²⁹⁴ Examples are given in (9.45-46).

(9.45) ua nokae-ze bai-re-d-e_{PRED} kue-mona_{OBLIQUE}
 really canoe-SIMIL **be.visible**-ATT-LK-3 1sg-ABL
 ‘As for me, it looks like a canoe.’ (in terms of size)

(9.46) [kai uai]_O kue-no!_{PRED} [ana bi-e
 1pl word write-SMLF below this.CTS-CLF:G
 ra-be-nigi-ze]
 thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:LONG.THICK-SIMIL
 ‘Write down our words, as/like this thick book down here.’ (in terms of size)

The Murui simulative marker with equal size meanings occurs with all types of nouns, regardless of their animacy. For instance, *Katarina-ze* refers to the size of *Katarina* ‘as big or as small as Katarina’. Although Murui simulative cannot co-occur with case marking, it can be followed by the predicative morphology, as in (9.47).²⁹⁵

(9.47) [bi-e ame-na]_S jo-fo-ze-ñe-d-e=d_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G wood-CLF:TREE house.CLF.CAV-SIMIL-NEG-LK-3=CERT
 ‘This tree is not like a house.’ (when comparing the size of a tree to a size of a house)

The simulative marking occurs often with all types of demonstratives (such as in *bai-e-ze* (that._{FSH}-CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘like that’, *aki-e-ze* (AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘like that (as heard)’), the

²⁹³ The Murui simulative marker does not occur in other contexts such as nominalized verbs.

²⁹⁴ Murui simulative marker is comparable to the simulative in the Taranoan (Cariban) languages spoken to the north. In the Cariban languages the simulative *-me* has adverbial functions as well as ‘depictive’, marker of ‘secondary predication’ and grammaticalized aspectual meaning (Carlin, 2007:328). There could have been some marginal contact induced grammaticalization in Murui from the Cariban languages, especially Carijona in the north to the Murui territory. Murui were in contact with the Carijona before the colonialization of South America and took many Carijona women among themselves (Wojtylak, forthcoming-a).

²⁹⁵ Synchronically, a few adverbial forms contain the what might have been at some stage the simulative marker *-ze*, e.g. *raize* ‘well’, *feekuize* ‘slowly’ (see §3.2.1).

question word *ni-e-ze* (Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL) ‘how’, and the connective *ie-ze* (CONN-SIMIL) ‘like that’.²⁹⁶ The readings of the marker *-ze* in such contexts are clearly simulative in nature, and do not involve ‘equal size’ meanings, as those on nouns. Some examples are n (9.48-49).

(9.48) *ni-e-ze* *i-ti-o?*_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-2sg
 ‘How are you?’ (not in terms of size, but the ‘quality’ of existing)

(9.49) *mare* *mei* [*kai* *bi-e-ze* *i-ya*]
 good.ATT so 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-E.NMLZ
 ‘(It’s) good our life like that.’ (not in terms of size, but the way of life)

The exception is the demonstrative *die-* ‘that’ that, when marked by *-ze*, has the equalitive-like meanings. *Dieze* ‘this much’ in (9.X) obligatorily refers to an object’s size and has to be accompanied with a gesture referring to the size of the store.

(9.50) [*bai-mie* *ra-niai*]_o [*tieda* *die-ze*] *joone!*_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:PR.M thing-COLL store.Sp THAT.CLF:G-SIMIL put.TH.IMP
 ‘Pile up his things like a store (in a form of things piled up in stores).’ (indicating the size with the hand movement)

9.3 Summary

Murui has two classes of adjectives, underived and derived. Underived adjectives form a small closed class of words; derived adjectives include about one hundred members. Murui adjectives share a number of features with nouns and verbs (i.e. they can head intransitive clauses – ‘verb-like adjectives’, and be used as heads of nominal modifiers – ‘noun-like

²⁹⁶ The simulative *-ze* may have its origin in the postposition *izoi* ‘similar’. There is a certain degree of interchangeability of the expressions *aki-e-ze i-t-e* (AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-3sg) and *aki-e izoi i-t-e* (AUDIT-CLF:G similar exist-LK-3sg) meaning ‘it’s like that’ when ending a narration is common among all types of speakers.

adjectives’, but have also a number of features on their own. The semantic difference verb-like adjectives and noun-like adjectives relates to temporality (the former is ‘temporal’; the latter is ‘timeless’).

Murui has several ‘dedicated’ means for expressing comparison, all of which are mono-clausal constructions that can be realized as types of verbless (‘timeless’) and intransitive clauses (‘temporal’). There are three types of comparative constructions in Murui: i) those where the standard marker (S-MARK) of comparison is a demonstrative/adverb followed by a classifier and the locative, ii) those where the s-mark has a form of *emodo* ‘back’ followed by the locative, and iii) those comparative constructions that have the S-MARK in form of the locative. The first type of the comparative constructions is the most commonly used for comparison in Murui. None of the structural elements of Murui comparative constructions has ‘special’ forms; all elements have additional roles in the grammar. Murui has no dedicated superlative. Instead, the superlative reading is achieved by a comparative construction with the STANDARD being specified as a set of referents. The only other superlative strategy involves a simple adjective construction, occasionally reinforced by a NP marked with the ablative. Its superlative reading depends on the context.

The language has a number of ways to express equality and similitive meanings. The most conventional way to express quality includes the postposition *izoi* ‘similar’. Similitive meanings are expressed with the similitive *-ze*, as well as a restricted set of verbs.

10 Negation

This chapter deals with negation in Murui. General characteristics of negation are discussed in §10.1. The following section 10.2 deals with clausal negation, including negation of declaratives (§10.2.1), interrogatives (§10.2.2), and verbless clauses (§10.2.1). The privative case marker *-no* ‘without’ is discussed in §10.2.4 (see also §6.2.2.5). Section 10.3 focuses on non-clausal negation (negative answers in §10.3.1 and negative words in §10.3.2). Other aspects of negation in Murui are discussed in §10.4. This is followed by a brief summary in section 10.5.

10.1 Negation: general characteristics

Negation of Murui predicates is expressed in two different ways. There are two negative markers – the standard negative marker *-ñe* and the negative attributive *-ni* ‘lack of attribution (ability, property, possession)’, with the former being more common than the latter. These mechanisms involve the morphological process of affixation, where a negative marker is added to a corresponding positive in main and subordinate clauses. The Murui negative markers with their corresponding positive equivalents are illustrated in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Murui positive and negative markers

| | Positive | Negative |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| General | – | <i>-ñe</i> |
| Attributive | <i>-re</i> | <i>-ni</i> |

Compare the positive and negative constructions in (10.1a-b). The structure of the verbal root *ĩ-* ‘swim’ does not differ from the ‘affirmative’ in (10.1a) with the exception of the addition of the standard negative marker *-ñe* in (10.1b).

- (10.1) a. \ddot{i} - $d\ddot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-LK-1sg
 ‘I swim’
- b. \ddot{i} - $\ddot{n}e$ - $d\ddot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t swim’

Examples (10.2a-b) illustrate the positive and the negative constructions with the attributive markers *-re* (‘positive attributive’) and *-ni* (‘negative attributive’) that follow the verbal root *i*- ‘swim’. Depending on the marker, they mean roughly ‘to have the ability to swim’ and ‘not to have the ability to swim’:

- (10.2) a. \ddot{i} - re - $d\ddot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I can swim (e.g. I am feeling healthy enough to swim)’
- b. \ddot{i} - ni - $d\ddot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I can’t swim (e.g. because I am sick)’

Depending on the word class they occur with, the attributive markers have different semantics. They involve ‘ability’, as in (10.2a-b) above, but can also refer to ‘property’ and ‘possession’. The semantics of Murui attributive markers is outlined in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Semantics of attributive markers in predicative negation

| | ‘positive attributive’ <i>-re</i> | ‘negative attributive’ <i>-ni</i> |
|------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| VERBS | [+ ability] | [- ability] |
| ADJECTIVES | [+ property] | [- property] |
| NOUNS | [+ possession] | [- possession] |

Generally, the ‘positive’ attributive *-re*, as in *moko-re-d-e* (green-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s) green’, cannot be negated with either of the negative markers. The attributive *-re* occurs in the same structural slot as the negative attributive *-ni* (they are mutually exclusive with one another) (see also Chapter 3). Nowadays, younger speakers of Murui occasionally negate the attributive *-re* with the standard negative marker *-ñe*, yielding constructions such as

moko-re-ñe-d-e (green-ATT-NEG-LK-3) ‘(it’s) not green’. Older speakers accept only negative constructions with the negative attributive *-ni*, as in *moko-ni-d-e* (green-NEG.ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s) not green’. The standard negative and the attributive markers are used in slightly different environments. While the attributive markers occur on verbs, adjectives, and nouns, the standard negative *-ñe* occurs on verbs and nouns only (with adjectives, the negative attributive is used instead of the standard negative marker *-ñe*). The occurrence of Murui attributive and standard negative markers with verbs, adjectives, and nouns is given in Table 10.3 below.

Table 10.3 Occurrence of the attributive and standard negative markers

| | positive attributive <i>-re</i> | negative attributive <i>-ni</i> | standard negative <i>-ñe</i> |
|------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| VERBS | yes | yes | yes |
| ADJECTIVES | yes | yes | no (<i>-ni</i> is used) |
| NOUNS | yes | yes | yes |

Negation is shown by a single negation marker within a clause. Murui does not have any particular mechanism for negating constituents within a clause (see §10.2.4 on the privative *-no* ‘without’). See for instance example (10.3) below. Generally, negating clausal constituents other than nominalizations is uncommon.

- (10.3) [Kata [Maria dīga]]_S jaka bi-ñe-d-e_{OPRED}
 Kata Maria WITH never come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Neither Katarina nor Maria came (lit. Kata with Maria never came).’

To express meanings such as ‘it wasn’t the man we met, it was a spirit’ speakers say ‘we didn’t meet a man; we met a spirit’, as in (10.4).

- (10.4) ĩma-na_O bai-ñe-dī-kok_{OPRED} taife-na_O bai-ti-kok_{OPRED}
 man.CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP find-NEG-LK-1du.m spirit-N.S/A.TOP find-LK-1du.m
 ‘We didn’t meet (lit. find) a man; we met a spirit.’

beautiful', do not have dedicated negative counterparts; the only way to say 'bad' is to negate *mare*, as in *maraiñede* 'bad (lit. not good)'.²⁹⁸

10.2 Clausal negation

Expression of negation in Murui involves morphological processes of verbal affixation of the standard negative *-ñe* and the negative attributive *-ni* used both in main and subordinate clauses.²⁹⁹ There is no special negative construction type - a negative clause is structurally the same as the positive one, with the addition of *-ñe* or *-ni*. These markers have the same slot in the structure of Murui predicate (see Chapter 3) and thus never co-occur. While the standard negative *-ñe* marks negation of all kinds, the negative attributive denotes either 'lack of ability' (with verbs), 'lack of property' (with adjectives), and 'lack of possession' (with nouns). The negative attributive *-ni* is the 'dedicated' counterpart of the 'positive' attributive marker *-re* (meaning 'ability' with verbs, 'property' with adjectives, and 'possession' with nouns) (see Table 10.3 §10.1). In the speech of older speakers of Murui, the attributive marker *-re* cannot be negated (the negative attributive is used instead). Some younger speakers do however negate *-re* with the general negative marker *-ñe*.

Negated sentences in Murui are commonly accompanied by a slight headshake. Unless emotions come into play, there is no significant difference between the intonation pattern between positive and negative declaratives, and between positive and negative interrogatives.

²⁹⁸ *Maraiñede* itself is an unusual (possibly archaic) form. Note that *mare* with the standard negative *-ñe* has a unique form *maraiñede*. The form **mareñede* is ungrammatical.

²⁹⁹ Murui has an independent word *ñee* used as a pause marker that functions as a 'filler' (see Chapter 13 on discourse organization).

Generally, in the declarative sentences, the intonation does not rise: roots of the sentence-final predicate show a slight rise of pitch, followed by the fall. In questions, predicative roots have a sharp rise of pitch which, on its turn, is also followed by the fall (see intonation contour in Chapter 2 and intonation in question in Chapter 11).

10.2.1 Negation of declaratives

Negation of the declarative clauses is expressed by the standard negative marker *-ñe* and the negative attributive *-ni* added to a corresponding positive. Their forms, functions as well as structural differences between the two markers are discussed in turn.

10.2.1.1 Standard negative *-ñe*

The standard negative marker *-ñe* occurs on the predicates whose heads are verbs and nouns. On verbs, *-ñe* occurs between the verbal root (optionally preceded by TAM and causative markers), the predicate linker *-di* or the passive marker and *-ga*,³⁰⁰ pronominal subject markers, and epistemic/evidentiality markers (see Chapter 3 on the structure of Murui predicate). The form of the standard negative *-ñe* is always the same, regardless of verb's transitivity, marking, etc. The following examples (10.6-10) illustrate verbs negated with the standard negative marker.

- (10.6) [Maria jiza]_{NP:S} jo-fo-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 Maria daughter house-CLF:CAV-LOC go-NEG-LK-3
 'The daughter of Maria did not go home.'

³⁰⁰ Note that the form of these markers does not change in this context. Elsewhere the form of the linker and the passive marker is either *-di* or *-ti*, and *-ka* or *-ga* (see §2.5.2).

- (10.7) [bi-e jiko]_S iye-mo_{LOC} uai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog river-LOC fall-NEG-LK-3
 ‘This dog did not fall into the river.’
- (10.82) maka-ñe-di-kuiii!_{PRED}
 walk-NEG-LK-1sg.CALL³⁰¹
 ‘I didn’t go hunting! (lit. walk)!’ (screamed over distance)
- (10.9) [kue abi]_S ua uiño-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 1sg body really know-NEG-PASS
 ‘I am not feeling well (lit. it’s not known by my body).’
- (10.10) Pedro=d_{OBLIQUE} fa-ñe-ga_{PRED} uneki_S Joachina_{OBLIQUE} fa-ga_{PRED}
 Pedro=S/A.TOP kill-NEG-PASS wasp Joachina kill-PASS
 ‘The wasp was not killed by Pedro. It was killed by Joachina.’
- The examples (10.11-16) present the standard negative *-ñe* following the causative *-ta*, and a number of mood, and aspectual markers. Note that *-ñe* always precedes the future tense marking; negation is therefore closer to the root than the tense marking (see also the discussion of Murui verb structure in Chapter 7).
- (10.11) bai-mie_A yiki-ai_O kue-na_O fata-ta-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:PR.M fish-PL 1sg-N.S/A.TOP kill-CAUS-NEG-LK-3
 ‘He did not make me kill the fish.’
- (10.12) kue [ria-ma di_{ga}] i-aka-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg non.Witoto-CLF:DR.M WITH exist-DES-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I do not want to live with white people.’
- (10.13) [oo moo=d_i]_S [bi-e noka-e-na]_O fiño-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 2sg father=S/A.TOP this.CSH-CLF:G canoe-N.S/A.TOP make-NEG-PASS
 ‘This canoe was not made by your father.’
- (10.14) [jaive naio] kai-mo_{LOC} iye-mo_{LOC} mona_S
 some.time.ago night 1pl-LOC river-LOC sky
 bori-bi-kai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}

³⁰¹ Word final vowel centralization (V > /i/) and vowel lengthening (/i/ > /iii/) occurs in songs, ritual narrations and calling (in the distance) but not in every-day speech. These phenomena are very frequent in commands shouted in the distance (but also occur in questions and statements). They are always accompanied by the special type of rising intonation contour (see Chapter 2).

struck.lighting-TERM-SLOW-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Last night the lighting the sky did not struck the river at us.’

(10.15) [Adam [Eu diga]]_S bi-mona-do nokae-na_O
 Adam Eu WITH this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS canoa-N/S.A.TOP
 f̃no-ñe-i-ti-mak̃i_{PRED}
 make-NEG-FUT-LK-3pl
 ‘Adam and Eulogio will not make a canoe today.’

(10.3) k̃io-ne-i-ti-kue_{PRED} [Kata jidoro-do jide-yi-na]_O
 see-NEG-FUT-LK-1sg Kata black.dye-INS paint-FUT.E.NMZL-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘I won’t see that Kata will be painted (lit. future painting) with the black dye.’

Focused clausal constituents in biclausal constructions are usually topicalized. In such constructions topic markers occur on constituents of clauses with positive polarity (see example (6.37) in §6.2.1.2).

There is a tendency for Murui negative clauses to show special syntactic properties. While in positive declarative sentences non-subject arguments are optionally marked with N.S/A *-na* (see Chapter 6), in their negative counterparts *-na* is almost frequently present, as in (5.17-18) below.

(10.17) [nare naio] jo-fo-mo_{LOC} bu-e-na_O gui-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 yesterday night house-CLF:CAV-LOC Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP eat-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘Yesterday night we did not eat anything (lit. what) at home.’

(10.18) Walter_S iỹi-mo_{LOC} jiibi-e-na_O ri-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 Walter chagra-LOC coca-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP **plant**-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Walter didn’t plant coca in the *chagra*.’

Identity in Murui is expressed by means of an intransitive predicate when S arguments are pronominal subjects (see Table 3.1 in §3.1.2). In such cases nouns function as heads of intransitive clauses, as in (10.19). Intransitive predicates can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe*. (10.20) illustrates a negated predicate with the nominal head *yofueraiño* ‘(female) teacher’.

- (10.19) uzu-ma-di-kue_{PRED}
 grandparent-CLF:PR.M-LK-1sg
 ‘I am a grandfather.’
- (10.20) yofue-rai-ño-ñe-di-omuiño_{PRED}
 teach-AGT-CLF:PR.F-NEG-LK-2du.f
 ‘You (two female) are not teachers.’

For third person singular, dual, and plural, identity is typically expressed by juxtaposition of two NP’s, as in (10.21) (see also Chapter 12). As Murui verbless clauses cannot express neither verbal categories (such as tense or aspect) or negation, the only way to express them is by means of negated intransitive predicates with nominal heads, as in (10.22-23):

- (10.21) nai-ñaiño_{VCS} [Fareka Buiñai-ño]_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F Fareka mermaid-CLF:PR.F
 ‘She is Fareka Buinaiño (lit. she - she Fareka Buiñaiño).’
- (10.22) [kue ini]_s mano-ri-rai-ma-i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg husband heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M-FUT-LK-3
 ‘My husband will be a shaman (lit. my husband to-be-shaman).’
- (10.23) [kue izo]_s nimaira-ma-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 1sg uncle wise.man-CLF:DR.M-NEG-LK-3
 ‘My uncle is not a wise man (lit. my husband non-wise man).’

10.2.1.2 Negative attribution -ni

Murui negative attributive marker occurs on predicates whose heads are verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Verbal roots that are marked with the negative attributive *-ni* have the meaning of ‘not having ability (to perform an action)’. In the following example (10.24), a small girl was asked to go to the river to play. As she did not want to go, she answered:

- (10.24) iye-mo_{LOC} jaai-aka-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} [kue ei-yi i-ko
 river-LOC go-DES-NEG-LK-1sg 1sg foot-CLF:BUSHY ANA.NSP-CLF:COVER
 dĩa] i-ti-kue=_{za}_{PRED} ñi-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 WITH exist-LK-1sg=UNCERT swim-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t not want to go to the river. I have my shoes on so I can’t swim.’

In another example, a woman asked her granddaughter to sweep the house of Adriana.

However, Adriana was not at home. Adriana’s father who lived close-by, answered:

- (10.25) [Adriana jo-fo jerei]_{LOC} gaya-ni-d-e_{PRD}
 Adriana house-CLF:CAV inside sweep-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 i-ñe-d-e=za_{PRD}
 exist-NEG-LK-1sg=UNCERT
 ‘(She) can’t sweep inside the house of Adriana. She is not (here).’

In (10.26) a woman was telling off her son that he has to stay home as he was hurt in a fight a night before.

- (10.26) oo_s bi-mona-do maka-ni-di-o_{PRD} [oo_s
 2sg this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS walk-NEG.ATT-LK-2sg 2sg
 furi-ya fakai-na]
 fight-E.NMLZ time-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Today you cannot go (lit. walk) because of you fighting (lit. the time of you fighting).’

The speech of some younger Murui tends to differ from that of Murui elders. To express the ‘lack of ability’ meanings, they negate the attributive marker *-re* with the standard negative marker *-ñe*, as in (10.27a). Murui elders occasionally correct such usage by employing the negative attributive *-ni*, as in (10.27b). (10.27a-b) is an excerpt from a dialogue between a father and a son.

- (10.27) a. gui-re-ñe-iti-kue_{PRD}
 eat-ATT-NEG-FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘I won’t be able to eat.’ (says a child)
- b. gui-ni-ti-o_{PRD}
 eat-NEG.ATT-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘You won’t be able to eat.’ (the elder corrects child’s expression)

The attributive markers *-re* and *-ni* occur on all types of adjectives which function as heads of intransitive predicates. They denote ‘(lack of) property, attribution’. The use of adjectives as heads of intransitive predicates is *de facto* the most common way to express attribution in the language (see Chapter 9 on verb-like and noun-like functions of adjectives and their

attributive *-re* to express ‘possession’ or the negative attributive *-ni* for ‘lack of possession’

(see also §5.1.3). Compare the examples below:

- (10.32) a. *uru-e-re-di-kue*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I have a child (lit. I possess a child).’
- b. *uru-e-ni-di-kue*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t have a child (lit. I don’t possess a child).’
- (10.33) *jano-kae-re-di-kue*_{PRED}
 small-CLF.REP:CANOE-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I have a small canoe.’
- (10.34) *nai-ñaiño* *eo* *due-re-d-e*_{PRED} *jo-fo-ni-d-e=za*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very poor-ATT-LK-3 house-CLF:CAV-NEG.ATT-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘She is very poor (lit. having property of being poor). She’s got no house (lit. she doesn’t possess a house).’

Although lack of possession is by default marked with the negative attributive *-ni*, younger speakers tend to negate the attributive *-re* with the standard negative marker *-ñe*. Compare the examples (10.32-34) above with (10.35-36) below. There is no change in meaning between (10.32b) and (10.35).

- (10.35) *uru-e-re-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G-ATT-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t have a child (lit. I don’t possess a child).’
- (10.36) *nia* *telefon-re-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED} *uku-be* *i-ñe-d-e=za*_{PRED}
 STILL phone.Sp-ATT-NEG-LK-1sg money-CLF:LEAF exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘I don’t have a phone yet (lit. I don’t possess a phone); there isn’t money (for it).’

There are no restrictions for nominal modifiers to occur in such possessive constructions. In

(10.37) the head of the NP is *bue* ‘what’ (that consists of the interrogative bound form *buu* ‘who’ accompanied by the general classifier *-e*) (see §3.3.3). This is similar in (10.38) to the function of the nominal modifier that has the demonstrative *bie* ‘this’ as the base.

(10.37) bu-e-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:G-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I have nothing (lit. I don’t possess what).’

(10.38) bi-e-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-NEG-LK-3
 ‘It’s not this (lit. it’s non-this).’

10.2.1.3 Subordinate clauses

Murui subordinate clauses are negated in the same way as main clauses – by adding the standard negative *-ñe* and the negative attributive *-ni* markers. All subordinate clauses can be negated: the complement clause in (10.39-40), the purposive clause in (10.41), the temporal clause in (10.42), the relative clause in (10.43), and all types of argumentative clauses in (10.44-45).

(10.39) kue_A jai uiño-ti-kue_{PRED} [oo_A kue-na_O jai
 1sg already know-LK-1sg 2sg 1sg-N.S/A.TOP already
 gaai-ñe-di-o-na]_{CoCl:O}
 like-NEG-LK-2sg-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘I know that you do not like me anymore.’

(10.40) [jo-fo-mo_{LOC} nemui-ra-ko_S i-ñe-na-no]_{CoCl:O}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC defecate-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER exist-NEG-E.NMLZ-SEQ
 marai-ñe-na_{PRED}
 good.ATT.NEG-E.NMLZ
 ‘The house where there is no bathroom is not good.’

(10.41) bi-e_O ati-di-kue_{PRED} oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} [oo
 this.CTS-CLF:G bring-LK-1sg 2sg-LOC 2sg
 gui-ñei-ye-na]_{Pur} [oo eno-ye-na]_{PurCl} ati-di-kue_{PRED}
 eat-NEG-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 2sg save-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-1sg
 ‘I did/do bring this for you to not eat but to save [it].’

(10.42) [[kue moo]_S i-ñe-na-mo]_{TempCl} [Maria jiza]_S bi-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg father exist-NEG-E.NMLZ-LOC Maria daughter come-LK-3
 ‘When my father was not home, the daughter of Maria came.’

(10.43) [ñeki-na aa jaai-ñe-di-mie]_{RC}
 chambira.palm-CLF:TREE above go-NEG-LK-CLF:PR.M
 ‘the one (male) who didn’t go up the *chambira* tree’

- (10.44) [da-ño i-ñe-di-kue-za]_{ArgCl} [kue abi]_s mare
 one-CLF:PR.F exist-NEG-LK-1sg-ARG 1sg body good.ATT
 kaka-d-e_{PRED}
 hear-LK-3sg
 ‘Because I don’t live alone, I feel well (lit. my body hears well).’
- (10.45) erai-mo_{LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED} deei-ñe-na-ri_{ReasonCl}
 estuary-LOC go-LK-1sg rain-NEG-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘I went to El Encanto (lit. estuary) because it didn’t rain.’

The examples (10.46-48) illustrate the scope of Murui negation. While in (10.46) the standard negative *-ñe* has scope over the main clause, in (10.47) it scopes only over the complement clause. The example (10.48) is a case of ‘double negation’ where negation extends over both the main and the complement clause. Double negative does not have positive readings in Murui.

- (10.46) [beno-mo_{LOC} oo i-ya-na]_{CoCl:O} kio-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 2sg exist-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP see-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I did/do not see that you were/are here [lit: in this place].’
- (10.47) uiño-ti-kue_{PRED} [oo jaai-ñe-na-na]_{CoCl:O}
 know-LK-1sg 2sg go-NEG-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘I know that you didn’t go.’
- (10.48) [oo bi-ñe-na]_{CoCl:O} gaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 2sg come-NEG-E.NMLZ like-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t like that you didn’t come.’

10.2.2 Negation of interrogatives

Murui negative interrogative clauses vary from one another not only in their structures but also in different expectations that speakers have regarding the answer. There are two types of negative questions in Murui:

- those which have structures of declarative clauses (with interrogative intonation) and
- those which do not; they bear no predicative markings.

All types of negative questions can occur with either the standard negative or the negative attributive markers. Positive interrogatives differ from the negative ones in their semantics. While positive interrogatives are questions seeking information ('Yes or no?'), negative interrogatives presuppose negative answers. There is no difference between positive and negative interrogatives in their intonation contour. They all have the rising-falling type of intonation which is characteristic to all types of interrogative clauses (see Chapter 11).

Negative interrogative clauses and their structures are discussed in turn.

A. NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE CLAUSES WITH INTERROGATIVE INTONATION - structurally, such negative clauses do not differ from the plain negative declarative constructions. When this type of negative question is used, there is a slight presupposition that the answer will be negative. Compare the positive question in (10.49) with the negative question in (10.50).

(10.49) [kue dɪga] jaai-aka-di-omiko?_{PRED}
 1sg WITH go-DES-LK-2du.m
 'Do you (two men) want to go with me? (Yes or no?)'

(10.50) evu! [jo-fo abi-na]_O ke-ñe-di-kaiñai?_{PRED}
 sister.VOC house-CLF:CAV body-N.S/A.TOP clean-NEG-LK-2du.f
 'Sisters (ego feminine), didn't you clean outside the house? (You probably didn't)'

In the example (10.51) a girl was inquiring about her uncle; she asked her cousin if he was making a canoe at the moment. In fact, she wanted to know the real whereabouts of her uncle. She suspected that he went to another village, and that was why she could not find him anywhere.

(10.51) [oo moo]_A [nai-e nokae]_O fino-fino-ñe-d-e?_{PRED}
 2sg father ANA.SP-CLF:G canoe make~RED-NEG-LK-3
 'Your father isn't making that canoe? (He is probably not)'

In some specific context-bound situations, negative questions seem to be understood as ‘yes or no’ questions. In the following example (10.52), Rata asked Maria to go and do something together. Maria seemed to be quite sad that day, and Rata wanted to cheer her up:

- (10.52) Maria! jo-fo-m_{LOC} fiebi-ñe-no!_{PRED} [kaɪ diga]
 Maria house-CLF:CAV-LOC stay-NEG-PRIV.PROH 1sg WITH
 jaai-aka-ñe-di-o?_{PRED}
 go-DES-NEG-LK-2sg
 ‘Maria, do not stay at home! You do not want to go with us? (Yes or no?)’

B. NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE CLAUSES USED FOR THIRD PERSON WITHOUT PREDICATE MARKERS - structures of predicates referring to third person present a peculiarity – the omission of predicate markers. They are used exclusively for third person singular, dual, and plural, and are marked with both the standard negative and the negative attributive markers. Such structures do not differ in terms of their intonation from other types of questions. They always presuppose that the answer will be positive. In the example (10.53), a woman asked her daughter to sweep inside the house while she went to work. She came back a couple of hours later and upon the entering the house, upon entering the house she asked her son:

- (10.53) [jo-fo jerei]_o gaya-ñe?_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV inside sweep-NEG
 ‘Did (she) sweep the house? (She probably has)’

(10.54) is a response of elder Lucio to his wife Clementina. Clementina asked Lucio where he left the basket with fruit he brought in the morning.

- (10.54) anane-ko-m_{LOC} i-ñe?_{PRED}
 maloca-CLF:COVER-LOC exist-NEG
 ‘Isn’t it in the *maloca*? (it’s probably there)’

Another example is presented in (10.55). A man came to the village looking for a local shaman. He kept looking but he did not find him. He asked another man:

- (10.55) bi-rui [kai mano-ri-rai-ma]_s Nofiko-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe?_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY 1pl heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M La.Chorrera-LOC go-NEG
 ‘Didn’t the healer go to La Chorrera today? (he probably has)’

The following examples illustrate verbs without predicative marking followed by the negative attributive *-ni*. In (10.56), Sandriela asked Flor if Rata could cook at Flor’s house. Sandriela knew that the house of Flor was locked up at the time. In (10.57) Walter asked his mother why his son did not come back from San Rafael. He expected that his son did not want to come back home that night.

- (10.56) Ratas [oo jo-fo-mo]_{LOC} roko-ni?_{PRED}
 Rata 2sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC cook-NEG.ATT
 ‘Couldn’t Rata cook in your house? (she probably can)’

- (10.57) [San Rafael-mona]_{ABL} bi-ni?_{PRED}
 San Rafael-ABL come-NEG.ATT
 ‘Can’t he come from San Rafael?’ (he probably can)

Structurally, negative interrogative corresponds to positive interrogative with omitted predicate markers used for 3 person singular, dual, and plural (see Chapter 11). Positive interrogatives with the omitted predicate markers have the same ‘yes or no?’ readings as those which bear such markers (see for instance (10.49) above). An example of a positive interrogative with omitted predicate markers is given in (10.58).

- (10.58) moto_s boo?_{PRED}
 motor.Sp burn
 ‘Is the motor burning? (Yes or no?)’

If the answer to the negative question is negative, the independent word *j#* is stressed and the predicate has a slightly higher pitch accompanied by a firm headshake (see §10.3.1).

Negative questions without predicative marking are commonly expressed with verbs as

heads of the predicate, as illustrated throughout examples (10.53-57). The omission of the predicate markers on negated adjectives and nouns seems to be less common, but does occur. An example of an adjective is given in (10.59-60) below. In (10.59), the adjective *zefui*-‘bored’ is marked with the negative attributive *-ni*. (10.60) is expressed by a young Murui speaker: the attributive *-re* is followed by the standard negative *-ñe*, cf. examples (10.27), (10.35), and (10.36).

(10.59) *zefui-ni*?_{PRED}
dry-NEG.ATT
‘Isn’t it dry? (it’s probably dry)’

(10.60) *nia zefui-re-ñe*?_{PRED}
STILL dry-ATT-NEG
‘Isn’t it dry already? (it’s probably dry)’

(10.61) used by the elder Francisca before she got up of bed in the morning. She hoped for a warm day but knew it was going to be a cold one.

(10.61) *bi-rui rozi-ni*?_{PRED}
this.CTS-CLF:DAY cold-NEG.ATT
‘Isn’t it cold today? (it probably is)’

The occurrence of the standard negative marker on negated interrogative constructions without predicate markers is unusual, but nevertheless, it does occasionally occur. The example (10.62) comes from the negated declarative clause ‘it’s not a house’; the head of the negated predicate is the noun *jofo*, as in *jo-fo-ñe-d-e* (house-CLF:CAV-NEG-LK-3).

(10.62) *jo-fo-ñe*?_{PRED}
house-CLF:CAV-NEG
‘Isn’t it the house (lit. non-house)? (it probably is)’

In the following example (10.63) Maria asked Flor if Adam had children. Compare the semantics of (10.63) with that of (10.64) takes the predicate marking.

- (10.63) Adam_S ai-ni-d-e_{PRED} ie=ta... uru-e-ni?_{PRED}
 Adam wife-NEG.ATT-LK-3 CONN=REP child-CLF:G-NEG.ATT
 ‘Adam doesn’t have a wife... but does he have children? (probably he has)’
- (10.64) uru-e-ni-d-e?_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘Doesn’t he have children? (probably not)’

10.2.3 Negative imperatives

Although Murui has a number of imperative constructions (see also §11.1 on canonical and non-canonical imperatives), the language has a single prohibitive form for the negative imperatives. Murui prohibitive constructions refer always to the second person, and are marked on verbs by the standard negative *-ñe* obligatorily followed by the privative suffix *-no*, as in (10.64). With adjectives and nouns, such structures have no prohibitive reading (see Chapter 11). The negative attributive that occurs in such construction has no prohibitive meanings. Examples of Murui negative imperatives (prohibitives) are given in (10.65-66).

- (10.65) ñaai-ñe-no_{PRED} [jadi-e izoi!]
 speak-NEG-PRIV.PROH this.CTH-CLF:G similar
 ‘You do not speak like that!’
- (10.66) [kue jo-fo-mo]_{LOC} omiko_A gui-ñe-no!_{PRED}
 1sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC 2du.masc eat-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘You (two men) do not eat in my house!’

In the following example (10.67) a mother called for her daughter, and advised her not to close the door.

- (10.67) bene bii!_{PRED} naze_O ibai-ñe-no!_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come.IMP door close-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Come here! Do not close the door!’

Negative imperatives, just as the positive ones, refer only to first and second person (see also §11.1). An example of a negative imperative used for second person plural is illustrated in (10.68).

- (10.68) [omoi miri-ñe-ni-no] gui-ni-di-omoi!_{PREL} gui-ñe-no!_{PREL}
 2pl sister-CLF:DR.F-NEG.ATT-PRIV eat-NEG.ATT-LK-2pl eat-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘You cannot eat without your sister! Don’t eat!’

The prohibitive meaning is restricted to verbs only (such constructions have a special rising-falling intonation, see §11.1). With adjectives and nouns the meaning is strictly privative ‘without’. Verbs used in such construction can also have privative readings if they are not accompanied by the rising-falling intonation, as in (10.69).

- (10.69) majji-ñe-no bi-ti-kue_{PREL}
 work-NEG-PRIV come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came without having worked.’

The Murui prohibitive and privative can in fact be considered a special clause type of privative nominalized clauses. Historically, the Murui prohibitive seems to have originated in the reanalysis such clauses. The prohibitive might have been a command strategy at first. That is, the privative, e.g. ‘without doing!’, was used to express prohibitive meanings. Synchronically, the privative has become a major means of expressing the prohibitive in the language; it also acquired the imperative-like intonation (sharply rising-falling intonation), the privative does not have. The privative has a normal declarative intonation.

Murui negative imperatives express fewer categories than their positive counterparts.³⁰² While positive imperatives can take all aspectual markers and make distinction between ‘delayed’ vs. ‘immediate’ imperative, prohibitives make no such

³⁰² This is congruent with Aikhenvald (2010). For instance, those Murui verbs that take the ‘terminative’ marker *-bi*, e.g. *iki-d-e* ‘tell off (somebody)’ > *iki-bi-t-e* ‘(s/he) was told off’, cannot be followed by prohibitive marker (**iki-bi-ñe-no!*). The only way to express it is by *iki-ñe-no!* ‘don’t tell (somebody) off!’. More work has to be done to establish how the Murui imperative and negative imperative co-occur with such verbal markers.

distinction (Wojtylak, 2016b). For instance, the only way to negate the immediate imperative *mainokai!* ‘tie quickly!’ in (10.70) is *maiñeno!* ‘don’t tie!’ in (10.71):

(10.70) *fuirī jaai-do=za [kue nokae]_o mai-no-kai!*_{PRED}
 downstream go-LK.2sg=EMPH 1sg canoe tie-IMP-RAPID
 ‘You go down the stream, tie up my canoe quickly!’

(10.71) *jariki-na bii! bi-ya mai-ñe-no!*_{PRED}
 quick-N.S/A.TOP come.IMP this.CLS-CLF:CRAFT tie-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Come quickly! Don’t tie this boat!’

Negative imperatives involving adjectives have to take special markers with meanings of ‘become’ to occur in prohibitive constructions (see Chapter 9).³⁰³ This is illustrated in (10.72) where a woman ‘gave an order’ to a pot of soup she just cooked not to become cold/

(10.72) *rozi-nai-ñe-no!*_{PRED}
 cold-BECOME₁-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Do not become cold!’

Structurally, this is somewhat similar to Murui apprehensive (see Chapter 7). (10.73) is a warning of an elder to a boy who wanted to go to the jungle on his own.

(10.73) *jaki-nai-ñe-iza!*_{PRED}
 scary-BECOME₁-NEG-APPRH
 ‘Be careful with not becoming scared!’

Constructions with the standard negative *-ñe* followed by *-no* which do not involve such suffixes are not considered to have prohibitive meanings. In (10.75) where the adjective *uzi-* ‘hot’ is marked with the privative *-ni*. The meaning of *uzinino* does not have command-like connotations.

³⁰³ There is no difference between positive and negative imperatives with adjectives - all types of adjectives have to take markers meaning ‘become’ to occur in imperative constructions.

- (10.74) uzi-ni-no be*i*-d-e_{PRED}
 hot-NEG.ATT-PRIV toast-LK-3
 ‘He is toasting (coca leaves), without (the baking tin) being hot.’

(10.74) was said by a young Murui to her mother. Note that in this example, the attributive *-re* is negated by the standard negative *-ñe*.

- (10.75) naime-re-ñe-no roko-ñe-no!_{PRED}
 sweet-ATT-NEG-PRIV cook-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Without (something) sweet, don’t cook (it)!’

The privative marking on nouns is discussed in §10.2.4.

10.2.4 Negation of verbless clauses

Murui verbless clauses are employed to express identity, possession, and benefaction. To negate such clauses, intransitive predicates are used.

The core arguments of verbless clauses, Verbless Clause Subject (VCS) and Verbless Clause Complement (VCC), are shown by adposition. VCS and VCC do not receive any distinctive markings.³⁰⁴ The preferred order for the constituents in verbless clauses is generally VCS - VCC (carried over from the preferred SV and AOV constituent orders). Verbless clauses are never employed to express location or existence. Some examples are given below:

- (10.76) [oo ini]_{VCS} mano-ri-rai-ma=*di*]_{VCC}
 2sg husband heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:PR.M=S/A.TOP
 ‘Your husband is a shaman (lit. your husband - healer).’

- (10.77) buu_{VCS} [bai-e ñi-ma?]_{VCC}
 Q1 that.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:PR.M
 ‘Who is that man? (lit. who - this man)’

³⁰⁴ VCC has different syntactic properties as it cannot be marked by the usual topical non-subject marking *-na* (see Chapter 12). It can occur with the topical S/A marker *=di*.

In (10.89) the markers *-ni* and *-no* have scope only over the modifier within the NP, and not over the entire clause:

- (10.89) [[bai-e ïï-ma-na] ra-dozi-nino]
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP thing-CLF:STICK-NEG.ATT-PRIV
 kio-di-kue_{PRED}
 see-LK-1sg
 ‘I saw that man without a stick’.

10.3 Non-clausal negation

Murui has a few elements expressing negation other than clausal negation discussed in §10.2. These are: negative replies (§10.3.1) and negative indefinite words (§10.3.2). Murui does not seem to have inherently negative lexemes that would have a negative meaning but would not bear a negative affix or have no positive counterpart. Interestingly, the adjective *mare* ‘good’ is the only one that is negated but synchronically could be interpreted as a type of lexicalized expression: *maraiñede* (good._{ATT}.NEG-LK-3) ‘bad (lit. not good)’.³⁰⁶ *Maraiñede* is the only occurrence of the standard negative *-ñe* which triggers an unusual phonological (and possibly an archaic) change *mare* > *marai*. Note that neither the standard negative *-ñe* nor the negative attributive *-ni* can occur with *mare*: **mare-ñe-d-e* and **mare-ni-d-e* are ungrammatical.

³⁰⁶ Murui has no word for ‘bad’. *Maraiñede* ‘no good’ is the nearest approximation of the English ‘bad’, the antonym of ‘good’.

10.3.1 Negative answer

Murui lacks independent positive and negative words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’.³⁰⁷ The language has three ways to respond to positive and negative questions. They involve:

- the particle *j̥i̥*³⁰⁸ whose meaning ‘yes, no’ depending on the polarity of the verb used in a question, or
- a full clause.

Often both mechanisms are combined. The particle *j̥i̥* can be interpreted as some type of agreement rather than a full-fledged positive or negative response item. The examples (10.90-91) illustrate the reading of *j̥i̥* which ‘agrees’ with the verb’s polarity.

(10.90) a. irai_S bono-di-o?_{PRED}
 fire burn.SMLF-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you set the fire?’

b. *j̥i̥*!
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

(10.91) a. irai bono-ñe-di-o?_{PRED}
 fire burn.SMLF-LK-2sg
 ‘Didn’t you set the fire?’

b. *j̥i̥*!
 no
 ‘No.’

Frequently, when as an answer to a negative question, as in (10.91b), the independent word *j̥i̥* is stressed, and the predicate has a slightly higher pitch accompanied by a firm headshake.

³⁰⁷ Murui has also an independent positive response form *iji* ‘uh-huh/yes’ used by hearers and speakers mainly as a types of an acknowledgment during narration of traditional stories.

³⁰⁸ Possibly the verb *j̥ika(de)* ‘request’ and *j̥iai* ‘too, as well’ (with the plural marker *-ai*) are related to *j̥i̥* ‘yes, no’.

A negative answer can also be a full clause. (10.92-93) can be the answers to either (10.90a) or (10.91a) above.

(10.92) bono-di-kue_{PRED}
burn.SMLF-LK-1sg
'I set the fire. '

(10.93) bono-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
burn.SMLF-NEG-LK-1sg
'I didn't set the fire. '

The negative answer can also consist of the particle *jii* and a full clause combined as in (10.94-95).

(10.94) (jii!) bono-di-kue_{PRED}
yes burn.SMLF-LK-1sg
'Yes, I did set the fire. '

(10.95) (jii!) bono-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
no burn.SMLF-NEG-LK-1sg
'No, I didn't set the fire. '

When one disagrees, they respond with *jii* obligatorily followed by a full clause with reversed polarity. When a question is positive, as in (10.96), a full clause is marked for negation, as in (10.97); cf. with (10.98). In case of a negative question, as in (10.99), the full clause is positive, as in (10.100); cf (10.101).

(10.96) kaka-di-o?_{PRED}
hear-LK-2sg
'Do you understand (lit. hear)?'

(10.97) jii! kaka-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
no hear-NEG-LK-1sg
'No, I don't understand.'

(10.98) jii! (kaka-di-kue)_{PRED}
yes hear-LK-1sg
'Yes, I understand. '

(10.99) Kata_S bi-ñe?_{PRED}
Kata come-NEG
'Didn't Kata come?'

(10.100) *jii!* bi-t-e_{PRED}
 yes come-LK-3
 ‘Yes, she came.’

(10.101) *jii!* (bi-ñe-d-e)_{PRED}
 no come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘No, she didn’t came.’

The example (10.102) is a negative answer to the question *uru-e-re-di-o?* (child-clf:g-ATT-LK-2sg) ‘Do you have children?’. Additionally, the noun *uru-e* ‘child’ which is the head of the intransitive predicate, takes negative attributive marking to express lack of possession.

(10.102) *jii!* uru-e-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 no child-CLF:G-PRIV-LK-2sg
 ‘No! I don’t have children.’

The young speakers of Murui negate the ‘positive possession’ *-re* with the standard negative *-ñe*, as in (10.103a). The elders consider this to be incorrect. Once a Murui elder Lucio asked Walter whether he had a boat motor. Walter answered with (10.103). Lucio corrected him with (10.103b).

(10.103) W: *jii!* moto-re-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 no motor-ATT-NEG-LK-2sg
 ‘No, I don’t have the motor.’

L: moto-ni-di-o..._{PRED} bueñe?
 motor-PRIV-LK-2sg WHY
 ‘You don’t have the motor... Why?’

Murui has also the sentence final *jii* used in narratives, usually followed by a significant pause (see §13.3.1).

10.3.2 Negative words

The interrogative words *buu* ‘who’ and *bu-e* (Q1-CLF:G) ‘what’ that are used in content questions (see Chapter 11) can have indefinite readings. If the sentence contains a negative predicate their meaning is ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’; if the predicate is a ‘positive’, it is

‘someone’ and ‘something’. The examples are given in (10.104-105). The reference of *buu* ‘who’ is reserved only for human referents, *bue* ‘what’ refers to non-human referents.

(10.104) *buu-na* *kio-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED}
 Q₁-N.S/A.TOP see-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I do not see anybody.’

(10.105) *jaka* *Nofiko-mo*_{LOC} *bu-e-nao* *i-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 always Chorrera-LOC Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-NEG-LK-3
 ‘There is never (lit. always) anything in La Chorrera.’

In (10.106) the head of the intransitive predicate is the interrogative *bue* ‘what’ having a negative indefinite meaning. This is similar in the example (10.107), which comes an excerpt of a fierce discussion between a father and a son.

(10.106) *bu-e-ñe-di-o!*_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:G-NEG-LK-2sg
 ‘You are nothing!’

(10.107) *kue-mo* *jika-no-ti-o?*_{PRED} *oo_A* *uiño-ti-o*_{PRED} *buu-ñe-di-kue!*_{PRED}
 1sg-LOC ask-SMLF-LK-2sg 2sg know-LK-2sg Q₁-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘You ask me? You know, I am nobody!’

Compare the negative and positive readings of the indefinite words in (10.108) and (10.109):

(10.108) *buu-nao* *kio-di-kue* _{PRED} *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC}
 Q₁-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-1sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 ‘I saw somebody at home.’

(10.109) *erai-mo*_{LOC} *jaka* *bu-e-nao* *i-t-e=di!*_{PRED}
 estuary-LOC always Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3=CERT
 ‘There is always something (happening) in El Encanto (lit. at the estuary)!’

In the examples above, the reading of the independent word *jaka* depends on the polarity of the predicate and can be translated into English as either as ‘never’ or ‘always’. *Jaka* is an adverbial that means ‘at all events, over and over’.³⁰⁹

10.4 Summary

Murui negation involves the morphological process of affixation, where negative markers are added to a corresponding positive in both main and subordinate clauses. Negation of Murui predicates is expressed in two different ways: by the standard negative marker *-ñe* and the negative attributive *-ni* for 'lack of attribution (ability, property, possession)'. Murui lacks independent grammatical words for 'yes' and 'no'. Question words can function as indefinites. Their positive and negative readings depend on the predicate's polarity.

³⁰⁹ Murui has also the adjective *jakaie* meaning ‘old’ which might be related to *jaka*.

11 Commands and questions

Statements, questions, and commands constitute the three main types of communicative acts or speech acts. Declarative, interrogative, and imperative are the most common sentence types (also called ‘mood’) used for expressing the main speech acts. Many of the languages employ specific structures for these: declarative mood is used for statements, interrogative for questions, and imperative for commands (Aikhenvald, 2010). This chapter discusses Murui commands (§11.1) and questions (§11.2). This is followed by a brief summary in §11.3.

11.1 Commands - general characteristics

Imperative always implies a command to second person, the addressee. Such addressee-oriented are also called ‘canonical’ imperatives and frequently stand apart from other verbal forms in a language. Imperatives may be oriented towards other persons — first and third person, and are referred to as ‘non-canonical’ imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010). The term ‘jussive’ covers commands to third person, and ‘hortative’ describes commands to first person.³¹⁰

The usage of imperative forms is very common among the Murui people, much more common than the usage of command strategies (see §11.1.4). Murui imperatives are either marked with a suffix; they can also be expressed by verbal roots without any marking. Imperative forms can have special features such as distinct intonation (sharply rising-falling

³¹⁰ Use of commands among different peoples may be determined by various cultural factors such as social conventions, existing social hierarchies, kinship relations, speaker-addressee relationships as well as their age and social status (Aikhenvald 2010).

intonation) and facial expressions (stern looks, especially among the elders who in public rarely utter prohibitive towards children when they want them to be quiet). Murui sentence types and intonation patterns are shown in Table 11.1. See also §2.4 on types of intonation countours in Murui.

Table 11.1 Murui sentence types and intonation patterns

| SENTENCE TYPE | INTONATION TYPE | GLOSS | TRANSLATION |
|---------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| declarative | A. nai-mie ʔbi-ʔt-e | ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M come-LK-3 | ‘he came’ |
| interrogative | B2. naimie ʔʔbiiʔ? | ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M come.Q | ‘did he come?’ |
| imperative | B3. ʔʔbii! | come.IMP | ‘come!’ |
| | B3. ʔʔjoʔʔko! | wash-IMP | ‘wash!’ |
| | B3. ʔʔbi-ʔʔño-kai! | come-IMP-RAPID | ‘come quickly!’ |
| | C. ʔʔjoko-ʔʔzaibi-ño-kaʔʔiii! | wash-VENTV-IMP-RAPID.CALL | ‘(approach to) wash quickly!’ |

Murui has a small number of lexemes with command-like meanings, e.g. *okui(de)* ‘send, order’ (see example (8.63) in §8.2.1), *jika(de)* ‘ask (for)’, *jikano(te)* ‘ask (about)’, *jitai(de)* ‘need, want, desire’, *ino(te)* ‘obey’. Murui can also express commands without using dedicated imperative forms. Such command strategies are discussed in §11.1.4.

11.1.1 Murui canonical imperatives

Murui canonical imperatives, that is those which are directed to second person, belong to one verbal paradigm. They consist either of a bare root or a root followed by the dedicated imperative suffix *-no* (the form is *-ño* when the root is followed by the high front vowel /i/, see Chapter 2). By rule, monosyllabic verbal roots take the suffix *-no* while disyllabic roots are unmarked, e.g. *duno!* ‘chew (coca)!', *yono!* ‘tell!', *raiño!* ‘say!', *kueno!* ‘write!', *maka!*

‘walk’, *fiebi!* ‘stay’, *boyi!* ‘urinate!’.³¹¹ An example of Murui positive imperative is given in (11.1) below.

- (11.1) [jadi-e jiko]_O mai-no!_{PRED} [kue gui-ye]_O fii-d-e=za!_{PRED}
 this.CTH-CLF:G dog tie-IMP 1sg eat-FUT.E.NMLZ rob-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘(You) tie this dog! (It) stole my food!’

There are no suppletive forms but a few monosyllabic verbs have irregular forms in their bare roots used as second person commands. Such irregular forms include *bii!* ‘come’, *ii!* ‘be/exist!’, *ine!* ‘give!’, and *jaai!* ‘go!’. This is illustrated in (11.2) with the irregular form of the verb *bii!* ‘come!’, the disyllabic verb *kano!* ‘help’ is a bare root, unmarked for the imperative suffix. This is similar in (11.3), with the irregular form of the verb *ii(te)* ‘exist’, and the regular monosyllabic verbal root *gui-* ‘eat’ followed by the imperative *-no*.

- (11.2) bene_{LOC} bii!_{PRED} kai_O kano!_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come.IMP 1pl help.IMP
 ‘(You) come here! Help us!’

- (11.3) uri ii!_{PRED} gui-ño!_{PRED}
 calm exist.IMP eat-IMP
 ‘(You) be calm! Eat!’

Occasionally, the imperatives can co-occur with the adverb *mai* ‘let’ (see §3.2.1), as in (11.4) below.³¹²

- (11.4) mai oo_S jaai!_{PRED}
 LET 2sg go.IMP
 ‘You go, off you go!’

Pragmatically, those Murui imperatives that consist of bare roots and those that are marked with imperative *-no* indicate compliance after some time, and have delayed imperative-like

³¹¹ Canonical imperatives consisting of just a root are quite common cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald, 2010).

³¹² When the adverb *mai* can occur on its own in discourse, it is better translated as ‘fine, right’.

semantics.

In imperative constructions, the roots can be followed by aspectual markers and directional markers. Aspectual markers that are often used in imperative constructions frequently include the durative, as illustrated in (11.5). Murui imperatives are also often attested with causative and double causative markers (see §8.2), as in (11.6), and directional suffixes (andative *-ai* and ventive *-aibi*, see §2.5 and §7.X), as in (11.7). Verbs marked by additional suffixes do not cooccur with the imperative suffix.

(11.5) *maka-ri!*_{PRED}
walk-DUR
'Keep walking!'

(11.6) *naiño jiro-ta-ta!*_{PRED}
CLF:PR.F drink-CAUS-CAUS
'Send (A to get B) to make her drink!'

(11.7) *oo joko!*_{PRED} *jokuai!*_{PRED}
2sg wash.IMP wash.ANDTV
'You wash! (...) GO wash!'

Roots followed by directional markers, as in (11.7), are considered to be stronger than their unmarked equivalents.

In Murui canonical imperatives, second person singular pronouns are usually omitted but can be present if the speaker wants to draw extra attention of the hearer, as in (11.7) above. If the imperative is directed to second person dual and plural, overt pronouns are often present. This is shown in (11.8). Such pronouns can be omitted if the plurality of referents is easily retrievable from the context.

(11.8) *jaa navuida omiko aima-jai!*_{PRED}
soon evening 2du.m fish-ANDTV
'In the evening you (two) go fish!'

Adjectives can be used in imperative constructions only if they are followed by the transformational ‘become’ suffixes, e.g. *uzi-nai!* (hot-BECOME1-IMP) ‘warm up!’ (see Chapter 9). Murui allows the imperative formation with most of verbs indicating states as in *raai!* ‘sit!’. However, not all verbs can occur in imperative without a further derivation. For instance, the verb *boo(de)* ‘burn’ can be only expressed in an imperative form when it is followed by the semelfactive *-no*, as in *boo-no!* (burn-SMLF) ‘set fire, burn!’. The reasons for this require further investigation.³¹³

Murui has a marker *-kai* which co-occurs with the imperative suffix.³¹⁴ It has a unique meaning – it has immediate imperative-like meanings. The marker *-kai* indicates urgency and expectation of an immediate response. Examples are given in (11.9-11):

(11.9) [oo moo dīne]_{LOC} jaai-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 2sg father AT.LOC:NSP go-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Go quickly to your father’s!’

(11.10) Rata! gui-zai-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 Rata.Sp eat-ANDTV-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Rata, go eat quickly!’

(11.11) jai mona navui-d-e=za_{PRED} mai jo-fo-mo_{LOC} koko
 already sky **darken**-LK-3=UNCERT LET house-CLF.CAV-LOC 1du.m
 aizi-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 run-IMP-RAPID
 ‘It’s already dark, let’s run quickly back home!’

³¹³ Possibly verbs with stative meanings or low agentivity of A/S (usually S) cannot be used as imperatives by themselves.

³¹⁴ Elsewhere on the verbal structure, the marker *-kai* has inceptive meanings (see Chapter 7). The marker of rapid action *-kai* and the inceptive *-kai* are different types of markers.

Table 11.2 Examples of Murui canonical imperative and their strength

| BARE ROOT OR IMPERATIVE MARKER | ASPECTUAL MARKERS | DIRECTIONAL MARKERS | IMPERATIVE, RAPID ACTION MARKER | IMPERATIVE, DIRECTIONAL, AND RAPID ACTION MARKERS |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| joko! wash.IMP 'wash!' | joko-ri! wash-DUR 'keep washing!' | gui-zaibi! eat-VENTV 'come to eat!' | jaai-ño-kai! go-IMP-RAPID 'go quickly!' | joko-ri-zai-ño-kai! wash-DUR-ANDTV-IMP-RAPID 'go quickly to keep washing!' |
| gui-ño! eat-IMP 'eat!' | | gui-zai! eat-ANDTV 'go to eat!' | | |



- coercive, weaker

coercive, stronger +

11.1.2 Murui non-canonical imperatives

Murui has hortative imperative forms for first person but it lacks jussive (those for third person). Murui hortatives lack abrupt meaning, have connotations of invitation, encouragement, and suggestion. Hortative (dual and plural) is always inclusive, never exclusive in Murui. This has to do with the cultural prohibition against individualization. Usually, the Murui people see themselves in terms of “we” *kai* (1pl), never “me” *kue* (1sg). The traditional Murui speakers always talk in pluralistic terms recognizing the contributions of the people i.e. *kai* (1pl), and never promoting the individual i.e. *kue* (1sg) (see also §5.1.4). There are two ways of expressing the hortative meaning in Murui; they belong to different verbal paradigms. The two hortative constructions are discussed in turn.

I. HORTATIVE ‘let’s’ – the meaning of the hortative ‘let’s’ is that of suggestion and invitation. It generally occurs with overtly expressed first person dual and plural pronouns. It consist either of a bare root or root followed by the dedicated imperative *-no*, and, as such it belongs

to the same paradigm as the canonical imperative (see §11.1.1). An example is given in (11.14). Usually, it co-occurs with the manner adverb *mai* ‘let’, as in (11.15).

(11.14) *beno-mo*_{LOC} *kaiñai*_S *gairi!*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE 1du.f gather.IMP
 ‘Let’s (us two female) gather here.’

(11.15) *kiifo!* *ooi!* *mai* *kokos* *jenuai-ri!*_{PRED}
 honey brother.VOC LET 1du.m search.for.ANDTV-DUR
 ‘Honey! Brother! We go away to search for (it)!’

Sporadically, the hortative can be used for the first person singular. In (11.16) the elder Lucio was talking to himself, considering whether he should attend a drance ritual he has been invited to the other day:

(11.16) *yo-ga-kue-za*_{PRED} *mai* *kues* *feeñuai!*_{PRED}
 tell-PASS-1sg-EMPH LET 1sg receive.ANDTV
 ‘As I have been invited (lit. told), let me accept (the invitation).’

There appears to be no limitation as to the co-occurrence with aspectual, spatial, rapid action, and causative markers with the hortative ‘let’s’. When they co-occur on the verbal root, they make the hortative meaning stronger (this is similar to the variation in the strength of canonical imperatives, see Table 11.2). In (11.17) the imperative *fñuai* ‘go make’ with the andative marker is therefore considered to be a ‘stronger’ suggestion.

(11.17) *noka-e-na*_O *jitai-di-maki*_{PRED} *mai* *kai*_S *finuai!*_{PRED}
 canoe-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-3pl LET 1pl make.ANDTV
 ‘They need a canoe, let’s go make it!’

If the hortative meaning is clear from the immediate context, verbs can sometimes be omitted from the hortative ‘let’s’ construction. When this is the case, *mai* is obligatory stated so the hortative meaning is retained. In example (11.18) a group of people were preparing to go to their jungle garden. When it was time to go, a man said:

- (11.18) *jai jito-ma_S aa i-t-e..._{PRED} mai kai!_S*
 already sun-CLF:DR.M above exist-LK-3 LET 1pl
 ‘It’s late already... Let’s (go).’

II. HORTATIVE ‘strong let’s’ – the meaning of the hortative ‘strong let’s’ construction is that of strong suggestion, encouragement, invitation, and almost persuasion. It has overtones of action to be done soon. The hortative ‘strong let’s’ is formed with the suffix *-yi* that follows directly a verbal root. As it cannot co-occur with the imperative *-no* and the marker of rapid action *-kai*, the suffix *-yi* belongs to a different paradigm than other imperative forms. The differences between the hortative ‘strong let’s’ and other types of Murui imperative constructions are given in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3 Murui canonical and non-canonical imperatives - comparison

| IMPERATIVE TYPE | | EXAMPLE | EXAMPLE |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--|---|
| CANONICAL | | (mai oo) <i>gui-ño!</i> LET 2sg eat-IMP ‘(You) eat!’ | (mai oo) <i>jaai!</i> LET 2sg go.IMP ‘(you) go!’ |
| NON-CANONICAL | HORTATIVE ‘let’s’ | (mai) <i>kai gui-ño!</i> LET 1pl eat-IMP ‘Let’s eat!’ | (mai) <i>kai jaai!</i> LET 1pl go.IMP ‘let’s go!’ |
| | HORTATIVE ‘strong let’s’ | (mai) <i>kai gui-yi!</i> LET 1pl eat-LETS ‘LET’S eat!’ | (mai) <i>kai jaai-yi!</i> LET 1pl go-LETS ‘LET’S go!’ |

With the hortative ‘strong let’s’ constructions, the use of pronouns is obligatory, as illustrated in (11.19). The adverb *mai* is generally present, but at times it can be omitted, as in (11.20).

- (11.19) ‘*película_O kai jibui-yi!_{PRED} jaka rai-t-e_{PRED}*
 film.Sp 1pl watch-LETS always say-LK-3
 “‘Let’s watch movies!’ (she) always says.’”

- (11.20) *kokos jaai-yi!_{PRED}*
 1du.m go-LETS
 ‘Let’s (us, two male) go!’

(eat-LK-1sg) ‘I have already eaten’. The interjection *jii* ‘yes, no’ can be used as an acknowledgement of a command as well (see §11.2.6).³¹⁵ Certain expressions, however, such as ‘come-go’ formulae, involve fixed expressions that employ imperative constructions (§11.2.7). This is illustrated in (11.23).

(11.23) K: uzu-ño! jai jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 grand.parent.CLF:DR.F already go-LK-1sg
 ‘Grandmother! I am leaving (lit. I already go).’

U: mai oo jaai!_{PRED} bi-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 LET 2sg go.IMP come-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Fine, go! Come back quickly!’

In Murui, word final vowel centralization and vowel lengthening occurs in song-ending formulae and fixed expressions uttered during traditional celebrations. These phenomena are also frequently used for calls at distance, especially those calls that involve shouted commands. Such calls are always accompanied by the special type of rising intonation contour (type C, see Table 11.1 and §2.4). Examples (11.24-25) show imperatives constructions used as calls at distance.

(11.24) jadi-e_o [jo-fo jerei-mo]_{LOC} oo_A jooʔniii!_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV inside-LOC 2sg put.TH.CALL
 ‘Put this inside the house!!!’

(11.25) maka-jaʔiii!_{PRED}
 walk-ANDTV.CALL
 ‘Go hunting (lit. go walking)!’

³¹⁵ The meaning of *jii* depends on verb’s polarity (see §3.3.7).

11.1.4 Command strategies

One can express commands without using dedicated imperative forms. Such non-imperative forms with overtones of command-like meanings are referred to imperative strategies (Aikhenvald, 2010). Although the use of imperatives is frequent in Murui, the language has an array of ways to frame command-like meanings. Murui command strategies are discussed in turn.

A. STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS – these are statements which are treated as very weak command-like suggestions. This is illustrated in (11.26), where a man came into the house and, upon sitting down, said aloud that he has no money. The owner of the house who was present at that point knew that he was supposed to have paid him a salary a few days ago. What the man was doing in fact was asking to be given his wage.

(11.26) uku-be-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 money-CLF:LEAF-PRIV-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t have money.’ (meaning ‘please give me money that you own me!’)

(11.27) is an example of a negative question with command-like meanings. A grandmother asked her daughter if she did not have food with her. She knew however that her daughter brought cassava with her (she was in the kitchen when her daughter was packing it into her bag). By asking the question, she was simply saying that she wanted some of her daughter’s cassava.

(11.27) oo-mo_x gui-yes i-ñe?_{PRED}
 2sg-LOC eat-FUT.E.NMLZ exist-NEG
 ‘You don’t have food?’ (meaning ‘please give me some food!’)

B. BARE NOUNS – this is sort of directive one answers to promptly; it servers a weak command. Bare nouns seem to be highly elliptical directives, with omitted verb. For instance, shouting *d̥io-kai!* (tobacco-CLF:STEM) ‘cigarette’ when entering maloca at night, wanting to be

given a cigarette (the usual form is *diokai kue ine* (tobacco-CLF:STEM 1sg give.IMP) ‘give me a cigarette!).

C. FULLY INFLECTED VERBS CAST IN NON-FUTURE TENSE – there are two types of verbs cast in non-future tense that can express command-like meanings: those used for second person where the linker and the pronominal subject markers are fused, and those used for first and second person with fully inflected verbs.

C1. FULLY INFLECTED VERB AND REDUCED LINKER – such constructions have overtones of a kind advice when offering a delicate suggestion. They are used for the second person singular, dual, and plural, and are usually expressed with an intonation of a question. The syllabic structure of the pronominal subject marking is reduced: *-dio* > *-do* and *-tio* > *-to*, as in *atido* ‘bring’ in (11.28):

(11.28) *reei-e_o ati-di-kue_{PRED} oo_A ati-do?_{PRED}*
 firewood-CLF:G bring-LK-1sg 2sg bring-LK.2sg
 ‘I’ve brought the fire wood. Did you bring yours? (meaning ‘Go and get it now!’)

C2. FULLY INFLECTED VERBS – a fully inflected verb which normally serves as a predicate on its own can be used as moderate suggestions for first and second person singular, dual, and plural, as illustrated in (11.29). Such clauses are usually accompanied by some paralinguistic cues (e.g. eye gaze).

(11.29) *moo...!³¹⁶ ñee [kue d̩ga] jaziki-mo_{LOC} rauai-ti-o_{PRED}*
 son FILLER 1sg WITH forest-LOC hunt.ANDTV-LK-2sg
 ‘Grandchild, you will go with me to the forest to hunt.’

³¹⁶ The noun *moo* ‘father’ can also be used as an endearment term to mean ‘son’ and ‘grandson’.

D. FULLY INFLECTED VERBS CAST IN FUTURE TENSE – the future tense in Murui is not exclusively used to indicate future actions or processes, but also to express deontic modalities such as issuing requirements which must be executed at a later time (either in the immediate or remote future).³¹⁷ There are two types of comman strategies with fully inflected verbs cast in future tense: those used for second person where the linker and the pronominal subject markers are fused and used for first and second person with fully inflected verbs.

D1. FULLY INFLECTED VERB, FUTURE TENSE, AND REDUCED LINKER – such constructions have stronger overtones than those of type C1-2, and are used for offering a stonger type of a suggestion. The pronominal subject marker on the verb is reduced *-t̃o* > *-to*, as in (11.30):

(11.30) bene_{LOC} ini-i-to_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP sleep-FUT-LK.2sg
 ‘(You) will sleep here!’

D2. FULLY INFLECTED VERBS CAST IN FUTURE TENSE – fully inflected verbs cast in future have stern and personal suggestions and command-like meanings. In (11.31), a woman was giving an order to her daughter to stay at home and watch other children while she would go away.

Her utterances are casted in the future tense:

(11.31) kue_S [Izmael=dine]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue=za_{PRED} oo_S jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 1sg Izmael=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-1sg=UNCERT 2sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 iiti-o_{PRED} uru-ia_{IO} zada-i-ti-o_{PRED} ni-ne uri
 exist.FUT.LK-2sg child-CLF:G.PL take.care-FUT-LK-2sg Q2-LOC.NSP calm
 jaai-ñe-i-ti-omoi_{PRED} jo-fo-mo_{LOC} iiti-omoi!_{PRED} kaka-di-o?_{PRED}
 go-NEG-FUT-LK-2pl house-CLF:CAV-LOC exist.FUT-LK-2pl hear-LK-2sg
 ‘I am going to Izmael’s, you WILL stay at home. You WILL watch the children.
 You (plural) WILL not go anywhere. You (plural) WILL stay still in the house. Do

³¹⁷ In Arapaho, an Algonquian language, future forms are not used to cast commands but to express "(...) a recognition of the strong authority of the person who cannot be commanded (Cowell 2007:57).

Table 11.5 Command strategies summary

| STRATEGY | POLARITY | PRAGMATICS | CANONICAL / NON-CANONICAL |
|--|----------|--|------------------------------|
| A. STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS | both | very weak | - |
| B. BARE NOUNS | positive | weak | both |
| C1. FULLY INFLECTED VERB AND REDUCED LINKER | both | delicate suggestion, personal | canonical |
| C2. FULLY INFLECTED VERB | both | moderate suggestion, personal | both |
| D1. FULLY INFLECTED VERB, FUTURE TENSE AND REDUCED LINKER | both | strong suggestion, personal | canonical |
| D2. FULLY INFLECTED VERBS IN FUTURE TENSE | both | strong stern suggestion, personal | both |
| E1. VERBAL ROOT FOLLOWED BY THE FUTURE EVENT NOMINALIZER -YE | both | impersonal, indirect, stern | - |
| E2. VERBAL ROOT FOLLOWED BY THE FUTURE EVENT NOMINALIZER -YE AND EMPHATIC MARKER -ZA | both | impersonal, indirect, stern, brusque | - |

↑ - weaker
↓ + stronger

11.2 Questions - general characteristics

A real question requires an answer, unlike a rhetorical question or an interrogative command (Dixon, 2010, p. 390). Murui distinguishes between content (§11.2.1), polar (§11.2.2), tag (§11.2.3), and alternative questions (§11.2.4). All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic to them (i.e. different intonation patterns, presence of a tag and special kind of morphological elisions). Murui interrogative words are discussed in §3.3.4.

From the phonological point of view polar and content questions have a distinct

intonation.³¹⁸ Generally, Murui has three intonation types: *falling* (A) for declarative sentences, *rising-falling* (B) for questions and commands, and *rising intonation* (C) for calling at distance. The rising-falling intonation in questions distinguishes the *rising-falling* (B1) intonation for content questions, rising-falling (B2) intonation for polar questions (B2), and rising-falling (B3) intonation for commands (see §2.4). Morphologically, the content questions and the polar questions are marked in similar fashion.³¹⁹ Polar questions differ from content questions in the optionality of verbal marking for third person. Murui tag questions are characterised by a presence of a special tag words *erua* and *ua*. In addition to content, polar, and tag questions, Murui has also a special kind of alternative question that involves the ‘X not X’ opposition. Gestures, such as raised eyebrows, wide-open eyes and eye contact with the addressee, generally accompany all kinds of questions in Murui. Commonly used answers to questions and greeting formulae are discussed in §11.2.6-7.

11.2.1 Content questions

Content questions are considered to be questions that seek information and include an interrogative word (R. M. W. Dixon, 2012: 400). Generally, interrogative words specify a part of the proposition for which specific knowledge is sought. In Murui, an interrogative word (see §3.3.4) occurs generally in the position of the omitted core argument and it ‘replaces’ a core-argument in a particular functional slot. This is illustrated in (11.34) where

³¹⁸ Intonation being the main marking of polar questions (as opposed to content questions) is encountered in other languages from Amazonia, e.g. in Hixkaryana, a Carib language (Derbyshire, 1979, 1985).

³¹⁹ In many languages this is the case. As R. M. W. Dixon (2012: 389) put it: “(...) a person asks a question because they want to know something. Polar questions and content questions are two ways of seeking to satisfy this want”.

the interrogative *bue* ‘what’ appears in the position of an O NP argument. In (11.35) it occurs in the VCC function.

(11.34) *nai-mie_A* **bu-e_O** *fi_{NO}-d-e?_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M Q₁-CLF:G make-LK-3
 ‘What did he make?’

(11.35) [*oo* *mame-ki_{VCS}*] **buu?_{VCC}**
 2sg name-CLF:INHER Q₁
 ‘What is your name (lit. your name – who)?’

The intonation contour of Murui content questions involves a high rising pitch (marked with ↗) on the first syllable of the content interrogative word followed by a fall (see intonation contour B1 in §2.4). This is illustrated in (11.36):

(11.36) *bi-e_{VCS}* ↗**bu-_Ve?_{VCC}**
 this.CTS-CLF:G Q₁-CLF:G
 ‘What is this (lit. this – what)?’

There is the same kind of intonation pattern in negated content questions. An interrogative word that refers to non-core arguments is usually fronted and occurs in the clause-initial position. This is illustrated in (11.37).

(11.37) ↗**ni-_Vrui-do** *ñaiñi_{O_S}* *riit-e?_{PRED}*
 Q₂-CL:DAY-INS CLF:PR.F arrive.FUT.LK-3
 ‘When will she arrive?’

11.2.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are generally considered to be questions that seek an expression of confirmation or negation of the questioned proposition (positive and negative polar questions). Morphology and syntax of Murui polar interrogatives are identical to those of a declarative clause. The only true distinction between the content and polar questions (with except of the absence of the interrogative word) is the intonation: polar questions in Murui are achieved by means of a sharply rising pitch that falls on the first syllable of the predicate

(content questions have a high rising pitch that falls on the first syllable of the interrogative word).

Any declarative clause may become a polar interrogative by using a subtype of a rising-falling contour (B2) that involves a high rising pitch that falls on the first syllable of the last word of a clause and is followed by a fall. There is no distinctive intonation patterning between positive and negative polar questions. (11.38) is an example of the positive polar question. The sharply rising intonation is over the verb *jaai(de)* ‘go’:

- (11.38) jo-fo-mo_{LOC} uzu-mas ↗↗jaai-ɔd-e?_{PRED}
 house-clf:cav-LOC grandparent-CLF:DR.M go-LK-3
 ‘Did the grandfather go home?’

We find the same kind of intonation pattern in negative polar questions:

- (11.39) aime-tai-ti-_{OPRED} iyi-mo_{LOC} ↗↗gui-ɔñe-di-o?_{PRED}
 hungry-BECOME₂-LK-2sg jungle.garden-LOC eat-NEG-LK-2sg
 ‘You are hungry, you didn’t eat at the *chagra*?’

Polar questions in Murui have a unique feature that other types of questions or any kind of declarative clauses do not have. There is an optional omission of the verb inflection for the third person, e.g. *jaai?* (go) ‘Did (he) go?’ and *jaai-ñe?* (go-NEG) ‘Didn’t (he) go?’ instead of the normal *jaai-d-e?* (go-LK-3) ‘Did (he) go?’ and *jaai-ñe-d-e?* (go-NEG-LK-3) ‘Didn’t (he) go?’. All being the same, even in those instances, the intonation does not change.

11.2.3 Tag questions

Murui tag question are characterised by the presence of a special tag words *erua* meaning ‘really’. Among younger speaker of Murui, the form *ua* ‘really’ seems to be used

interchangeably but the form *erua* is nevertheless more frequently used as a tag word.³²⁰ Both tag words are added after a statement which has a normal declarative intonation. The tags form separate intonation units, and have a sharply rising intonation. Murui tag questions are generally used in positive polar questions when a speaker predicts that the statement is correct and seeks agreement from the addressee. Examples of *erua* and *ua* are given in (11.40-41) (see also T2.24 and T2.27 in the Appendix).

(11.40) bi-mie_{VCS} [Pedro dofora-to jito]_{VCC} ʔʔeʔrua?
 this.CTS-CLF:PR.M Pedro first-CLF.REP.SON son see.really
 ‘This is Pedro’s first son, isn’t it?’

(11.41) ie_s jarire fui-t-e_{PREP} ʔʔuʔa?
 CONN quick.ATT finish-LK-CL:G really
 ‘It’s finished quickly, hasn’t it?’

The origin of *erua* is likely to be the nominalised *eru-a* (see-E.NMLZ) ‘seeing’ (from the verb *ero(de)* ‘see’). However, the two tag words can also be used in contexts where ‘seeing’ is not really involved:³²¹

(11.42) [ziyi-na jaziki-mo ñai-a-na]_o kaka-di-o_{PREP} erua?
 bird-N.S/A.TOP jungle-LOC speak-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP hear-LK-2sg see.really
 ‘You have heard the bird talking in the forest, haven’t you?’

Negative questions rarely occur with the tag words. When this happens however, there is no change in their intonation patterns. The following example illustrates that the tag *erua* has the same sharply rising intonation as the tag would have in any positive question:

(11.43) [Pedro nokae-do]_{INS} jaai-ñe-di-omo_{iPREP} ʔʔeruʔa?
 Pedro canoe-INS go-NEG-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘You did not go by Pedro’s canoe, didn’t you?’

³²⁰ Elsewhere in the language the free form *ua* is an intensifier (see §3.3.1). *Erua* does not have such a function.

³²¹ This is possibly a semantic extension of ‘seeing’.

The tag forms *erua* and *ua* can also stand on their own. It is common to use both forms to sustain conversations and let the speaker continue (see examples T2.15, T2.31, and T2.45, T2.51, T2.70 in the Appendix and §13.3.2 on the use of *ua* in discourse).

11.2.4 Alternative questions

An alternative type of questions is formed by a disjunction of two simple polar questions (of which, the second is always negated). The second part of the question has somewhat ‘softer’ intonation. This is illustrated in (11.44-46).

(11.44) Pedro_S bi-t-e_{PRED} oo bi-ñe-d-e?_{PRED}
 Pedro come-LK-3 or come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Did Pedro come (lit. did Pedro come or didn’t he come)?’

(11.45) Flor_A rok_{PRED} oo roko-ñe?_{PRED}
 Pedro cook or rook-NEG
 ‘Did Flor cook (lit. did Flor cook or didn’t she cook)?’

(11.46) (nai-maki)_S irazi-d-e_{PRED} oo irazi-ñe-d-e?_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN celebrate-LK-3 or celebrate-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Did they celebrate (lit. did they celebrate or they didn’t celebrate)?’

The origin of the discourse linker *oo* that conjoins the two questions is unclear. It has the form of the Spanish discourse linker *o* meaning ‘or’. Nowadays, even the Murui elders never drop the linker *oo* in questions that involve the ‘X not X’ opposition. These alternative questions form a single unit. They can be answered with *jii* ‘yes, no’ when the answer is negative (note the function of *jii* is to confirm a positive or a negative value of the proposition; the final element in the alternative question is always a negated verb). When the answer is positive, then a verb is repeated without negative marking. For instance, to answer positively the alternative question in (11.44), one says *bi-t-e!* (come-LK-3) ‘He came!’.

11.2.5 Exclamative questions and sentences

Interrogative forms with *nii* and *buu* followed by the focus marker *-ka* are commonly used in exclamations. An example is given in (11.47) (see also example T2.27 in the Appendix). An example of an exclamative sentence with *buu-ka* is given in (3.105) in §3.3.4.

- (11.47) *nii-ka raifi-ya_{PREP} [nai-e dine]_{LOC} erua?*
 Q2-FOC **expensive**-E.NMLZ ANA.SP-CLF:G AT.LOC:NSP see.really
 ‘It is expensive there, isn’t it?’

11.2.6 Answers to questions

The answer to a content question can consist only of the focussed part, or it can be a whole clause. For instance, two types of answer are possible for the question *ni-no-mo Tadave i-te?*

(Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC Tadave exist-LK-3) ‘Where is Tadave?’:

- (11.48) *ñaiño_S jo-fo-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PREP}*
 CLF:PR.F house-CLF:CAV-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘She is at home.’

- (11.49) *jo-fo-mo_{LOC}*
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 ‘At home.’

Another frequent way of answering one’s question is the ‘confirmative’ interjection *jii* that is used when a speaker ‘agrees’ with the value of the preposition. Simply saying, depending on the polarity of the verb in the question, *jii* will be interpreted as either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The element in focus, or even a whole clause, may or may not be repeated. Some examples are given in (11.50-51).

- (11.50) Question: uzu-ño_s bi-t-e?_{PRED}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F come-LK-3
 ‘Did the grandmother come?’
- Answer 1: jii!
 ‘Yes.’
- Answer 2: jii! bi-t-e?_{PRED}
 yes come-LK-3
 ‘Yes. She came.’
- (11.51) Question: uzu-ño bi-ñe-d-e?_{PRED}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Didn’t the grandmother come?’
- Answer 1: jii!
 ‘No.’
- Answer 2: jii! bi-ñe-d-e?_{PRED}
 no come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘No. She didn’t come.’

For Murui conventionalized emotional exclamations that can be used as answers to questions see also §3.3.7 (on interjections) and §3.3.3 (on adverbial demonstratives).

11.2.7 Greetings

Murui has various kinds of formulaic greetings. Perhaps the existential verb *i(te)* meaning ‘exist’ is the most common greeting expression. It is used when passing somebody in the village or when entering a house. It usually occurs with a kinship term. (11.52) is an excerpt from a conversation:

- (11.52) Child: uzu! uzu!
 grandparent.VOC grandparent.VOC
 ‘Grandfather! Grandfather!’ (child stands outside of the house)
- Elder: oo!
 INTERJ
 ‘(interpreted as) I hear you.’
- Child: uzu! i-t-o?_{PRED}
 grandparent.VOC exist-LK-2sg
 ‘Grandfather, are you?’ (child walks inside the house)

- Elder: *ji!* *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 yes exist-LK-1sg
 ‘Yes, I am.’
- Child: *ni-e-ze* *i-t-o?*_{PRED} *uzu!*
 Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-2sg grandparent.VOC
 ‘How are you, grandfather?’ (child stands in the door)
- Elder: *mare-na* *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-1sg
 ‘I am well’

When entering a house upon a visit, a visitor always states that they have come to visit:

(11.53) *bi-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came.’

(11.54) *kue*_S *maka-ri-ya*_{PRED}
 1sg walk-DUR-E.NMLZ
 ‘I am walking.’

When a visitor is entering the house, it is polite to offer them a place to sit or lay down, and something to eat or drink. The one who receives them, then always say (11.55-57):

(11.55) *beno-mo* *raai-di-*_{OPRED} *jiruai!*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC sit-LK-2sg drink.ANDTV
 ‘You sit here. (Go) drink!’

(11.56) *raaina-da!*_{PRED} *gui-zai!*_{PRED}
 sit.TH-BODY eat-ANDTV.IMP
 ‘Sit down! (Go) eat!’

(11.57) *beno* *fii*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE lay.down.in.hammock.IMP
 ‘(You) lay down (in a hammock) here!’

When meeting on the path in the forest, people greet themselves by saying:

(11.58) *beno-na* *jaai~jai-kai-di-o?*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP go~RED-INCEP-LK-2sg
 ‘Are you going here?’

In such situation one usually answers:

- (11.59) *benoi*³²²-*kai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 go.here-INCEP-LK-2sg
 ‘I am going through here.’

The following example is used when leaving as a kind of ‘goodbye’. A person always states:

‘I go already’, as in (11.60).

- (11.60) *jai* *jaai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 already go-LK-1sg
 ‘I go already.’

11.3 Summary

The declarative is the formally and functionally unmarked sentence type in Murui; the interrogative is formally unmarked but functionally unmarked; the imperative is both formally and functionally marked. Murui imperatives are either marked with a suffix; they can also be expressed by verbal roots without any marking. Murui can express commands without using dedicated imperative forms. Command-like meanings involve statements and questions, bare nouns, inflected verbs in non-future and future tense. All types of Murui command strategies differ in their strength. Murui distinguishes between content, polar, tag, and alternative questions. All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic of them including different intonation patterns, presence of a tag and special kind of morphological elision.

³²² The verbal root *benoi-* stems from the demonstrative *beno* ‘here’ followed by the verbal root *i-* ‘exist’. Synchronically, the verb *benoi(de)* ‘go through here’ forms one phonological and grammatical unit.

12 Sentence types and clause linking

This chapter focuses on sentence types and clause linking in Murui. Types of independent clauses are discussed in §12.1; this is followed by a summary of techniques of coordination of independent clauses in §12.2. Section 12.3 deals with dependent clause types (subordinate clauses, and complementation and relativization strategies) and clause linking. A brief summary is offered in §12.4.

12.1 Types of independent clauses

Murui does not have separate morphological systems that would cover the declarative, the interrogative, and the imperative. The three major speech acts – statements, commands, and questions – are differentiated by intonation contours and presence (or lack) of special certain markers. Constituent order does not correlate with sentence types in the language.

This section discusses independent clauses, which form a complete utterance in Murui; this is unlike dependent clauses which are embedded within the main clause (§12.3). Independent clauses are the declarative, the interrogative, and imperative.³²³ There are a number of declarative clause types which differ in their ability to occur with certain verbal categories, especially tense, aspect, and evidentiality. Each clause type is discussed in turn.

³²³ The major speech acts are conventionally referred to as 'mood' where statements are characterized by declarative/indicative mood, commands correspond to imperative mood, and questions are referred to as interrogative mood (Aikhenvald reference). I refer to 'declarative', 'interrogative', and 'imperative' as sentence types.

12.1.1 Declarative

The most frequent clause type is the declarative (affirmative). This is the ‘default’ (functionally unmarked) clause type in the language. Similar to the interrogative, the declarative clause is not marked with any separate morpheme. The declarative vs. interrogative distinction is made using a special intonation contour (see §2.4). The constituent order of the declarative is usually of the AOV/SV type but it can also be determined by pragmatic factors (with O being postposed to the clause-final verb) (this is to contrast with dependent declarative clauses, where the constituent order appears to be rigid, being verb-final). In natural discourse, clauses with two overtly stated arguments, A and O, are rare (see Chapter 6). Declarative clauses in Murui are A. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES, B. EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES, C. TRANSITIVE CLAUSES, D. EXTENDED TRANSITIVE CLAUSES, and E. VERBLESS CLAUSES.

A. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES - these are clauses that include an intransitive predicate and an intransitive subject (S) as a core argument. Optionally, they can contain oblique arguments (marked with the locative, ablative, benefactive-causal, and instrumental). An example of a locative argument with the intransitive verb *aizi(de)* ‘run’ is given in (12.1):

(12.1) kue-mona [bi-e uru-e]_S jo-fo-mo aizi-kana
 1sg-ABL this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV-LOC run-OVERLAP
 jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 go-LK-3
 ‘I think that the child is running home.’

Murui adjectives, nouns, and nominal modifiers can head intransitive clauses. This is illustrated below with an adjective in (12.2), noun in (12.3), and a nominal modifier in (12.4) as heads of intransitive predicates.

(12.2) [nai-mie rai-ya]_S ebi-re-d-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M talk-E.NMLZ nice-ATT-LK-3
 ‘What he says is nice (lit. his saying is nice).’

(12.3) jiza-di-kue_{PRED}
 daughter-LK-1sg
 ‘I am a daughter.’

(12.4) jai mare-ko-ni-di-kue_{PRED}
 already good.ATT-CLF.REP:DOG-NEG.ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I don’t have a good (dog) anymore.’ (a woman talking about her dead dog)

Constructions with nouns and nominal modifiers as heads are akin to verbless clauses expressing identity (see further this section).

B. EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES OF LOCATION AND POSSESSION - these are clauses that contain an intransitive predicate with the intransitive subject (S) and the oblique argument (E) as core arguments; the E argument is marked with the locative case. In terms of their semantics, they are clauses referring to location and possession.

Murui has an existential intransitive verb *i(te)* ‘exist, live, be’ which always appears with an S argument having a general existential reading. From such constructions, the existential verb cannot be omitted, as illustrated in (12.5). Such clauses are negated in the similar fashion as any other predicate in Murui. Compare (12.5) with a negated intransitive predicate with an adjective as head in (12.6).

(12.5) erai=di_S i-t-e_{PRED}
 estuary=S/A.TOP exist-LK-3
 ‘There is El Encanto (lit. estuary is).’

(12.6) eika-re i-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 healthy-ATT exist-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I am not healthy.’

The existential verb is often accompanied by an adverb of place or an adverbial demonstrative, as in (12.7).

- (12.7) kue_s [$baai$ $bati-no-mo$]_{LOC} $aare$ $i-ti-kue_{\text{PRED}}$
 1sg THERE THERE-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC long exist-LK-1sg
 ‘I have been living over there for a long time.’

When the E argument of the verb occur with the locative marker *-mo* the verb *i(te)* can have locational meanings, as in (12.8), or establish possessive relationships (see also §5.1.3.2), as illustrated in (12.9):

- (12.8) [$nai-e$ $oogo-ri$]_s $iyi-mo_{\text{LOC}}$ $i-t-e_{\text{PRED}}$
 ANA.SP-CLF:G banana-CLF:TREE.CLUMP jungle.garden-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘The bananas are in the jungle garden.’

- (12.9) $kue-mo_{\text{LOC}}$ [$da-za$ $uru-e$]_s $i-t-e_{\text{PRED}}$
 1sg-LOC one-CLF:IMMAT child-CLF:G exist-LK-3
 ‘I have a child (lit. in me there is a child.)’

C. TRANSITIVE CLAUSES contain transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O) as core arguments and have transitive verbs as their predicates. The majority of Murui transitive verbs can be used in both intransitive and transitive clauses (transitive verbs are discussed in §3.1.2). In both types of clauses, the S/A argument of the verb can be marked with the topical S/A =*di* (see §6.2.1.1 on differential S/A case marking). The O argument, if present, can either be left unmarked or carry the topical non-S/A subject marking *-na* (see also §6.2.1.5 on differential object marking). This is illustrated in (12.10), where the nominal modifier *naie* ‘that’ is marked with *-na*.

- (12.10) $nai-e-na_o$ $kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{\text{PRED}}$ $aki\dots$
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP listen.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘She doesn’t want to listen to this...’

Transitive clauses can optionally contain an oblique argument. In (12.11) the oblique argument of the verb *yo(te)* ‘tell’ is *omoi* ‘you (pl)’ marked with the dative/locative *-mo*.

- (12.11) kai-maki! [kai=mei i-ya ra-fue]_O ua
 1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN 1pl=so exit-E.NMLZ thing-CLF:STORY really
 yooiti-kue_{PRED} omoi-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 tell.FUT.LK-1sg 2pl-LOC
 ‘Our people! I will tell you the story of how we live here.’

All the transitive verbs can be passivised. The constituent order in transitive clauses follow the overall AOV tendency (see §6.3).

D. EXTENDED TRANSITIVE CLAUSES contain a ditransitive verb with transitive subject (S) and two transitive objects (O) and (E) as core arguments (§3.1.2). Similar to transitive clauses, ditransitive verbs can mark the A NP with the topical S/A subject marker =*di* and the O NP with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*. Extended transitive clauses obligatorily contain a second O NP, an oblique argument that is a Recipient/Addressee marked with the dative/locative *-mo*. An example of an extended transitive clause is given in (12.12) where the O argument is gift *guiye* ‘food’ and the second (extended) argument is recipient *kue* ‘I’:

- (12.12) kue_A [bai-e gui-ye]_{O:GIFT} i-t-e_{PRED} gato-mo_{O:RECIPIENT}
 1sg that.FSH-CLF:G eat-FUT.E.NMLZ give-LK-3 cat.Sp-LOC
 ‘She gave that food to the cat.’

E. VERBLESS CLAUSES are used meanings covering identity and equation, attribution, and possession.³²⁴ Verbless clauses are never employed to either express location or existence. Verbless clauses have the Verbless Copula Subject (VCS) and (VCC) Verbless Copula Complement as arguments; they expressed via juxtaposition.³²⁵ VCS and VCC arguments do not bear any distinctive markings (VCC has different syntactic properties as it cannot be

³²⁴ Cross-linguistically, such meanings are typically associated with copula clauses, see (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010a: 160).

³²⁵ This is a feature also of many Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 2012:329). Murui has no copula verb.

marked by the usual O NP marking *-na*). The preferred order for the constituents in verbless clauses is generally VCS - VCC (carried over from the preferred SV/AOV). Verbless clauses make no TAME distinction. They are negated similarly to verbal predicates: an argument in the VCC function is used as a head of an intransitive predicate followed by the standard negative *-ñe* and predicate markers. Types of Murui verbless clauses are discussed in turn.

E1. IDENTITY AND EQUATION - verbless clauses expressing identity and equation are very frequent in Murui. Examples of verbless clauses expressing identity and equation are given in (12.13-14). VCC's of verbless clauses correspond to S arguments of intransitive predicates expressing identity.

(12.13) [oo ini]_{VCS} mano-ri-rai-ma_{VCC}
 2sg husband heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M
 'Your husband is a shaman (lit. your husband - shaman).'

(12.14) bai-e_{VCS} [da-je jemi]_{VCC}
 that.FSH-CLF:G one-CLF:G woolly.monkey
 'That is a woolly monkey (lit. that - one woolly monkey).'

Verbless clauses expressing identity and equation are frequently employed in naming, as in (12.15):

(12.15) [kue mame-ki]_{VCS} Tadave_{VCC}
 1sg name-CLF:INHER Tadave
 'I am Tadave (lit. my name - Tadave).'

To negate verbless clauses, the VCC argument of a verbless clause has to function as a head of negated intransitive predicate, as illustrated in (12.16):

(12.16) [bi-e ri-ño]_S [Pedro ei-ño]-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F Pedro mother-CLF:DR.F-NEG-LK-3
 'This woman is not Pedro's mother.'

E2. ATTRIBUTION - attribution is frequently expressed through verbless clauses with nominal modifiers which have adjectives as their base (see Chapter 9). Examples are given in (12.17-18). Verbless clauses expressing attribution are negated in the same manner as any other types of verbless clause. This is illustrated in (12.19).

- (12.17) *kue*_{VCS} *eo* *are-ñaiño*_{VCC}
 1sg very long-CLF:PR.F
 ‘I am very long (lit. I - very long (female)).’
- (12.18) [*bi-e* *kiri-gai*]_{VCS} *jano-gai*_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G basket-CLF:BASKET small-CLF:BASKET
 ‘This basket is small (lit. this basket - small (basket)).’
- (12.19) [*nai-e* *jiko*]_S [*mare-ko*]-ñe-d-*e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G dog good.ATT-CLF.REP:DOG-NEG-LK-3
 ‘That dog is not a good dog.’

E3. POSSESSION - verbless clauses with possessive meanings obligatorily receive either the genitive *-ie*, as in (12.20), or the connective *ie* or that occurs following directly the R and makes anaphoric reference to the R, as in (12.21) (see also §5.1 on the expression of possession in Murui).

- (12.20) *eroda!* [*bi-e* *ra-be-niko*]_{VCS} [*Pedro*_R [*jito ie*]_R]_{VCC}
 look.BODY this.CTS-CLF:G thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THIN Pedro son CONN
 ‘Look! This book is Pedro’s son’s.’
- (12.21) [*bi-e* *jo-fo* *mare-ko*]_{VCS} *kue-ie!*_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV good.ATT-CLF:COVER 1sg-GEN
 ‘This house is mine!’

VCC arguments of verbless clauses can take case marking. (12.22) has benefactive meanings; the VCC is marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*:

- (12.22) [*bi-e* *raa*]_{VCS} [*oo ei* *jiza* *ie-na*]_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G thing 2sg mother daughter CONN-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This thing is (for) your mother’s daughter.’

Under negation such benefactive meanings cannot be expressed. The VCC argument takes a standard negative *-ñe* followed by predicate marking, as in (12.23).

- (12.23) bai-es [naiño ie]-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:G CLF:FR.F CONN-NEG-LK-3
 ‘This is not hers.’

12.1.2 Interrogative

Interrogative clauses have a type of rising-falling intonation, and a special property of polar questions (the optionality of verbal marking for third person, §11.2.2). In addition to a distinct intonation patterns (§2.4), polar questions do not contain interrogative words unlike content questions; only one constituent of an interrogative clause can be questioned. Question words (§3.3.4) can also be have indefinite reading, which value depends on predicate’s polarity. There are also a special type of a tag, alternative, and exclamative questions (§11.2.3-5) which have certain phonological and morphological properties characteristic to them (i.e. different intonation patterns, presence of a tag, and special kind of morphological elisions). Gestures, such as raised eyebrows, wide-open eyes, eye contact with the addressee, occasional lip pointing, generally accompany all kinds of interrogatives.

12.1.3 Imperative

The imperative clauses contains a verb marked with the imperative suffix. The imperative is used only in independent clauses. Compared to its positive counterpart, Murui negated imperative shows additional morphological complexity, having a separate prohibitive marker *-no* that obligatorily follows the standard negative *-ñe*. Positive imperatives have two distinctions – immediate and delayed; see §11.1; negative imperatives have one one – the general prohibitive. Imperatives express fewer grammatical meanings than do the

corresponding declaratives and interrogatives (these include tense). Constituent order in imperative clauses is the same as that in declarative and interrogative ones (AOV/SV). This is illustrated with the declarative in (12.24) and the imperative in (12.25):

(12.24) *bi-e-na_o* *omoi-mo_{o:ADDRESSEE}* *i-ti-kue_{PRED}*
 this.CTS-CLF:G-N.S/A 2pl-LOC give-LK-1sg
 ‘I give this to you (plural).’

(12.25) *di_o-goi-na_o* *kue_{o:ADDRESSEE}* *ine!_{PRED}*
 tobacco-CLF-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give.IMP
 ‘Give me a cigarette!’

12.2 Independent clauses and clause linking

Murui coordinated clauses express contrast/addition, and disjunction. Murui has also a connector *ie* which functions as a textual anaphora and introduces main clauses by making an anaphoric reference to some information given in the preceding clause (see §13.2.3).

A. CLAUSES OF CONTRAST AND ADDITION - the linker *iadi* is expressed by two main clauses of which the second is introduced by *iadi* ‘but, although’ and occurs in the clause-initial position. *Iadi* typically has typically a contrastive meaning, as in (12.26-28) (see also example T2.27, T2.37, T2.41, and T2.65). Occasionally, *iadi* is interchangeable with *iadedi* (from *iadi* followed by the topical S/A marker =*di*), as in (12.29).

(12.26) *kio-do!_{PRED}* *maiji-i-aka-di-kue_{PRED}* ***iadi*** *ri-ye_o*
 see-LK.2sg work-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg but eat.meat-FUT.E.NMLZ
i-ñe-na_{PRED}
 exist-NEG-E.NMLZ
 ‘Look! I want to work but there is no meat!’

(12.27) *ni-niai_o* *da-ño* *ro-t-e_{PRED}* *Polaco-do* *ni-niai_o* *ro-t-e_{PRED}*
 Q₂-COLL one-CLF:DR.F sing-LK-3 polish.Sp-INS Q₂-COLL sing-LK-3
iadi *jaka* *jari-re* *ziga-ka_{to}* *jeno-d-e=_{di}_{PRED}*
 but always quick-ATT cigarette.Sp-CLF:STEM search-LK-3=CERT
 ‘She sang many songs in Polish, many (songs she) sang! But (then) she would always go quickly (outside); she looked for cigarettes.’

(12.28) *jii* [ie digá] *bi-zai-di-kai*_{PRED} *iadi* *nai-maki*_S
 yes CONN WITH come-VENTV-LK-1pl CONN ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
*rei-t-e*_{PRED} ‘ua ocho-mo *jaaiti-kai*’_{PRED} *rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 say-LK-3 really eight.Sp-LOC go-FUT.LK-1pl say-LK-3
 ‘Yes, with him we came. And they said “We really arrived at 8pm”.’

(12.29) *jai* *eo* *aare ñai-ti-kue*_{PRED} ***iadedi*** *maquina-mo*
 already very long speak-LK-1sg but machine.Sp-LOC
*kaka-i-ñe-na*_{PRED}
 listen-EMPH-NEG-E.NMLZ
 ‘I have already spoken a long while, but the recorder doesn’t listen’.

Iadi is not always strictly contrastive. Its semantics appear to also cover such meanings like ‘even so’ and ‘so’. An example (12.30) shows overlap with cause and result, followed by a purposive clause (marked with the future event nominalizer *-ye*).

(12.30) *kio-do*_{PRED} *mai-iti-kue*_{PRED} ***iadi*** *bu-e-na*_O [uru-ki
 see-LK.2sg work-FUT.LK-1sg but Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP child-CLF:CLUSTER
ono-yi *jerei*]_{LOC} *kue* *joone-ye*_{PRED}
 hand-CLF:BUSHY inside 1sg put-FUT.N.NMLZ
 ‘Look! I will work to put something in the hands of the children.’

Iadi is a multifunctional form as it can also occur within a main clause. This is shown (12.31); the meaning of (12.31) is that of counterexpectation.

(12.31) *ñii-ka* *uzi-re-na*_{PRED} *iadi* *nai-rui-do*_{INS} *ua?*
 Q₂-FOC hot-ATT-E.NMLZ but ANA.SP-CLF:DAY-INS really
 ‘But it was (so) hot that day, right?’

B. CLAUSES OF DISJUNCTION - disjunction in Murui is encoded with the linker *oo* ‘or’ in alternative questions.³²⁶ They are formed by a disjunction of two main clauses that share the same subject (of which, the second clause is always negated; see also §11.2.4). The linker *oo* occurs in the clause-initial position introducing the second clause. For example:

³²⁶ As discussed in §11.2.4, the linker *oo* does not appear to be a borrowing from Spanish (the Spanish linker *o* for ‘or’).

- (12.32) Pedros_S $\text{bi-t-e}_{\text{PRED}}$ oo $\text{bi-ñe-d-e?}_{\text{PRED}}$
 Pedro come-LK-3 or come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Did Pedro come? (lit. did Pedro come or didn’t (he) come?)’
- (12.33) $\text{deei-zai-d-e}_{\text{PRED}}$ oo $\text{deei-zai-ñe-d-e?}_{\text{PRED}}$
 rain-ANDTV-LK-3 or rain-ANDTV-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Was it going to rain? (lit. was it going to rain or wasn’t it going to rain?)’
- (12.34) jiibi-e_O $\text{duuiti-maki}_{\text{PRED}}$ oo $\text{du-ñeiti-maki?}_{\text{PRED}}$
 coca-CLF:G chew.coca.FUT.LK-3pl or chew.coca-NEG.FUT.LK-3pl
 ‘Will they chew coca? (lit. will they chew coca or won’t they chew coca?)’

12.3 Dependent clauses

Murui distinguishes between subordinate clauses (§12.3.1), and complementation (§12.3.2) and relativization strategies (§12.3.3). Murui dependent clauses differ from main clauses in terms of marking on verbs (verbal suffixes marking clausal dependency occur on a clause-final verbal predicate and are mutually exclusive) and their placement with respect to the main clause (in natural discourse, the AOV/SV constituent order in declarative clauses can be conditioned by pragmatic factors; in dependent clauses the constituent order appears to be rigid, verb-final).

12.3.1 Subordinate clauses and clause linking

There are a number of morphosyntactic mechanisms in Murui to specify the independent clause (referred to hereafter as MC) by means of dependent clauses (DC).³²⁷ Such biclausal linking include seven distinct semantic types: sequential, temporal, posteriority and anteriority, overlap, conditional, purposive, and reason. The type of linking is expressed by

³²⁷ R. M. W. Dixon (2009: 4) discusses the correlation between semantics and syntax of clause linking. He points out that unusually MC’s and DC’s usually correspond with their semantic equivalents, the Focal Clauses (=MC) and Supporting Clauses (=DC, Non-main Clauses). He also gives examples where there is a mismatch in that what syntactically is a MC, semantically it can be a Supporting Clause.

grammatical markers and postpositions within a DC. Overall, nominalizations appear to be the most frequent means of forming dependent clauses of any semantic type. Depending on their type, dependent clauses can be found pre-posed or post-posed to the main clause. Under specific pragmatic conditions, the order of the clauses can be reversed. This section discusses the semantic types of Murui subordinate clauses (summarized in Table 12.1) focusing on their morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties.

Table 12.1 Murui (established) clause linking constructions

| Semantic type | Marker | Position of DC (vs. MC) | Directly following verbal roots | Form |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A1. SEQUENTIAL | <i>-no</i> | initial, medial | no | event nominalization |
| A2. SEQUENTIAL COMPLETIVE | <i>-ta/-da</i> | initial | yes | inflected verb |
| B1. 'SAME TIME' | <i>-mo</i> | initial | no | inflected verb |
| B2. 'TIME OF' | <i>fakai</i> | initial | no | event nominalization |
| C1. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY | <i>-mona</i> | initial | no | event nominalization |
| C2. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY | <i>=mei/meino</i> | initial | no | inflected verb, event nominalization |
| C3. RELATIVE ANTERIORITY | <i>uiekodo</i> | initial | no | event nominalization |
| D. OVERLAP | <i>-kana</i> | initial, medial | yes | inflected verb |
| E1. CONDITIONAL | <i>-ia</i> | initial | yes | inflected verb |
| E2. CONDITIONAL | <i>-na</i> | initial | yes | inflected verb |
| F. PURPOSIVE | <i>-ye(-na)</i> | initial, final | yes | event nominalization |
| G1. REASON | <i>jira</i> | initial, final | no | event nominalization |
| G2. REASON | <i>muidona</i> | initial, final | no | event nominalization |
| G3. REASON | <i>mamedo/mamekido</i> | initial, final | no | event nominalization |

A. CLAUSES OF TEMPORAL SUCCESSION - temporal clauses establish temporal links or relations between the main and dependent clause. The majority of Murui dependent clauses expressing temporal relations involve nominalized verbs, and distinguish various temporal suffixes that refer to temporal succession and relative time. Murui has two distinct clause types that involve an expression of temporal succession: those with the marker *-no*, and those with the marker *-da/-ta*.

A1. SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES MARKED WITH *-no* - such temporal clauses are expressed with nominalized verbs followed by the sequential marker *-no*; they co-occur necessarily with a fully inflected verb in the main clause. They express a temporal relation designating a chronological sequence of actions/events (with an iconic order of two subsequent clauses occurring one after the other). Sequential clauses marked with *-no* are mainly used for ‘listing’ of successive actions, and occur most frequently in procedural discourse. Examples are given in (12.35-36) where the event nominalizer *-a* followed by the sequential marker *-no* occurs on the verbal roots *kio-* ‘see’ and *ati-* ‘bring’.

- (12.35) *jari-re* *uie-ko-mo*_{LOC} *jaai-di-kue*_{PRED} *mei navuida*
 quick-ATT face-CLF:ROUND-LOC go-LK-1sg so evening
*rii-di-kue*_{PRED} *oo*_O **ki-a-no** *jari-re* *uie-ko-mo*_{LOC}
 arrive-LK-1sg 2sg see-E.NMLZ-SEQ quick-ATT face.CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC
*kakarei-zai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 listen.TH-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘I went quickly up front; well, I came (in) in the evening. When I saw you, I went to listen up front (in the church).’

- (12.36) [*jemiki nana*]_O *kue*_{O:RECIPIENT} *i-to!*_{PRED} *nai-kio*
 type.fruit ALL 1sg give-LK.2sg ANA.SP-CLF:ROUND
ati-a-no *kai yi-ye=za*
 bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ 1pl suck.FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘Where the *jemiki* fruit fall. Give me all *jemiki* fruits! After having brought them, we will suck on them!’

The sequential clauses share the same subject with the MCs which is cross-referenced on the verb. This is illustrated in (12.37-39):

- (12.37) **bo-nua-no** jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 burn-SMLF.E.NMLZ-SEQ go-LK-3
 ‘After he lit the fire up, (he) went away.’
- (12.38) Kata_A jiko-na_O **fa-ta-ja-no** jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 Kata dog-N.S/A.TOP hit-CAUS-E.NMLZ-SEQ go-LK-3
 ‘After Kata hit the dog, (she) went away.’
- (12.39) gogui-rai_O jenua-no **bai-ya-no** jaita-ka_{PRED}
 support-CLF:STUD seach.E.NMLZ-SEQ find-E.NMLZ-SEQ cut-PASS
 ‘After searching for support branches, after having found them, (they) were cut (by them).’

In some examples, the interpretation of clauses marked with the sequential *-no* can have readings indicating cause or reason, as in (12.40):

- (12.40) jai jobai-mie **jaki-rui-ya-no** jiai-no
 already burn-CLF:PR.M scary-MANNER-E.NMLZ-SEQ other-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 aizi-d-e_{PRED}
 run-LK-3
 ‘Because of being scared of the warriors, others ran.’

The construction with the sequential *-no* is particularly characteristic of recapitulative linking clauses where a predicate of the bridging clause is repeated from the reference clause (see §13.2 on bridging constructions).

A2. SEQUENTIAL COMPLETIVE CLAUSES MARKED *-ta/-da* - the sequential completive marker *-ta* (that occurs on bare roots) and *-da* (that follows verbal markers) have semantics of a sequential completed action which occurred in a immediate temporal succession to the action denoted by the main verb. This is illustrated in *jirota* in (12.41):

- (12.41) uru-e ee~e-na_{PRD} ua raire monoi-na kue=di
 child-CLF:G cry~RED-E.NMLZ really quick.ATT breast-N.S/A.TOP 1sg=S/A.TOP
jiro-ta [nai-e uru-iai moto-mo]_{LOC}
 drink-SEQ.COMPL ANA.SP-CLF:G child-CLF:G.PL middle-LOC
 ee-ñeiye-na jira kue jino-fe baa
 cry-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP REASON 1sg outside-CLF:SIDE **THAT.THERE**
 uie-ko-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRD}
 face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘The child was crying. After having quickly giving him my breast, so (he) wouldn’t
 be crying in the middle of (other) children outside, I didn’t go up front (in the
 church).’

The sequential completive co-occurs often with the rapid action *-kai* as well as the semelfactive *-no*. Their readings refer to intensity and speed with which the action was carried out, as in the examples (12.42-44). The subject of the verb in sequential completive clauses is usually coreferent with that of following clause. That this however not a rule was shown in (12.41).

- (12.42) yero-da jerei-mo **joone-kai-da** ini
 jar-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT inside-LOC put.TH-RAPID-SEQ.COMPL husband
 mame-ki-do ui-zoi-d-e_{PRD}
 name-CLF:INHER-INS take.away-REM.HAB-LK-3
 ‘Having quickly put (it) inside the tinaja (Sp. an earthenware long jar), (she) took it
 away in the name of (her) husband.’
- (12.43) **ñai-ño-kai-da** jaai-d-e_{PRD}
 speak-SMLF-RAPID-SEQ.COMPL go-LK-3
 ‘After having eaten (quickly), (he) went away.’
- (12.44) [kue jo-fo]_o zeda-ye-na [Kleber-na_o
 1sg house-CLF:CAV take.care-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP Kleber-N.S/A.TOP
 [iyai-ma izoi] **mame-no-kai-da** bi-ti-kue_{PRD}
 chief-CLF:DR.M similar name- SMLF-RAPID-SEQ.COMPL come-LK-1sg
 ‘After having quickly named Kleber the house-chief to care for (the house), I came.’

Sequential completive clauses are unique in that they have a possibility for the semelfactive suffix to co-occur twice on verbs marked with the rapid action *-kai* and the sequential completive *-da*. Such structures refer to an action done not only immediately but also in an extremely quick manner, as illustrated in (12.45).

- (12.45) **gua-no-no-kai-da** du-t-e_{PREL}
 mash-SMLF-SMLF-RAPID-SEQ.COMPL chew.coca-LK-3
 ‘After having mashed (coca leaves) quickly, (he) chewed the coca (powder).’

B. CLAUSES OF RELATIVE TIME – Murui has two constructions which involve an expression of relative time. Both place an event of the MC in temporal perspective with regard to the DC. They differ in terms of their semantics as well as morphosyntactic properties.

B1. ‘SAME TIME’ *-mo* – temporal clauses marked with *-mo* occur on the edge of fully inflected verbs; the temporal *-mo* functions as a suffix on the verb (see Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.2).³²⁸ The marker *-mo* is best translated as ‘when’, as in (12.46-47).

- (12.46) **gairi-d-e-mo** jiai-kin_{OS} rii-ya_{PREL}
 gather-LK-3-TEMP other-CLF:STORY arrive-E.NMLZ
 ‘When (the people) were gathering, another message arrived.’

- (12.47) kue_A **fuma-di-kue-mo** Eu_S bi-t-e_{PREL} ie-ra dane abido
 1sg smoke.Sp-LK-1sg-TEMP Eu come-LK-3 CONN-REASON ONCE AGAIN
 kue fuma-ta-ga_{PREL}
 1sg smoke.Sp-CAUS-PASS
 ‘When I was smoking, Eu came. And that’s the reason why I was made smoke again.’

Temporal clauses marked with *-mo* express point of time and refers to an event happening at the time of event/state described in the main clause. This is further illustrated in (12.48-49) (see also T1.53 and T2.85 in the Appendix).

- (12.48) naizo-do **jaai-d-e-mo** jiko=di_A ie_O gaita-d-e_{PREL}
 path-INS go-LK-3-TEMP jaguar=S/A.TOP CONN grab-LK-3
 ‘When (she) was walking on the path, the tiger grabbed her.’

³²⁸ Elsewhere in the grammar the form *-mo* makes the locative case on an NP, and it can extend to cover temporal meanings, e.g. *ie=dino-mo* (CONN=AT.CLF.SP.PLACE-TEMP) ‘and from then’.

- (12.49) *ie-mo* **bi-t-e-mo** *obi-ya-kai_o* *zita-ja-no*
 CONN-LOC come-LK-3-TEMP blow-E.NMLZ-CLF:STEM bring.arms-E.NMLZ-SEQ
obi-d-e-mo *jaka* *bai-ñe-d-e_{PRE}*
 blow-LK-3-TEMP always find-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And (then) when they came, after having brought their blowguns. When (*Jitoma*)
 shot, it would not reach (the anaconda).’

The temporal clauses with *-mo* show no ‘same subject’ restriction. While in the majority of the cases the subjects of the dependent and the main clauses differ, as in (12.46-68) above, they can also be the same, as in (12.49). Unlike in clauses of temporal succession (type A), the order of the main and dependent clauses in the temporal clauses marked with *-mo* can be reversed, as in (12.50). Such clauses are interpreted by speakers as as a type of an internal wish, rather than denoting one action that happened while another action was being carried out.

- (12.50) *rii-di-kue_{PRE}* **ñai-ti-maki-mo**
 arrive-LK-1sg speak-LK-1pl-TEMP
 ‘I came when they were speaking.’ (the speaker wishes to be the case)

B2. ‘TIME OF’ *fakai* – temporal clauses with nominalized verbs and marked with the postposition *fakai* ‘time, moment’ express a (relative) temporal relation between two periods of time.³²⁹ Such constructions have no switch-reference restrictions. An example is given in (12.51) where the dependent nominalized verb *komulgaja* ‘receiving the Holy Communion’ is followed by *fakai*.

- (12.51) **komulga-ja** **fakai** *ro-a_{PRE}* *nana_o*
 take.communion.Sp-E.NMLZ time sing-E.NMLZ ALL
 ‘In the time of receiving communion (lit. time of receiving communion), she sung everything (all songs).’

³²⁹ The function of a nominalized verb in Murui is to background an action expressed by that verb (Wojtylak, forthcoming-e).

(12.52) below illustrates a similar clause with the nominalized verb *iya* ‘existing, living’.

Other examples of a nominalized verb followed by *fakai* are given in T.23, T3.22 and T5.18 in the Appendix.

- (12.52) **kue_A Nofiko-mo_{LOC} i-ya fakai be-no-mo_{LOC}**
 1sg Chorrera-LOC exist-E.NMLZ time HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
kue_A bi-aka-di-kue_{PRED} [aki kue-kino]
 1sg come-DES-LK-1sg AUDIT 1sg-CLF:STORY
 ‘During my life (lit. living) in La Chorrera, I really wanted to come coming here, so is my story.’

C. CLAUSES OF RELATIVE ANTERIORITY AND POSTERIORITY – Murui has two basic ways of expressing relative posteriority, those marked with *-mona* and those that occur with the enclitic =*mei* or the free form *meino*. Clauses expressing relative anteriority take the plain noun *uieko* ‘face, front’ followed by the instrumental case marker *-do*.

C1. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY MARKED WITH *-mona* – the typical way of marking posteriority is the ablative *-mona* ‘from, after’ following a nominalized verb. The ablative case indicates a certain point in time. The ablative-marked typically precede the main clause. Examples are given in (12.53-54):

- (12.53) **jai-os aini-ya-mona nai-mie_A aidai-ma-na_O**
 snake-CLF bite-E.NMLZ-ABL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M deformed-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP
jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 go-LK-3
 ‘From when it was bitten (the biting), he became (lit. went) deformed.’

- (12.54) **da-je kome oo abi-mo i-t-e_{PRED} kome_S jai aare**
 one-CLF:G person 2sg body-LOC exist-LK-3 person already long
i-ya-no-mona jai nai-mie-na
 exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLC-ABL already ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP
arui-rui-ti-e_{PRED}
 bother-MANNER-LK-2sg
 ‘A person stays long time on your side (without doing anything). From being for a long time (this way), you become bothered by him.’

C2. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY MARKED WITH *=mei* and *meino* – the posteriority readings are also frequently achieved by the enclitic *=mei* ‘so, later’ and the postposition *meino* ‘later’, as in (12.55-56) and (12.57-58) below.³³⁰ These two forms are used interchangeably.

- (12.55) *kue_A jaa [kue jito]_S ini-a=mei maiji-aiti-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg soon 1sg son sleep-E.NMLZ=so work-ANDTV.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘Soon, after my son’s sleep, I will go work.’
- (12.56) *fui-ya=mei ñaiño_A nai-mie-nao jeeiki-t-e_{PRED}*
 fight-E.NMLZ=later CLF:PR.F ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-N.S/A.TOP give.bith-LK-3
 ‘After the war, she gave birth to him.’
- (12.57) *[kue ini]_S maiji-a meino joko-ri-zai-di-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg husband work-E.NMLZ later wash-DUT-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘After my husband’s work, I went (and) washed (clothes).’
- (12.58) *[ie meino dane i-ti-kai-mo [kue ei]_S baa-d-e_{PRED}*
 CONN later ONCE exist-LK-1pl-LOC 1sg mother die-LK-3
 ‘After this, when we were (together) again, my mother died.’

C3. RELATIVE ANTERIORITY MARKED WITH *uiekodo* – anteriority meanings are not commonly expressed in Murui. The only way to cover such meanings is the lexical noun *uieko* ‘face’ followed by the instrumental *-do* meaning that denotes a physical location ‘in front’; it is further semantically extended to cover the meaning of ‘before, first, in advance’, as in (12.59).³³¹

- (12.59) *kue_S jaai-aka-na uiekodo boyiti-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg go-DES-E.NMLZ before urinate.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘Before wanting to leave, I will pee.’

³³⁰ There is certain relation between these two forms.

³³¹ That the primarily meaning of *uiekodo* is in fact ‘in front’ is illustrated by the frequent phrase used when walking in the forest *uieko-do jaaiti-kue* (face-CLF:SPHERICAL-INS go.FUT.LK-1sg) ‘I will go up front.’

D. CLAUSES OF OVERLAP *-kana* – clauses with *-kana* describe length of time of an event expressed in the subordinate clause with regard to an event happening at the time of event/state described in the main clause. Semantically, an action expressed by a verb marked with *-kana* in the DC is understood as part of the action of a verb of the MC. Examples are given in (12.60-64):

- (12.60) **maka-kana** bi-ti-kue_{PRD} are-na
 walk-OVERLAP come-LK-1sg far.ATT-ABL
 ‘I came walking from far away.’
- (12.61) jai ie-ze **feei-kana** jaai-d-e_{PRD}
 already CONN-SIMIL forget-OVERLAP go-LK-3
 ‘(A death of our relative) is being forgotten (lit. goes forgetting).’
- (12.62) nai-do **dorita-kana** jaai-d-e_{PRD}
 path-INS shoot-OVERLAP go-LK-3
 ‘They walked the path (while) shooting.’
- (12.63) oogo-do_o **ruui-kana** [bi-e ziyi]_s kue_{OBLIQUE} eka-ka_{PRD}
 banana-CLF:POINTED toast-OVERLAP this.CTS-CLF:G bird 1sg feed-PASS
 ‘While toasting the banana, the bird was fed by me.’
- (12.64) **maka-ta-kana** [bi-e jiko]_s ati-ka_{PRD}
 walk-CAUS-OVERLAP this.CTS-CLF:G dog bring-PASS
 ‘This dog was brought (while it was being) made to walk (like a human).’

Although verbs marked with *-kana* can take some verbal marking (typically the semelfactive *-no*, the body movement *-da*, the causative *-ta*), they cannot co-occur with the future tense marker or be negated. Their negative reading comes from the negative reading of the negated verb in the MC.

E. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES – Murui has two conditional constructions: those marked with *-ia* and those marked with *-na*. None of the linkage markers of type A-D can have conditional meanings.

E1. CONDITIONAL *-ia* ‘when’ – the conditional *-ia* is formed by the suffixation of the marker *-ia* (*-a* when following /i/) to verbs and adjectives in the subordinate clause, as in (12.65-69). The conditional *-ia* expresses a real condition, and it is better translated as ‘when’ rather than ‘if’. Conditional clauses always precede the main clause, and are not sensitive to the ‘same’ vs. ‘different’ subjects distinction.

(12.65) bu-e_A kue_O **mai-ia** kue_S rii-tai-di-kue_{PRED}
 Q1-CLF:G 1sg sting-COND₁ 1sg angry-BECOME-LK-3
 ‘When something stings me, I get angry.’

(12.66) [kue abi]_S moko-re **jaaia** ira-re-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg body green-ATT go.COND₁ sick-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘When my body is green, I am sick.’

(12.67) naga-rui **deeia** riai-di-kue_{PRED}
 EACH-CLF:DAY rain.COND₁ wet-LK-1sg
 ‘When it rains everyday, I am wet.’

(12.68) dio-na uai jiibi-na uai oo **feei-ta-ia**
 tobacco-CLF:TREE word coca-CLF:TREE word 2sg forget-CAUS-COND₁
 i-ñe-i-ti-O_{PRED}
 exist-NEG-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘When you forget the words of Tobacco and of Coca, you won’t exist.’

(12.69) kue_A **okozi-nai-a** jaka bita-da-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg tired-BECOME₁-COND₁ always lay.down-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘When I get tired, I always lay down.’

The form *-nia* occurs on nouns as well as on verbs and adjectives following the standard negative, the desiderative, and the attributive markers, as in (12.70-74).

(12.70) kue_A **mare-nia** biiti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg good.ATT-COND₁ come.FUT-LK-1sg
 ‘When I am well, I will come.’

(12.71) **deei-ñe-nia** **mare-rui-nia** naga-rui maiji-iti-kue_{PRED}
 rain-NEG-COND good.ATT-CLF:DAY-COND₁ EACH-CLF:DAY work-FUT-LK-1sg
 ‘When it does not rain, when the day is good, I will work every day.’

(12.72) [aigi-ro kue **gui-aka-nia** kikue-i-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 grub-CLF:STRING 1sg eat-DES-COND₁ omit-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘When I eat a palm grub, I want to vomit.’

(12.73) [kue abi]_s **izi-re-nia** [gonono-kai i-ji]_o
 1sg body painful-ATT-COND₁ sugarcane-CLF:STEM ANA.NSP-CLF:WATERY
 jiro-di-kue_{PRED}
 drink-LK-1sg
 ‘When my body hurts, I drink the sugar cane juice.’

(12.74) kue **uru-e-nia** aiyo aigiro-na_o gui-zoi-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg child-COND₁ a.lot grub.CLF:STRING-N.S/A.TOP eat-REM.HAB-LK-1sg
 iadi jai bi-rui gui-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} nai-e-na_o
 but already this.CTS-CLF:DAY eat-NEG-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘When I was a child, I used to eat a lot of palm grubs; nowadays I don’t do that
 (anymore).’

Although the conditional dependent clause generally precedes the main clause, but under certain pragmatic conditions, it can also follow it. In (12.75) a speaker wanted to emphasize the fact that the next day they would push a canoe onto a creek. Pushing the canoe through a wet grass would be much easier than through a dry grassland. This was during a rainy season during which a rain would fall everyday; thus the speaker knew that the next day surely it would rain again.

(12.75) ikare eruai-ti-kue_{PRED} **deeia**
 tomorrow see-LK-1sg rain.COND₁
 ‘I will see (to it) tomorrow, when it rains.’

E2. CONDITIONAL *-na* ‘if’ - clauses with *-na* are usually used for expressing statements about a hypothetical unreal situation, as illustrated in (12.76-77).³³² Unlike the conditional *-ia* ‘when’, the conditional *-na* ‘if’ is formed on the edge of fully inflected verbs and adjectives. The conditional clause occurs always in the sentence initial position; the order of the clauses is never reversed.

³³² The presence of the topical non-S/A marker *-na* indicates that the conditional ‘if’ clauses are treated topical in Murui. This is similar to Tariana (Arawak) (Aikhenvald, 2003: 529-530).

(12.76) jaziki-mo_{LOC} bu-e_s kue-mo **zuui-d-e-na**
 jungle-LOC Q1-CLF:G 1sg-LOC occur-LK-3-COND₂
 Nofiko-mo_{LOC} jaai-di-kue-mo Elver_s eo zuu-nai-t-e_{PRED}
 Chorrera-LOC go-LK-1sg-TEMP Elver very sad-BECOME₁-LK-3
 ‘If something happened to me in the forest when I walk to La Chorrera, Elver
 would become very sad.’

(12.77) [kue ei]_s **i-ñe-d-e-na** kue_A komui-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg mother exist-NEG-LK-3-COND₂ 1sg grow.up-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘If my mother didn’t exist, I would not have grown up.’

The reading is always counterfactual, if the verb of the main clause is not marked for tense, as further illustrated in (12.78-79). (12.78) is an explanation of a elder who was apologizing for not having come for a community meeting. (12.79) was expressed by a young woman who did not wished to have kids at the young age.

(12.78) kue **mare-di-kue-na** bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg good.ATT-LK-1sg-COND₂ come-LK-1sg
 ‘If I was well, I would have come.’

(12.79) kue_A **uru-e-re-i-aka-di-kue-na** jai uru-e-re-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg child-POSS-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg-COND₂ already child-CLF:G-ATT-LK-1sg
 iadi kue nia jitai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 but 1sg STILL need-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘If I wanted to have kids, I would have already have them. However, I still don’t want them.’

Verbs in the main clause can take future tense marking, as in (12.80). Such clauses have no counterfactual readings.

(12.80) iko ni-ne-na uku-be_o kue-mo feekui-ze
 one.day Q2-LOC:NSP-ABL money-CLF:LEAF 1sg-LOC slowly-SIMIL
rii-d-e-na [da-je jo-fo]_o iba-iti-kue_{PRED} India-mo_{LOC}
 arrive-LK-3-COND₂ one-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV buy-FUT.LK-1sg India-LOC
 ‘If one day money would come (to me) from somewhere, I will buy a house in (the community of Tercera) India.’

F. PURPOSIVE CLAUSES MARKED WITH THE FUTURE EVENT NOMINALIZER *-ye(na)* - Murui

purposive clause morphologically encodes the goal and purpose of events. Murui purposive clauses have the same-subject requirement, and are marked with the future event nominalizer

-ye, often followed by the topical non-S/A marker *-na*.³³³ An instance where the future nominalizer *-ye* is the sole marker of purposive clause is given in (12.81):

- (12.81) *ie-na*_O *kue*_{O:RECIPIENT} *i-to*_{PRED} [*kue uru-ki*]_O
 CONN-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER
eka-ye!
 feed-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘Of this, give me to feed my children!’

The marking *-ye* and *-ye(na)* seem to be interchangeable without major semantic difference, as in (12.82-83).³³⁴ See also examples T.2.29, T3.12, T.3.21, and T3.29 in the Appendix.

- (12.82) *i-fo-do* *rai-t-e*_{PRED} ‘*oo-re* *ñoo*³³⁵ *kue*_A
 ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV-INS say-LK-3 2sg-ATTENTION female 1sg
*jitai-di-kue*_{PRED} ***kue-mo***_{O:RECIPIENT} ***airiji-na***_O ***oo***_A
 need-LK-1sg 1sg-LOC cassava-N.S/A.TOP 2sg
ati-ye-na!
 bring-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘After he says: “My niece! I need you to bring me a cassava”.’
- (12.83) *aki-e*_S *ua* *niki-do-ti-kai*_{PRED} *nia* *ua* *baai* *baa*
 AUDIT-CLF:G really fight-CAUS-LK-1pl STILL really THERE THAT.THERE
jaai~jai-kai-ye-na_{PRED} *kai* ***komo-no=ua*** ***baai***
 go~RED-INCP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR=really THERE
baa ***kai*** ***ui-ye-na***_{PRED}
 THAT.THERE 1pl take-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This way, if we keep fighting, we will go forward. To take forward our new generations.’

Often, the purposive clause follows the main clause but the ordering can be reversed depending on the pragmatic factors. This is illustrated in (12.84-85):

³³³ The use of *-na* in such context is reminiscent of Tariana purposive *-karu* followed by the topical *-nuku* (Aikhenvald, 2003).

³³⁴ The future event nominalizer *-ye* is also used as a command strategy (§11.1.4).

³³⁵ As an endearment term it is used female referents, meaning ‘mother, daughter, sister, niece’, c.f. *moo* for males meaning ‘father, son, brother, nephew’.

- (12.84) [bi-e yiki-ai]_s kaima-re zori-ye-na kue_{OBLIQUE}
 this.CTS-CLF:G fish-PL tasty-ATT smell-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 1sg
 rui-ka_{PRED}
 roast-PASS
 ‘I roasted the fish (for it) to smell nice.’
- (12.85) ie jira-ri uizi i-t-_CPRED ame-na
 CONN REASON-BENEF.CAUS eyes exist-LK-3 tree-CLF:TREE
 kio-ye-na
 see-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘And for this reason, (they) have eyes to see trees.’

The verb in the purposive clause can occasionally take the emphatic marker *-za*, as in (12.86):

- (12.86) airi-fai-ti-kue_{PRED} [kue raa]_O ri-ye-za
 scrape-CLF:JUNGLE.GARDEN-LK-1sg 1sg thing sow-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘I scraped the jungle garden to sow my plants (lit. things).’

When the purposive is negated, the future event nominalizer *-ye* is always followed by the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*, as in (12.87-88) below. Additionally, the purposive clauses are always negated with the special form of the standard negative *-ñei* (never *-ñe*), as in (12.87-88).

- (12.87) ‘bai-e jibi-e etu-ñei-ye-na oni
 this.CTS-CLF:G coca-CLF:G roast-NEG-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP LOCAL₂
 o-ye!’ rai-ti-kue_{PRED}
 take-FUT.E.NMLZ say-LK-1sg
 ‘I said ‘Pick (it) aside (so) that coca doesn’t roast (too much)!’
- (12.88) monai-ñei-ye-na jaka aima-jai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 brighten-NEG-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP always fish-ANDTV-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘Not to wake up early, I didn’t go fishing.’

G. CLAUSES OF RESULT AND REASON take nominalizations as their arguments; they are followed by postposition *jira* ‘reason’, *muidona* ‘for reason’, and *mamedo* ‘in the name of’.³³⁶

G1. CLAUSES OF REASON MARKED WITH POSTPOSITION *jira* ‘reason’ - deverbial and deadjectival nominalizations combine with the postposition *jira* to form clauses of reason. This is illustrated in (12.89), where the nominalized verb *zuriya* ‘announcing’ is followed by the postposition *jira*:

- (12.89) *abi* *dane* *ni-no-mo*_{LOC} *zuri-d-e*_{PRED}
 AGAIN ONCE Q₂-CLF:PLACE-LOC bird.sing.bad-LK-3
zuri-ya ***jira*** *dane* *Kecha* *rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 bird.sing.bad-E.NMLZ REASON ONCE Kechatoma say-LK-3
 ‘aama!’ *rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 brother.CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 ‘Once again somewhere (a bird) announced bad news. Because of (its) singing, once again Kechatoma said (to Jitoma): “Brother!” he said.’

In the following excerpt in (12.90), Jitoma is begging Grandfather Jobai to calm himself. The nominalized adjective *rozinaiya* ‘becoming cold’ is followed by *jira*:

- (12.90) ***eo*** ***rozi-nai-ya*** ***jira*** ‘*uzu!*’ *uzu!*
 very cold-BECOME₁-E.NMLZ REASON grandparent.VOC grandparent.VOC
abi *manai-no!* [*oo jito*]-*di-kue=za!*’ *rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 body calm-IMP 2sg son-LK-1sg-UNCERT say-LK-3
 ‘Because of becoming very cold (outside), he said: “Grandfather, grandfather! Calm yourself! I am your son!”.’

In the discourse, *ie jira* (_{CONN REASON}) ‘because of it’ is frequently reduced to *iera*, as in (12.91) (see also T1.7, T1.16, T1.17, and T1.20 in the Appendix).

³³⁶ In Murui, adpositions are grammatically similar to nouns (see §3.3.6).

- (12.91) **ie-ra** kai_S mei nai-fo-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{PRED}
 CONN-REASON 1pl so ANA.SP-CLF:CAV-INS come-LK-1pl
 ‘And so, through that cave, we came out.’

Jira often takes the benefactive-causal case marker *-ri* ‘because of’, as in (12.92). The argument is frequently referred to by the connective *ie* (as in *ieri* in T1.48 and T2.89 in the Appendix).

- (12.92) **kaka-ñe-na jira-ri** dane faka-i-ti-kue_{PRED}
 hear-NEG-E.NMLZ REASON-BENEF.CAUS ONCE try-LK-FUT-1sg
 ‘For the reason of not hearing, I will try again.’ (about recording a story)

G2. CLAUSES OF REASON MARKED WITH POSTPOSITION *muidona* ‘for reason, because of, as a result’ - clauses of reason with the postposition *muidona* obligatorily take the topical non-S/A marker *-na*, as in (12.93-95) (see also T.2.14, T2.84, and T.2.90 in the Appendix).

- (12.93) nai-mie=di_S fa-ga_{PRED} **kai muidona**
 ANA.SP-S/A.TOP hit-PASS 1pl REASON
 ‘He was punished because of us.’

- (12.94) [**kue moo**]_A kue_O zeda-ja **muidona** komui-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg father 1sg take.care-E.NMLZ REASON grow-LK-1sg
 ‘I lived because my father took care of me.’

- (12.95) jii! ie jiai! ie-mo [**ñaiño jinui**]_O
 yes CONN too CONN-LOC CLF:PR.F water
jiro-i-aka-na muidona [nai-e dine]_{LOC} rii-di-kañai_{PRED}
 drink-EMPH-DES-E.NMLZ REASON ANA.SP-CLF:G AT.LOC:NSP arrive-LK-1du
 ‘Yes! that too! And, because of her wanting to drink, we arrived there.’

G3. CLAUSES OF REASON MARKED WITH *mamedo* and *mamekido* ‘in the name of, due to’, as in examples (12.96-97).

- (12.96) **nooi-ya mame-do** bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 wash-E.NMLZ name-INS come-LK-1sg
 ‘I went there due to washing.’

- (12.97) **daa raa mame-ki-do** jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 one thing name.CLF:INHER-INS go-LK-1sg
 ‘I went there due to one thing.’

12.3.2 Complementation strategy

Complement strategies involve deverbal nominalizations that fill an argument slot in a structure of another clause in place of an NP (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010a: 370).³³⁷ Event nominalizations occur in O function. As arguments of the predicate of the main clause, they have noun-like properties such as the nominal case marking; depending on the verb structure, they obligatorily occur with either the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* or the locative *-mo*. A nominalization as a complementation strategy occurs in the position of an NP, and, as such, it can be preposed or postposed to the verb. In (12.98) the event nominalization is employed as a complementation strategy with the verb of wanting.

- (12.98) **oo kiua-na** dane abido jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg see.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP ONCE AGAIN need-NEG-LK-3-N.S/A
 ‘I want to see you again.’

The nominalizations can be used with the verb of perception (seeing, hearing) and cognition (knowing), as in (12.99-102):³³⁸

- (12.99) **nai-mie_s** jaai-ya-na kio-di-kue_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M go-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-1sg
 ‘I saw him leaving (lit. going)’

- (12.100) **oo ñai-a-na_{PRED}** kaka-d-e_{PRED}
 2sg speak-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP hear-LK-3
 ‘I know that Sama didn’t go home.’

³³⁷ Nominalizations used as complementation strategies are characteristic of many languages in South America (Overall & Wojtylak, 2014).

³³⁸ Give an example with the verb ‘hear’.

(12.101) **jiai-mie**_A [**jiai-e** **duiko**]_O **manua-na** **uiño-t-e**_{PREP}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Other (man) knows healing other illnesses.’

(12.102) **kue**_A **uiño-ti-kue**_{PREP} **Samas** **jo-fo-mo**_{LOC} **jaai-ñe-na-na**
 1sg know-LK-1sg Sama house-CLF:CAV-LOC go-NEG-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘I know that Sama didn’t go home.’

The verb of speaking can also take nominalizations as arguments, as in (12.103):³³⁹

(12.103) **oo** **jaai-a-na** **kai-mo** **yo-no!**_{PREP}
 2sg go-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 1pl-LOC tell-IMP
 ‘Tell me about your travel!’

The interrogative word *ni-no* (Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘where’ can occasionally function as an interrogative complementizer used in the clause-initial position of a complement clause.³⁴⁰

(12.104) is an excerpt from a hunting register where a speaker is naming various places where animals will be hunted. The interrogative *nino* introduces the complement clause. Such uses are infrequent in Murui discourse.

(12.104) [**kue uru-ki**]_O **kue**_{O:RECIPIENT} **eka-ye=za**_{PREP}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=EMPH
 [**ni-no** [**meido jerei**]_{LOC} **muzeyi** **uai-d-e=za**_{PREP}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE stubble inside maraca.fruit fall-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘For me to feed my children where inside the stubble the *maraca* fruit falls.’

12.3.3 Relativization strategy

Murui does not have relative clauses; rather it has a relativization strategy (marked here as RC) which is typically done with deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations involving classifiers (see §3.1.4).³⁴¹ The common argument is stated in the RC filling the RC slot which

³³⁹ Note however that Murui often uses direct speech to express complements of verbs of speaking and telling (see e.g. T2.50 and T2.60 in the Appendix).

³⁴⁰ This may be an influence from Spanish.

³⁴¹ Cross-linguistically, there seems to be a rather ‘intimate relationship’ between nominalization and relativization (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, & Wrona, 2011: 27).

the common argument would normally have in the main clause. In example (12.105), *jiibie dutimie* makes up one intonation unit. Other examples are given in (12.106-107).

- (12.105) [**jiibi-e_o** **du-ti-mie**]_s fimai-d-e_{PRED}
 coca-CLF:G chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.M fast-LK-3
 ‘The one who chews coca, fasts.’
- (12.106) **nai-mie** [**Kata i-ya-no-na**]
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M Kata exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE-N/S.A.TOP
 uiño-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 know-NEG-LK-3
 ‘She does not know his address.’
- (12.107) [**komi-ni** **i-ñe-na-no-mo**]_{LOC} jaai-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 people-CLF:DR.GR exist-NEG-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC go-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘I want to go to a place where there are no people.’

The common argument can be in O function in the main clause and RC, as in (12.108):

- (12.108) [[kue uruai-ai]_o jo-fo-mo_{LOC} **fiabi-di-no-mo**]
 1sg child-CLF:G-PL house-CLF:CAV-LOC stay-LK-CLF:PR.GR.AN-LOC
 komekii-di-kue_{PRED}
 think-LK-1sg
 ‘I think of my children who stayed at home.’

In Murui nominalized RC, the common argument can either be fully stated in the main clause, as in (12.108), or as in (12.109-110), where it is stated in the RC:

- (12.109) **furi-re-di-mie**_s bi-t-e_{PRED} oo bi-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 fight-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.M come-LK-3 or come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘The fighter (lit. one who always fights) came, didn’t he?’
- (12.110) **dio-kai**_o **ui-oi-kai-di-ñaiño**_s bi-oi-kabi-ya_{PRED}
 tobacco-CLF:STEM bring-PROG-INCEP-LK-CLF:PR.F come-PROG-HAB-LK-3
 ‘The one who has cigarettes, keeps coming.’

The nature of the common argument in Murui is rather limited: as a bound animate classifier, it may refer to the third person only, as in (12.111).

- (12.111) **ebi-re-di-fue-na**_o eo gaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 nice-ATT-LK-CLF:STORY-N.S/A very like-LK-1sg
 ‘I liked the nice story (lit. the story that is nice).’

Fully inflected verbs can also occur in such positions, as in (12.112-113) (note that the third person cross-referencing marker on the verb *-e* has the same form as the general classifier *-e*):

(12.112) **maraiñe-d-e-na**_{PRED} **ati-ñe-no!**_{PRED}
 good._{ATT.NEG-LK-3-COND2} bring-NEG-IMP
 ‘Do not bring the one which is not good!’

(12.113) [**da-je** **kome**]_S **ini-roi-re-d-e-na** **i-ñe-d-e**_{PRED}
 one-CLF:G person clothes-CLF-POSS-LK-3-N.S/A exist-NEG-LK-3
 ‘There wasn’t a person who had clothes on.’

A clause with a nominalization followed by a classifier occupies a prototypical nominal position; Murui is generally verb final and the nominalizations occur before the main predicate. In (12.114), *urueredimie* ‘the one who has children’ occurs pre-verbally in the S function restricting the meaning of the NP. In (12.115) it functions in the ‘prototypical’ VCC position:

(12.114) *mei jiai-kaño=ua=mei* [**uru-e-re-di-mie** *da-ma*
 so other-TIME=really=so child-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.M one-CLF:DR.M
 [*uru-e* *diga*] *i-t-e*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G WITH exist-LK-3
 ‘Well, other times, the one who has children, lives alone with (his) children.’

(12.115) *Juan*_{VCS} **uru-e-re-di-mie**_{VCC}
 Juan child-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.M
 ‘Juan has child(en) (lit. Juan (is) child-possessor).’

The common argument has similar functions in the main clauses and the nominalized RCs. In both, the common argument may occur in the S, A, and O functions (also VS and VCC) but the most frequent argument type to function as the common argument within an RC, is S, A, VS, and VCC.

12.4 Summary

This chapter focused on sentence types and clause linking in Murui. Three types of Murui independent clauses were discussed: the declarative, the interrogative, and the

imperative. Techniques of coordination of independent clauses included clauses of contract and addition, and disjunction. Types of Murui dependent clauses included subordinate clauses of all types (sequential, temporal, posteriority and anteriority, overlap, conditional, purposive, and reason), and complementation and relativization strategies of various types.

13 Discourse organization

This chapter focuses on a number of salient features of Murui discourse organization. In particular, it discusses the role of repetition (§13.1) and bridging constructions (§13.2). This is followed by a discussion of features of three genre types (narratives, conversations, and songs) in §13.3. The role of focus and pause markers is the topic of §13.4. Contact-induced changes in Murui under Spanish influence are given attention in §13.5. The last section §13.6 offers a brief summary.

13.1 Repetition of phrases and clauses

Murui discourse is full of phrasal and clausal repetitions that are often verbatim. Such repetitions emphasize significance of a phrase, clause, or a sentence within texts. They have mostly aspectual meanings (i.e. reiteration of an action, its prolonged duration, intensity and emphasis). Repetition is different from bridging constructions (discussed in §13.2) in that it is not used to organize discourse; rather it can be considered an aspectual strategy of a sort.

In Murui, phrases and sentences are commonly repeated up to three times, especially in narratives. Example of verbatim repetitions is presented in (13.1), a textual excerpt from a story about preparations for traditional celebrations in the maloca. By means of the repetition of words and phrases, the speaker emphasizes the importance of the travel they undertook in order not to arrive for the celebration empty-handed, at the same time, making a clear reference to the prolonged duration and the intensity of their journey (repeated clauses and sentences are in bold).

- (13.1) [bai-e ði-ñiaï]_A kobeda_o ui-t-e_{PREL} nai-do
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-COLL shot gun.Sp take-LK-3 path-INS
 do-ri-ta-kana jaai-d-e_{PREL} **nai-do** **do-ri-ta-kana**
 shoot-DUR-CAUS-OVERLAP go-LK-3 path-INS shoot-DUR-CAUS-OVERLAP
jaai-d-e_{PREL} **nai-do** [bai-e joma-niaï]_o **do-ri-ta-kana**
 go-LK-3 path-INS that.FSH-CLF:G **monkey**-COLL shoot-DUR-CAUS-OVERLAP
 ui-t-e_{PREL}
 take.away-LK-3
 ‘The men took weapons. Shooting along the way, they walked the path. Shooting along the way, they walked. Along the path shooting at monkeys, they took them away.’

Repetitions of words, phrases and clauses are commonly accompanied by an unusual intonation (slow speech accompanied by lengthened initial syllable). Another example is presented in (13.2), a part of a mythological narrative about Jitoma, a mythological hero who travelled through the ‘Witoto’ lands in the ancestral past. In the story, Jitoma, together with his brother Kechatoma, were sent by Grandfather Jobai for a mission. When they did not pass the test for obedience and disregarded Jobai’s instructions, it brought a heavy rain storm, which almost killed them. The repetition of *noki riiya* ‘the rain came’ is almost like an extra ‘assertion’ to emphasize the fact that the rain really came. This is similar for the second and third repetition of *deei* ‘(it) rains’. Additionally, *deei* has an unusual intonation characterised by an extra lengthening of the initial syllable. Additionally, it is accompanied by *ua* ‘really’ to show the intensity of the rain that came upon Jitoma and Kechatoma.

- (13.2) ie-mo nai-ziemie-mo noki rii-ya_{PREL} **noki** **rii-ya_{PREL}**
 CONN-LOC ANA.SP-du.m-LOC rain arrive-E.NMLZ rain arrive-E.NMZL
 deei-d-e_{PREL} ua nai-e-mo **deei-d-e_{PREL}** **ua** **deei-d-e_{PREL}**
 rain-LK-3 really ANA.SP-CLF:G-LOC rain.EMPH-LK-3 really rain.EMPH-LK-3
 ‘And then the rain came, it came. It really rained. And then it rained, really rained.’

The example (13.3) is taken from the same story of Jitoma and Kechatoma’s long journey.

Note that the use of the stand-alone event nominalization *biya* ‘coming’ that is backgrounding the event that wind came (see also Wojtylak (forthcoming-e) and §3.1.4 on the ‘stand-alone’ function of Murui nominalizations).

- (13.3) ie=ta ua jaai-d-e_{PRE}D jaai-d-e_{PRE}D [[naga-ziaimie [aama diga]]_s
 CONN=REP really go-LK-3 go-LK-3 EACH-**du.m** brother WITH
 ie-mo aifi_s bi-t-e_{PRE}D **aifi_s** **bi-ya_{PRE}D** **aifi_s** **bi-ya_{PRE}D**
 CONN-LOC wind come-LK-3 wind come-E.NMLZ wind come-E.NMLZ
 ‘And he went, (he went), with his brother. And then the wind came, the wind came,
 the wind came.’

Vowel lengthening and unusual intonation is more likely to occur in narrations. The following example comes from a life story of an elder reminiscing about old times. In (13.4) the repeated verb *atidikai* ‘we brought’ makes reference to the amount of game people would bring when they would return from hunting.

- (13.4) ie jira kai [bai-e izoi] raa0-ti-kai_{PRE}D aare jiai-kaño
 CONN REASON 1pl that.FSH-CLF:G similar hunt-LK-1pl far.ATT other-TIME
 jaai-ya-no **aiyo** **ati-di-kai_{PRE}D** **aiyue-na** **ati-di-kai_{PRE}D**
 go-E.NMLZ-SEQ a.lot bring-LK-1pl big.CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-1pl
 ‘That is why we fish and we hunt like that. We go far away to do so and we bring a
 lot, we bring much.’

13.2 Bridging constructions

In addition to verbatim repetitions of phrases and clauses, another type of frequent repetition involves bridging constructions, commonly used in procedural discourse (and rarely in other genres). Murui distinguishes two types of bridging constructions: *recapitulative linkage* where bridging clause ‘repeats’ the reference clause in the bridging clause (discussed in §13.2.1), shown in (13.5), and *summary linkage* where the bridging clause contains verbs with ‘generic’ meanings and makes reference to the preceding reference clause (§13.2.2), as in (13.6).³⁴² Both types of bridging constructions involve sentence-initial sequential dependent clauses. Bridging clauses are in boldface, reference clauses are underlined:

³⁴² See de Vries (2005) on recapitulative and summary linkage.

(13.5) RECAPITULATIVE LINKAGE

juiyi-jĩ_o ti-iti-kue kore_o o-ye-na
 yucca-CLF:TUBER grate-FUT.LK-1sg starch get-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
kore_o o-a-no mena-rui i-ya-no
 starch get-E.NMZL-SEQ two-CLF:DAY exist-E.NMLZ-SEQ
 juiyi-jĩ_s jini-ye [kue farie]_o bee-ti-kue_{PRED}
 yucca-CLF:TUBER ripe-FUT.E.NMLZ 1sg farina.Sp toast-FUT-LK-1sg
 ‘I will grate the yucca, to get the starch. After getting the starch, after (it) being
 (there) for two days to get ripe, I will toast my farina (cereal meal).’

(13.6) SUMMARY LINKAGE

jaziki-mona_{ABL} ati-a-no-na **nai-e_o**
 forest-ABL bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:G
finua-no-na jo-fo-mo_{LOC} jifa~jifa-no-d-e_{PRED}
 make.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP house-CLF:CAV-LOC play~RED-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘After bringing (the fruit) from the forest, having done/made this, (children) keep
 playing at home (with it).’

Although both types of bridging constructions involve sequential clauses (that is, those marked with the sequential marker *-no*, see Chapter 12), not all sequential clauses are used for bridging linkage - sequential clauses can also be used for normal sequence of actions (non-bridging). In Murui recapitulative and summary linkage constructions, the ‘reference clause’ is always placed sentence-initially. Its arguments and additional material (if present) are usually omitted, but may also be repeated. Repeated predicates are typically nominalized (occasionally the verb can occur with passive markers), and have no TAME specification. Verbs in bridging clauses are distinguished by intonation. The main verb in reference clause has falling intonation (sentence-final; used typically for declarative clauses), followed usually by *jĩ* ‘yes’ and *hm* in narratives. The verb in the bridging clause involves either a flat or a slightly rising intonation, followed occasionally by a short pause. Additionally, Murui has a construction that involves the ‘bridging’ connective *ie* and functions as a textual anaphora (see §3.3.5). The connective *ie* makes reference to information given in the preceding context; it can take case and occur with clausal marking such as *jira* ‘reason’ (see §12.3). It occurs in all types of genres, but it is especially salient in Murui narratives. The bridging

element *ie* is a type of a non-canonical bridging linkage (see §13.2.3). An example of such a construction is given in (13.7) (see also examples (13.3) and (13.4) above). In (13.7) the connective *ie* refers anaphorically to the preceding clause and takes the benefactive-causal case marker *-ri*. As a clause, it translates as ‘because of this’.

(13.7) BRIDGING ELEMENT *ie*

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| [[bai-e | i-mani] _s | batine | i-t-e _{PRED} |
| that.FSH-CLF:G | ANA.NSP-CLF:BIG.RIVER | THERE.LOC:NSP | exist-LK-3 |
| mame-ki] _{VCS} | Uifibina-mani] _{VCS} | ie-ri | bai-e] _{VSC} |
| name-CLF:INHER | Putumayo-CLF:BIG.RIVER | CONN-BENEF.CAUS | that.FSH-CLF:G |
| [[kai beno-mo] _{LOC} | i-t-e _{PRED}] _{RC} | [[kai i-ya-no | |
| 1pl | HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC | exist-LK-3 | 1pl |
| mame-ki] | kai ini-a-no-mo] _{VCS} | [Tercera India] _{VCC} | |
| name-CLF:INHER | 1pl | sleep-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC | Tercera India |

‘That river which is over there is called Putumayo. Because of this, the name of the community here, where we live (lit. place of sleeping) is Tercera India.’

13.2.1 Recapitulative linkage

Murui recapitulative linkage requires the last verb of the preceding reference clause to be repeated in the successive bridging clause. Recapitulative repetition is verbatim and more often than not, it involves only the repetition of the predicate. (13.8a-f) is an excerpt from the *jiibie fīnuafue* ‘narration that translates roughly as a ‘story of making coca’. It is a procedural text that explains how to prepare coca leaves for ritual consumption. Note the sentence-initial position of the bridging clauses and the repetition of the same verbal root in subsequent bridging clauses.

to the preceding event in (13.8d).

The occurrence of ‘clause skipping’ is not frequent in the discourse but does occur. There are only a handful of cases where the bridging clause skips more than one clause. When a clause intervenes between reference and bridging clause, they ‘add’ new discourse events ‘on the side’ as a sort of supportive material with some depictive information without breaking the discourse continuity.

The following textual excerpt (13.9) is the continuation of the procedural *jiibie finuafue* ‘story of making coca’ from (13.9). (13.9b-c), (13.9c-d) and (13.9f-g) illustrate the sequentiality of the bridging clauses. The discourse function of the bridging clause here is to ‘set the scene’ of the events by backgrounding the previous action in the context of the action yet to come. This is done to advance the narrative along a chronological line of events as well as to keep track of events.

- (13.9) a. *dio-na* *iyi-mo_{LOC}* *ri-ga_{PRED}* *ie* *kome_A uai-d-e_{PRED}*
 tobacco-N.S/A.TOP garden-LOC harvest-PASS CONN person bring.on.back-LK-3
 ‘Tobacco is harvested in gardens. One brings (the tobacco back) on their backs.’
- b. *ati-a-no-na* *jokua-no-na* *roko-ka_{PRED}* *jmm...*
 bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP wash.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP cook-PASS INTERJ
 ‘After bringing (it), washing (it), (it) is cooked (it).’
- c. ***rokua-no-na*** *jai* *raize* *yota-no-na*
 cook.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP already well pour.sieve-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP
gata-ga_{PRED}
 distill-PASS
 ‘After cooking (it), pouring (it) through a sieve well, (it) is distilled.’
- d. ***gata-ja-no*** *mara-ki-na_O* *fai-ga_{PRED}* *jmm*
 distill-E.NMLZ-SEQ plant-CLF:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP flavour.mix.tobacco-PASS INTERJ
 ‘After distilling (it), it is flavoured with the *maraki* plant.’
- e. *jai* *yera-na_O* *raina-d-e_{PRED}* *yera* *jmm...*
 already liquid.tobacco-N.S/A.TOP sit.down-LK-3 liquid.tobacco INTERJ
 ‘The liquid tobacco is already set. The liquid tobacco.’

- f. [jino jaziki ie iaizai]_O ua-no-na jaa
 outside forest CONN salt.type get.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP soon
 yera_O ii-ka_{PRED}
 liquid.tobacco mix.with.salt-PASS
 ‘After bringing the salt of the forest, the liquid tobacco mixes with salt.’
- g. ii-a-no-na jai naime-re-d-e_{PRED} me-t-e_{PRED} kome_S
 mix-E.NMLZ-SEQ-TOP already sweet-ATT-LK-3 lick-LK-3 person
 ‘After mixing (it), it is already sweet. A person licks (it).’
- h. jai nabai_O i-ga_{PRED} jmm...
 already friend give-PASS INTERJ
 ‘They give it to friends (lit. friends are already given (the liquid tobacco)).’

The final predicate of the reference clause *ika* ‘mixed’ in (13.9f) has a different intonation pattern from the bridging clause *ianona* ‘after mixing’, that is $\lambda\# \searrow ka$ vs. $\lambda ianona$. The sentence *jaa yera iika* ‘the liquid tobacco is now mixed’ is a statement with normal declarative intonation contour (falling intonation). The repeated predicate *ianona* has slightly rising intonation followed by a brief pause. Such intonation patterns are typical for all bridging clauses as well as other types of dependent clauses. Another interesting phenomenon in this example is a different morphological structure of the predicate in the bridging clause from that in the reference clause. The passive marker *-ga* from (13.9c) is ‘replaced’ in (13.9d) with the nominalizer *-ja* (nominalization in Murui has backgrounding functions, see §3.1.4). The nominalized verb *gataja* ‘distilling’ followed by the sequential marker ‘focuses’ on the result of the event.

Murui bridging constructions are further characterized by frequent omissions of target lexical items in the bridging clause, in particular arguments and locational expressions. For instance, the locational *zibegimo* ‘in the pot’ in (13.8b) is omitted in (13.8c). The arguments can be retained, however; see *kore* ‘starch’ in (13.5) above. Often, rather than the mention of overt arguments, bridging clauses contain anaphoric demonstratives. In Murui, sole arguments are never repeated on their own without an accompanying predicate. In cases

where two arguments are present in the reference clause, no more than one argument (if any) is ‘copied’ into the bridging clause. Omission of arguments is context-dependent (that is, referents have to be understood from the context) and in the bridging clauses it is not a specific feature of neither the recapitulative nor summary linkage.³⁴³

13.2.2 Summary linkage

Another type of Murui bridging constructions involves non-verbatim summary linkage that is characteristic of all procedural texts. It hardly occurs in other genres. The occurrence of summary linkage is however not as pervasive as that of recapitulative linkage in the language. Murui does not have a ‘dedicated’ generic verb through which ‘summary’ repetition would be realized. Bridging clauses contain verbs that have reasonably generic semantics, rather than specific ones. Those verbs do not have pro-verb functions (that is, they cannot be used as a replacement for any verb). In the corpus, only three verbs function as generic ‘replacements’ of specific verbs *ñe-* ‘do’, *fino-* ‘make’, and *ati-* ‘bring’.³⁴⁴ Their functions are similar to verbs in normal sequential clauses but they are more frequently used as summary linkage. An example of such summary repetition of the verb *fino-* ‘do’ is shown in (13.10), where *fīnuanona* ‘after doing’ in (13.10c) refers back to (13.10a-b) (that is, the drilling of a small hole in a fruit in order to make a toy). Note the co-occurrence of the anaphoric demonstrative *naie* ‘that’ used as the textual anaphora; the element *ie* introduces the clauses.

³⁴³ In Murui there is a general tendency to ‘omit’ both core and oblique arguments, if these are clear from the immediate context (see Chapter 6).

³⁴⁴ The verbal root *ñe-* is considered ‘vulgar’ in Murui, and it is frequently replaced with *fino-* ‘do’. This might be an indication of its ‘foreign’ origin (c.f. Tariana, the verb ‘do’ has the form of *ni-* ‘do’).

- (13.10) a. nai-e bai-ki beiki rai-ga_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G that.FSH-CLF:ROUND **side** drill.hole-PASS
 ‘On the side of the seed (it) is drilled.’
- b. tuui-d-e i-fo jano-re
 open-LK-3 ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV small-ATT
 ‘(He) open a hole (a little bit).’
- c. [ie **jino** nai-e_O **finua-no-na**
 CONN outside ANA.SP-CLF:G make.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP
 [nai-e_S jerei-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}]_S **nana_S** **jino_{LOC}** o-ga_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G inside-LOC exist-LK-3 ALL outside get-PASS
 ‘And after doing this outside (in the forest), everything that is inside is taken out.’
- d. ie=mei ua fikoji-d-e_{PRED}
 CONN=so really **be.light**-LK-3
 ‘And later, it (the shell) is very light.’

An example of the verbal root *ñe-* ‘do’ is given in (13.11). The verb ‘summarises’ the previous steps of a procedure in order to introduce a new action.

- (13.11) a. [[jororo-ño ki-do ie] jaziki-mo uai-d-e_{PRED}
yugo.plant-CLF:DR.F seed-CLF:POINTED CONN jungle-LOC fall.down-LK-3
 ‘Seeds of the *jororoño* plant fall in the jungle.’
- b. ie bai-e_S kome_{OBLIQUE} yi-ga_{PRED} i-do_O
 CONN that.FSH-CLF:G person suck-PASS ANA.NSP-CLF:POINTED
o-t-e_{PRED}
 get.out-LK-3
 ‘A person consumes the seeds. They get (them) out.’
- c. ie_O **ñia-no** rai-ga_{PRED} jerei-mo i-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN do.E.NMLZ-SEQ drill.hole-PASS inside-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘After doing (this), there is a hole drilled (into the *jororoño* seed).’

The verb *ati-* ‘bring (generic)’ that refers back to the more specific verb of carrying *uai-* ‘bring on back’ was illustrated in (13.8a-b).

13.2.3 The ‘bridging’ element *ie*

There is one very prominent strategy of discourse organisation in Murui, the use of the ‘bridging’ element *ie*. *Ie* is an anaphoric connective of a sort which has a fixed morphological form and makes reference to information given in the preceding context. The connective *ie* is

especially salient in Murui narratives but generally occurs in all types of Murui genres. One can argue that *ie* syntactically parallels summary linkage constructions as described in §13.2.1-2.

Morphologically, *ie* is derived with the anaphoric demonstrative *i-* and the general classifier *-e* (see §3.3.3). As the general classifier *-e* denotes objecthood without specifying its physical properties (§4.2.2.1), *ie* does not specify to which participant or event it refers back to. As a connective in discourse, *ie* is never marked for number, classifier, or gender.³⁴⁵ *ie* has a range of syntactic functions. It can be a linker in a possessive construction (see Chapter 5), as in (13.12), or an argument of a verb, as in (13.13):

(13.12) [jororo-ño ki-do ie]_s jaziki-mo uai-d-e_{PREL}
 yugo.plant-CLF:DR.F seed-CLF:POINTED CONN jungle-LOC fall.down-lk-3
 ‘Seeds of the *jororoño* plant fall in the jungle.’

(13.13) misa..._s ie_s jari-re fui-t-e_{PREL} ua?
 holy.mass.Sp CONN quick-ATT finish-LK-3 really
 ‘(As for) the Holy Mass... it’s finished quickly, right?’

The connective *ie*, as a sentence linking device, does not involve the repetition of verbal material. It occurs in paragraph initial positions referring to situations and events, rather than participants. Depending on the relation between clausal events, *ie* can be case-marked, as in (13.14), take some clausal marking (as illustrated in (13.7) in §13.2), and be followed by reported evidential *=ta* (*ie=ta* ‘so (as said)’ as in (13.15b) below) and the simulative marker *-ze* (*ie-ze* ‘this way’). Clauses referred to by *ie* are underlined, the *ie* element is shown in bold.

³⁴⁵ In this respect, the Bora ‘connective pronoun’ *áá?né* (CON-CL.INAN) (Seifart 2010) seems to be much like Murui as it takes the the general inanimate class marker *-ne* that does not refer to participants but to the situation or event described in preceding paragraphs.

- (13.14) *gui-ti-kue*_{PRED} **ie-mo** *rii-d-e*_{PRED} *moo-tiai*_S
 eat-LK-1sg CONN-LOC arrive-LK-3 father-PL.KIN
 ‘I ate and (lit. in this) the fathers came.’

The frequency of usage of the element *ie* in narratives is strikingly high. The connective occurs at the beginning of the majority of sentences, as illustrated in an excerpt from the mythological narrative *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* in (13.15). In the story, they set off for a journey with a little package which they were not allowed to look at. *Kechatoma*, who was a very misbehaving boy, could not wait to open the secret packet and look what was inside. (13.15a) introduces a twist in a story, where *Jitoma* scolds *Kechatoma* for wanting to go and take a break in the journey. The sentences (13.15c-e) that follow begin with *ie*, that refers anaphorically to the preceding events.³⁴⁶

- (13.15) a. *Jitoma*_S *dine-na* *rei-t-e*_{PRED} *Kecha-na*_O *‘jaai-ñe-no!’*_{PRED}
Jitoma AT.LOC:NSP-ABL say-LK-3 *Kechatoma*-N.S/A.TOP go-NEG-PRIV.PROH
*rei-t-e*_{PRED} *‘bi-e*_{OBLIQUE} *koko*_S *ore-ka-mo*_{TEMP} *‘jaaiti-koko!’*_{PRED}
 say-LK-3 this.CTS-CLF:G 1du.m send-PASS-LOC go.FUT.LK-1du.m
*rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 say-LK-3
 ‘*Jitoma* said to *Kechatoma* “Do not go”, he said. “In that we were sent (by this), we will go”, he said.’
- b. **ie=ta** *ua* *jaai-d-e*_{PRED} *jaai-d-e*_{PRED} *naga-ziaimiai*_S
 CONN=REP really go-LK-3 go-LK-3 EACH-3du.m
 [aa-ma *diga*]
 brother-CLF:DR.M WITH
 ‘And then, they went and went. Both of them, with the brother.’
- c. **ie-mo** *aifi*_S *bi-t-e*_{PRED} *aifi*_S *bi-ya*_{PRED} *aifi*_S *bi-ya*_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC wind come-LK-3 wind come-E.NMLZ wind come-E.NMLZ
 ‘And then, the wind came. The wind came, the wind came.’

³⁴⁶ I translate the connective *ie* as ‘(and) then’. Depending on the case marker, it can have various semantics. For instance, *ie* followed by the locative *-mo*, as in *iemo* in (13.13c), could also be interpreted as ‘in this, in this situation’.

- d. **ie** nai-mie_s rei-t-e_{PRE} ‘[uzu-ma Jobai]_A
 CONN ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M say-LK-3 grandparent-CLF:DR.M Jobai
 bu-e-na_o joone-ñe-d-e=di_{PRE} **jamei** koko_o jifue-t-e!_{PRE}
 Q2-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP put-NEG-lk-3=CERT ONLY 1du.m play-LK-3
 rei-t-e_{PRE}
 say-LK-3
 ‘And then, he said: “Grandfather Jobai did not put anything (in the package).
 He played us!” (he) said .’
- e. **ie** nai-mie_s rei-t-e_{PRE} ‘jaaiti-koko’_{PRE} rei-t-e_{PRE}
 CONN ANA.SP-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3 go.FUT.LK-1du.m say-LK-3
 ‘And he (Jitoma) said: “We will go”, (he) said.’

As (13.15) shows, the occurrence of the element *ie* is limited to sentence-initial positions. It appears at the boundary of discourse units overtly framing the structure of a text and marking boundaries between units. The function of *ie* is to recapitulate previous information to establish some type of reference and retain event coherence, as in between (13.15b-c), (13.15c-d), (13.15d-e). In example (13.15c-e), all preceding events are formally ‘reduced’ to *ie* in the succeeding sentences that ‘summarizes’ the preceding sentences, e.g. *ie-mo* ‘in this’ in (13.15c) refers back to the event of ‘two brothers going’. In a sense, this parallels the function of ‘summary linkage’ in other languages where linkage is realized through some kind of a generic verbs ‘summarizing’ the preceding sentence/paragraph and having a function of the ‘bridging’ element.

The discourse difference between the bridging constructions and the connective *ie* has pragmatic overtones. Verbs in bridging clauses seem to foreground an event by specifically repeating it; the element *ie*, anaphoric in function, leaves the events unspecified as they are recoverable from the preceding context. In some cases, *ie* is also indicative of new events; see e.g. *iemo* ‘and then (lit. in this)’ in example (13.15c). Why one uses an anaphoric connective *ie* over bridging linkage (recapitulative and summary) remains to be a topic for further study.

The connective *ie* occurs in all types of genres such as procedural but it is the most prevalent in narratives, for which bridging constructions are hardly used. This suggests that

the two linking strategies discussed in this chapter, the bridging constructions and the bridging element *ie*, are neither exclusive nor complementary, but their co-occurrence may be related to the types of monologue discourse, such as procedural vs. narrative genre which correlate with characteristic grammatical markers in Murui.

13.3 Genre specific features

This section focuses on characteristics of three main genres in Murui: narratives, conversations, and songs. Each genre is discussed in turn.

13.3.1 Narratives

Murui narratives are comprised of various types of traditional stories, such as the performative genres *rafue* (ritual narrations that make reference to Murui norms and laws, ancestral linkage etc.) and *bakaki* (mythological narrations) (Echeverri, 1997: 30; Wojtylak, 2015a: 552). The *rafue* and *bakaki* narrations, unlike other types of genres, are monologues told during evening gatherings at the communal roundhouses. They are usually told at certain occasions. For instance, the elder Lucio Agga would narrate certain types of normative *rafue*, whenever his sons would misbehave. *Rafue* narrations are meant to teach about the ‘old’ ways of the Murui ancestors, and were when told, they would always make a direct reference to people’s current existence and practices. *Bakaki*, on the other hand, are narrations about mythical animals, such as the possum *jimenaki* (see Chapter 2 on the ‘possum’ speech register), or the mythical heroes *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* (see examples (13.2), (13.3) and (13.15) above). Many of these stories have a morale. In case of the narrations of the journeys of *Jitoma* and his brother *Kechatoma*, the stories tell about their wrong doings and subsequent punishments. *Rafue* and *bakaki* are often cast in remote past, shown by the remote

past markers (see Chapter 7). Another type of monologues are the hunting narratives which use hunting register (see §1.3.8), and chants (that have a special intonation contour and are usually whispered).

The *rafue* and *bakaki* narratives usually start by introducing a theme of a narration, and frequently use the verb *yo(te)* ‘tell’, as in (13.16).

- (13.16) ra-fue_o yooiti-kue_{PRED} [kai komui-ya ra-fue]_o
 thing-CLF:STORY tell.FUT.LK-1sg 1pl grow-E.NMLZ thing-CLF:STORY
 ‘I will tell a story, the story of our origin.’

Numerous tales use frequently the quotative verb *rei(te)* ‘tell’ when introducing the direct speech (note that the reported enclitic =*ta* is not used in such traditional narratives, see Chapter 7). This is illustrated in (13.17), a continuation of the advice of the Grandfather *Jobai* to *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* in (13.15) above.

- (13.17) ‘bene eroda-ñe-no!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED} ‘bene
 HERE.LOC:NSP look.BODY-NEG-PRIV.PROH say-LK-3 HERE.LOC:NSP
 uizi_o ibai!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED} uizi_o ibai-diaimie_{PRED}
 eyes close.IMP say-LK-3 eyes close-LK.3du.m
 ‘“Don’t look here” he said (Grandfather Jobai). “Close your eyes here!” he said.
 They closed (their) eyes.’

Perhaps one of the the most salient feature of Murui narratives, especially those of the *rafue* type, are the sentence final markers *jii* ‘yes’ and *jmm* ‘hm’, followed by a significant pause.

An example of *jmm* is illustrated in (13.18) (see e.g. examples T1.15, T1.16, and T1.19 in the Appendix).

- (13.18) jai nabai_s i-ga_{PRED} jmm...
 already neighbour give-PASS INTERJ
 ‘Friends are given it.’

The interjections *jii* and *jmm* help the speaker to collect one’s thoughts and proceed with the narration. Although the *rafue* and *bakaki* genres are primarily monologues, they do require an

active participation of those who listen. It is customary for men (or a specific individual who the *rafue* is meant for) to vigorously respond *jii*, as a sign of acknowledgment of the elder's words. The interjection *jmm* is used for 'less vigorous' response (e.g. for instance when an elder is scolding their sons). Occasionally, as a sign of agreement, the person who narrates *rafue*, can use both markers, and continue with the narration. This is illustrated in (13.19).

(13.19) Lucio: ie jafai-ki=dī jaka=mei ua jiaī
 CONN **breath**-CLF:INHER=S/A.TOP always=so really also
 zai-bi-ñe-d-e!_{PREP} **jmm**
 rot-NEG-LK-3 INTERJ
 'The spirit never gets old! Hm...'

Men: **jii!**
 yes
 'Yes!'

Lucio: **jii!** aki-e kai ua ua niī kaaje-na!
 yes! AUDIT-CLF:G 1pl really really Q₂ **be.alive**-E.NMLZ
jmm...
 INTERJ
 'Yes! This is our essence (lit. being alive)! Hm...'

Men: **jii!** **jmm...**
 yes INTERJ
 'Yes! Hm...'

It is also not unusual for the hearers to repeat speaker's last word, words, or even an entire phrase. The repeated bit of information can also be elaborated by adding additional elements, as shown in (13.20).

(13.20) Alexis: jai baa da-ma jaka rii-zaibi-d-e_{PREP}
 already ATTENTION alone-CLF:DR.M always arrive-VENTV-LK-3
 'He always comes alone!'

Lucio: **da-ma_S** **rii-zaibi-d-e_{PREP}**
one-CLF:DR.M arrive-VENTV-LK-3
 'He comes **alone (or by himself)!**'

When the narration is aimed at an individual, the hearer can interpret the elder's words and provide a comment, especially, when the narration is going towards the end. In (13.21)

Alexis, at whom the narration of the elder Lucio is aimed, responds while rephrasing Lucio's words (in boldface).

(13.21) Lucio: aki-e_s izoi-d-e_{PRED} [moo mīkori]_s yo-vui-d-e_{PRED}
 AUDTV-CLF:G similar-LK-3 father late tell-REM.PAST-LK-3
 'That's how my late father used to narrate.'

Alexis: [**jaka jadi-e ua-kino**]
 always that.CSH-CLF:G really-CLF:NEWS
 'It's the truth.'

Lucio: [bai-e-na eroda-t-e jaka 'ai!' rai-t-e_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP look.BODY-LK-3 always INTERJ say-LK-3
 'He looked at this and always said "Ay!"']

The narratives frequently finish with a number of formulaic expressions containing the auditory demonstrative *aki*- 'this/that (as heard)' and *aki* 'auditory there' (see §3.3.3). A number of such formulaic expressions are given in (13.22) (see also T1.X in the Appendix):

(13.22) *aki-e i-t-e* (AUDIT-CLF:G exist-LK-3) 'it is so (as heard)'
aki dīno-mo (AUDIT AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC) 'till there (as heard)'
aki=dīno rii-d-e (AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE arrive-LK-3) '(the story) came to its end'
 (lit. to this place (as heard) (it) arrived)

13.3.2 Conversations

Conversations are full of formulaic expressions, such as greetings in (13.23) and farewells in (13.24) (see also §11.2 on formulaic greetings).

(13.23) (ni-e-ze) i-ti-o?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-3
 'How are you (lit. (how) do you exist)?'

(13.24) jai jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 already go-LK-1sg
 'Goodbye (lit. I go already)'

Conversations, especially those among younger speakers of Murui, are full of code switching and code mixing (see §13.5.1.3). Certain words and particles are typical for conversational use. We can distinguish:

i) tag questions with *erua* and less commonly with *ua*, as in (13.25) (see also §11.2.3):

(13.25) aki-e_O iba-di-o_{PRED} erua?
 AUDIT-CLF:G buy-LK-2sg see.really
 ‘You bought it, right?’

ii) focus and pause markers (see §13.4),

iii) ‘echo sentences’ repeating a portion or an entire clause used by the hearer to sustain a conversation, and let the speaker continue. They can occur either in the form of a question, as in (13.26), or a declarative clause, as in (13.27) (repeated sentences are underlined, echo sentences are in bold).

(13.26) Sandriela: [dayu aima-jai-ya-mo... ua ni# mare
 a.while fish-ANDTV-E.NMLZ-TEMP really Q₂ good.ATT
 yiki-ai ua yoba uru-iai]
 fish-PL really fish.type child-CLF:G.PL
 ‘During fishing... Uh, good fish, really, small *yoba* fish!’

Monika: [yoba **uru-iai**?]
 fish.type child-CLF:G.PL
 ‘Small *yoba* fish?’

(13.27) Sandriela: ni-ne baa jaka uiño-ñe-ga..._{PRED}
 Q₂-LOC:NSP ATTENTION always know-NEG-PASS
taai-no-mo_{LOC}
 in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘We don’t know where... Nowhere.’

Monika: aa **taai-no-mo!**_{LOC}
 INTERJ in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘Nowhere!’

Sandriela: *jii!* **taai-no-mo** ie *jiai-rui-do* dane
 yes in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC CONN other-CLF:DAY-INS ONCE
*bi-ti-kai*_{PRED} ua *jai* *ini-di-kai*_{PRED}
 come-LK-1pl really already sleep-LK-1pl
 ‘Yes, nowhere. And the other case we came. We slept (a lot).’

Monika: aa **jai** **ini-do!**_{PRED}
 INTERJ already sleep-LK-2sg
 ‘Ah, you slept!’

Sandriela: **jai** **ini-di-kai**_{PRED}
 already sleep-LK-1pl
 ‘We slept.’

iv) the adjective *mare* ‘good’ is a frequent way to end a conversation, often followed by *diga-kino* (MANY-CLF:STORY) ‘(there are) many news’ (see §3.3.6),

v) interjections such as *jii* used for confirmation ‘yes’ (similar to that in the narratives, see §13.3.1) and *oo* used as a response to someone’s call. In (13.28) Sandriela uses the interjection *oo* to acknowledge Virgial’s call:

(13.28) Virgilia: *Sama!* (calling for Sandriela)
 Sandriela: *oo!* (used as a response)

vi) unusual intonation contour involving vowel centralization and vowel lengthening used for long distance calling (see §2.4),

vii) unusual sounds such as ↓*ih* - used to express a sign of agreement and back channelling, as well as surprise (see §2.7.3 and §3.3.7),

vii) frequent ellipsis of arguments (see Chapter 6 on argument omission and rare usage of clauses containing two core arguments and Chapter 4 on classifiers used as the main referent tracking mechanism in the language),

viii) paralinguistic features, such as gestures and lip pointing (see §2.9),

ix) customarily, one will always ask questions (even when the speaker is fully aware of the situation and the hearer is aware of this), rather than give statements. Murui people frequently use this as a conflict avoidance strategy.

Texts 2 and 5 in the Appendix illustrate Murui conversations.

13.3.3 Songs

The Murui have a fascinating repertoire of songs (Wojtylak, 2017). Many songs are ‘borrowed’ from other (related and unrelated) groups among which the Carijona (for the celebration of the *riai rua* ‘non-Witoto Songs’), the Andoque, the Ocaina, and the Bora (Urbina Rangel, 1997). Murui songs are characterized by frequently occurring patterns (Wojtylak, 2017). For instance, songs from the *muruiki* genre have many interjections such as *jii*, *jii*, *juu*, or *jaa* throughout the entire song. Moreover, each song has a formulaic ending that involve words from other varieties of ‘Witoto’, such as *Minika*, *Mika*, and *Nipode*. Each type of songs has a special rhythm and intonation that can distinguish pitch; this is similar to the rhythm and pitch distinguished by the Murui manguaré (Wojtylak, forthcoming-f). An example of a *Mika* formulaic song ending is given in (13.29). Although as a whole it is difficult to translate.³⁴⁷ Note the occurrence of the *Mika* interrogative word *mika* meaning ‘what, something/nothing’ and *mookei* for ‘father’ in *Mika*.³⁴⁸ A part of the expression *nifo*

³⁴⁷ Murui people refuse to translate songs; rather, they interpret them instead. Many of the words in the songs require a special knowledge in order to understand them.

³⁴⁸ In *Mika* the form *kei* refers to ‘mother’ (*ei* Murui and *Minika*). *Moo* means ‘father’. *Mookei* can be interpreted as ‘parents’. Note however that the element *k-* in all Witotoan languages (Witoto, Nonuya, and Ocaina) seems to be related to 1sg marker. The form *kei* might therefore be an archaic form bearing the possessive prefix *k-*. Thus, the *Mika* form *kei* might be better interpreted as ‘my mother’.

reiñededĩ can be translated as ‘he didn’t say anything’, with the interrogative word *nifo* ‘what’, which points to its origin in one of the Mika clans.³⁴⁹

(13.29) ↑hĩ! ↓mi↑ka ↓ri↑ka ↓ku↑chi ↓ku↑chi ↑renoga ↑jai ↑jĩhĩhĩ!
 ↑jadi ↑mookeiii! ↑nifo ↑reiñededĩ! ↑nĩ mei jai ↑jĩhĩ↑jĩhĩ↑jĩhĩhĩ!
 (no translation available)

Murui songs are characterized by frequent vowel centralization and lengthening, as well as frequent repetitions of phrasal and clausal elements. An example of vowel centralization is in

(13.30), which is an excerpt of a song of the *jaioki* genre. The the last vowel in *jirima* ‘bird (type)’ is centralized and becomes *jirimi* (in bold).

(13.30) nana kai kiona uu uu uu (4x)
 jaa afaidĩ muido menimo
 raa uide
 jirima jirima **jirimi** (2x)
 nana kai kiona uu? uu? uu?
 jaa afaidĩ muido menimo
 yagaba muidomo raa uide
 jirima jirima **jirimi**
 nana kai kiona uu? uu? uu?
 jirima jirima **jirimi** (4x)
 (no translation available)

Nowadays, those speakers who are still interested in the language, translate songs from Spanish into Murui (in particular those that are religious in nature), and occasionally teach them at school and in church. An example is given in (13.28). The song is called *jai bite uru-*

³⁴⁹ Speech varieties of ‘Witoto’, including clanolects, are distinguished by their expression of the interrogative word for ‘what’ (see §1.4).

etiru ‘baby Jesus (lit. child) has come’, written by an anonymous author from San Rafael for Christmas celebrations:³⁵⁰

(13.31) excerpt from ‘jai vite uru-etiru’ (sic.) ‘Baby Jesus has come’³⁵¹

jai vi-t-e_{PREL} uru-e-tiru_s
 already come-LK-3 child-CLF:G-CLF:SMALL.ROUND
 ‘Baby Jesus has come’

safi-a_{PREL} moto-do jifa-no-kana
 flourish-E.NMLZ middle-INS play-SMLF-OVERLAP
 ‘while the flowers are playing’

ie-mo silli-nia ro-t-e_{PREL}
 CONN-LOC bird-?COLL sing-LK-3
 ‘and the birds are singing’

isi-rui-lla-fue-na
 admire-MANNER-E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘the story of love.’

Many of the religious songs are recent adaptations which retain the original melody and various loan words to refer to personages and places from the Bible. Nowadays, Murui songs, together with some basic formulaic expressions that are learnt by children, seem to be the last vehicle for language preservation in the future (see §1.5).

13.4 Focus and pause markers

There two main types of frequently occurring discourse commentary markers in Murui. Some these can function as clitics. Throughout this section, focus and pause markers are in bold.

³⁵⁰ I have been told that this practice has been initiated by Dorothy Minor, an SIL missionary, who lived in the region (mainly in La Chorrera) in 1950’s-1970’s. As a child, Flor Agga (a speaker of Minika from La Chorrera), the wife of Walter Agga Arteagga, used to be taught religious songs by Dorothy in 1970’s, some of which she still remembers until this day.

³⁵¹ I have retained the original orthography.

A. FOCUS MARKERS: the intensifier *ua* ‘really’, *mei* ‘so, later’ and *jaka* ‘always, never’.

A1. THE INTENSIFIER *ua* is used as a marker of strong emphasis (glossed as ‘really’) and it is frequently used throughout all types of Murui genres. It can occur in various positions within a clause. In (13.42) (repeated partially from (13.27) above), it introduces the clause and gives it an emphatic reading which intensifies the action of sleeping, meaning ‘we really slept (a lot)’.

(13.32) *jii!* *taai-no-mo* *ie* *jiai-rui-do* *dane*
 yes in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC CONN other-CLF:DAY-INS ONCE
*bi-ti-kai*_{PRED} **ua** *jai* *ini-di-kai*_{PRED}
 come-LK-1pl really already sleep-LK-1pl
 ‘Yes, nowhere. And the other case we came. We really slept.’ (stressing how tired the speaker was)

Ua can also mark a response, when the hearer is agreeing with the speaker. (13.33) comes from a dialogue between two men about a white settler arriving to the Tercera India village to buy some land. *Ua* is followed by the reported enclitic =*ta*.

(13.33) Walter: [*kai jaziki-mo*]_{LOC} *i-aka-d-e=di!*_{PRED}
 1pl forest-LOC exist-DES-LK-3=CERT
 ‘He wants to live in our land!’

Lucio: *aa* **ua?**
 INTERJ really
 ‘Ah, really?’

Walter: *jii!* **ua=ta!**
 yes, really=REP
 ‘Yes, really (as said)!’

In conversations, the particle *ua* is conventionally used with the interrogative intonation, as a customary response to a question asking for confirmation. (13.34) comes from a conversation about fishing. When a woman said that her husband came back from fishing, another woman asked:

(13.34) **ua?** ni-ga-mie=mei o-t-e?_{PREL}
 really Q₂-QUANT-CLF:PR.M=SO take-LK-3
 ‘Really? How many (fish) did he catch?’

Ua can also be used marking surprise. (13.32) is a response of a mother who is told by her daughter that she caught four big fish. The mother is surprised because she knows that her daughter does not know how to catch fish.

(13.35) Rata: maa! kue_A [cuatro diga inaida]_O o-ti-kue!_{PREL}
 mother.Sp 1sg four.Sp WITH type.fish get-LK-1sg
 ‘Mother! I got four fish!’

Sandriela: **ua!**? jmm! ni-e-ze o-ga?_{PREL}
 really? INTERJ Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL get-PASS
 ‘Really?! (surprised) Uh! How did you catch (them)?!’

Ua can also be interpreted as doubt that the some information is actually true. (13.36) is taken from a conversation between two women, Grandmother Clementina and her daughter Virgilia. Virgilia is surprised that her young son seems to know how to weave a basket. Clementina is doubtful.

(13.36) Virgilia: [ana bi-e uru-e]_S jai [kiri-gai
 below this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G already basket-CLF:BASKET
 ni-ya-na]_O uiño-t-e!_{PREL}
 weave-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘This child down here already knows how to weave a basket!’

Clementina: **ua?** ni-gai?
 really Q₂-CLF:BASKET
 ‘Oh really? (doubting) Which (basket)?’

Virgilia (passing the basket to Clementina):
 bii! bi-gai!
 HERE this.CTS-CLF:BASKET
 ‘This (basket)!’

Occasionally the intensifier *ua* can be repeated twice. This is illustrated in (13.37) with the two occurrences of *ua* following one another. Note that in such cases the second occurrence

of *ua* is never an enclitic. The repetition of *ua* can also occur on various word classes within a clause, as in (13.38).

- (13.37) *ie* *baai-fe-mona*_{ABL} *bi-rui* ***ua*** ***ua*** *ana-mo*
 CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE-ABL this.CTS-CLF:DAY really really below-LOC
ua *due-re* ***ua*** *jaai-di-kai*_{PRED}
 really poor-ATT really go-LK-1pl
 ‘And for this (reason), nowadays, we continue living (lit. going) unsatisfactorily (lit. poorly).’

- (13.38) ***ua*** *komini* *nana* ***ua*** *kaima-re* *i-t-e*_{PRED}
 really people.CLF:DR.GR ALL really happy-ATT exist-LK-3
 ‘The people, everybody, live really happily.’

Ua frequently co-occurs as a clitic with other particles, such as *mei* ‘so’. In (13.39), it occurs following *mei*; in (13.40) *mei* cliticizes to *ua*.

- (13.39) [*be-no-mo* *mei* *mano-rai-ma* *i-t-e*_{PRED} *kai*
 here-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC so heal-AGT-CLF:DR.M exist-LK-3 1pl
komini *ie*] *mei=ua* *mano-ra-na*
 people.CLF:DR.GR CONN so=really heal-CLF:NEUT-N.S/A.TOP
uiño-ti-no
 know-LK-CLF:GROUP
 ‘Here, there are healers, our people’s (healers). So, they really know medicines.’

- (13.40) *mei* *jiai-kaño* ***ua=mei*** [*uru-e-re-di-mie* *da-ma*
 so other-TIME really=so child-CLF:G-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.M alone-CLF:DR.M
 [*uru-e* *diga*]]_s *i-t-e*_{PRED}
 child-CLF:G WITH exist-LK-3
 ‘So, sometimes really the one (male) who has children lives home alone with his children.’

Elsewhere in the grammar, the marker *ua* can also function also as a tag question (see §16.2).

The marker *ua* might be a reduced form of *erua*, cf. example (13.25). *Ua* and *erua* are interchangeable in questions (but not elsewhere in the grammar). *Ua* can be further followed by the classifier *-fue* (CLF:STORY) as in *uafue* for ‘truth’.

A2. THE ADPOSITION *mei* ‘so, later’ is among most prevalent focus markers in Murui discourse and commonly occurs in all types of genres. As an enclitic, *mei* helps the speaker

to order their line of thought; especially when they are not sure about how to proceed in their turn. It is often followed by a pause, as in (13.41-43).

- (13.41) [kai uzu-tiai]_s **mei**... [bai-e jaie ri-ño]_o
 1pl grandparent-PL.KIN so that.CTS-CLF:G PAST woman-CLF:DR.F
 jitai-a=di_{PR}
 need-E.NMLZ=CERT
 ‘Our grandfathers... wanted (lit. needed) those women.’

- (13.42) [kue ei]_{VCS} **mei**... [evaiai i-ñaiño]_{VCC}
 1sg mother so macaw.PL ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.F
 ‘My mother... is of the Evaiai clan.’

- (13.43) jai bi-e=**mei**... [kai uru-iai]_A [kai uai-na]_o
 already this.CTS-CLF:G=so 1pl child-CLF:G-PL 1pl word-N.S/A.TOP
 ñai-ñe-d-_{ePR}
 speak-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Anymore (lit. already)... This... Our children don’t speak our language.’

The enclitic *mei* thus functions as a filler of sorts. Interestingly, when *mei* is not followed by a pause, it is used to avoid disfluency in the speech. In (13.44), Aldo Agga is commenting on current finishing practices; he is shy in the presence of the recorder and tries to tell the story ‘right’:

- (13.44) ua... ñee... nana=ua naga-rui... jiai-kaño... kai-mo **mei**
 really FILLER ALL=really EACH-CLF:DAY other-TIME 1pl-LOC so
 aare i-ye-na
 long exist-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Really... Uh... All, everyday... Sometimes... To have (fish) home (lit. at us) for a long time.’

Mei can also function on the clausal level introducing dependent clauses. As such it then can be translated as ‘so, later’, and always implies a sense of logical sequence, e.g. *ini-a mei* (sleep-E.NMLZ later) ‘after sleeping’, or following the connective *ie* as in (13.41) (see §12.X).

- (13.45) ie=**mei** jaai-d-_{ePR}
 CONN=so go-LK-3
 ‘So/later he went.’

Murui has also an intensifier *jamei* ‘only’ which is possibly related to *mei* ‘so, later’. An example of *jamei* is given in (13.46) (see also §3.3.1). *Jamei* can occasionally be pronounced as *jamai*.

- (13.46) *jamei* *koko*_O *jifue-t-e*_{PRED}
 ONLY 1du.m play-LK-3
 ‘He only (no more than that) played us!’

In Murui, as well as in Mīka, Mīnika, and Nipode, Murui, there is an expression *mai!* for ‘let’s’, as in *mai oo jai!* ‘let you go!’ (used for farewells). *Mai* can also be used when a speaker ‘agrees’ with something, as in *mai, jai jaidikue* ‘fine, I go’. The form *mai*, as well *jamai*, seems to be related to *mei*. Given that in other ‘Witoto’ variants Murui *mei* is pronounced as *mai* indicated that in fact *mai* is a much older form than *mei*.³⁵²

A3. THE TIME WORD *jaka* ‘always/never’ - it occurs in a variety of contexts, and has always some temporal reading to it; additionally, it also stresses predicates meanings. The reading of *jaka* depends on the polarity of the predicate. In (13.47) *jaka* is interpreted as ‘always’, in (13.48) as ‘never’. (13.47) can also be used as a formulaic way to end an narration.

- (13.47) **jaka** *dino* *rii-d-e*_{PRED}
 always AT.CLF:SP.PLACE arrive-LK-3
 ‘It always comes to an end.’

- (13.48) *iye-mo* *ñuita-oi-d-e-na* **jaka** *rozi-nai-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 river-LOC push-PRG-LK-3-COND₂ never cold-BECOME₁-NEG-LK-3
 ‘When (the bull ant) kept throwing the water (at the firefly), (the firefly) would not become cold (at all).’

Often, *jaka* co-occurs with other types of focus and pause markers, such as *ua* in (13.49).

³⁵² Note that Murui (as well as Mīka and Mīnika) has also another archaic form which shows the diphthong [ai] rather than [ei]: *maraiñede* (good.ATT.NEG-LK-3) ‘it’s bad (lit. not good)’.

- (13.49) *ie* *ati-ka=di*_{PRED} *nai-mie*_S *yua*_{PRED} **ua** **jaka**
 CONN bring-PASS=CERT ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M tell.E.NMLZ really always
*bajeriko*_S *nai-mie*_S *ati-d-e=za*_{PRED}
 evangelist ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M bring-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘(She) was brought by him, according to him, the evangelist. He brought her.’

B. PAUSE MARKERS - these are the interrogative word *nii* ‘what/which/where’, the filler *nee*, and the attention getting *baa*.

B1. THE INTERROGATIVE WORD *nii* ‘(oh what, where, how, which)’ functions as a filler but has also somewhat demonstrative overtones referring to something is definite but not specific. It is followed by a pause and often by demonstratives, as in (13.50-51):

- (13.50) **nii..!** [*bai-e* *eva*] *mare!*
 Q2 that.FSH-CLF:G macaw good.ATT
 ‘Oh what! That macaw is beautiful!’

- (13.51) **nii..!** [*bi-e* *zuu-re-na*_{PRED} *beno-mo*_{LOC} *jaa* *kue*_S
 Q2 this.CTS-CLF:G sad-ATT-E.NMLZ HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE soon 1sg
 [*i-mie* *dine*]_{LOC} *jaaiti-kue*_{PRED}
 ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.M AT.LOC:NSP go.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘Oh what! That is so sad here, I will go to him now.’

Nii can also refer to an unspecified object or place, as in (13.52).

- (13.52) Walter: *Choma bii!*
 Choma HERE
 ‘Choma, take this (lit. here)!’ (Walter passing Choma an object in the dark)
- Choma: *nii?*
 Q2
 ‘Which/where?’ (Choma did not see what Walter was passing)

Elsewhere in the grammar, *nii-* is a bound interrogative word ‘which’ (see §3.3.4).

B2. THE FILLER *nee* is always used as a filler, that gives the speaker time while they get their thoughts together. It is always occurs on clause boundaries and is followed by a pause, which can vary in length. It is an independent phonological word, and can never occur as an enclitic. An example is given in (13.53).

- (13.53) *kai*_A *raire* *o-ti-kai=za...*_{PRED} *ñee...* [*kai=ua* *uru-ia*]_O
 1pl **quickly** get-LK-1pl=UNCERT FILLER 1pl=really child-CLF:G.PL
eka-ye-na [*kai=ua* *nabai*]_O *jiai-kaño* *kai*
 feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 1pl=really **neighbour** other-TIME 1pl
*maia*_I-*ye-na*
 bring.for.others-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘We get fish quickly... uh... to give our children to eat... to bring from time to time
 for our neighbours.’

(13.54) is taken from the hunting register. The speaker took a moment to remember the replacement term for ‘wood fox’ which is *nomedo* ‘avocado’ in the hunting avoidance speech (Wojtylak, 2015a):

- (13.54) *ni-no-mo*_{LOC} *ua* [*bi-e* *ñee* *nome-do*]_S
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE really this.CTS-CLF:G FILLER avocado-CLF:POINTED
*ei-nai-t-e*_{PRED} *nome-do-na*_O *kue*_{O:RECIPIENT} *i-to!*_{PRED}
 mature-BECOME1-LK-3 avocado-CLF:POINTED-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 [*kue* *uru-ki*]_O *kue*_{O:RECIPIENT} *eka-ye=za*
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘(...) Where *avocado* fruits become ripe, give me the avocado fruit to feed my
 children!’

(13.55) is an excerpt from the myth about the *Jitoma* hero. The speaker narrates the exact words of Grand Father *Jobai* and takes time to remember the lines.

- (13.55) [*bi-e* *uzu-ma* *Jobai*]_A *bu-e-na*_O
 this.CTS-CLF:G grandparent-CLF:DR.M *Jobai* Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
*joone-ñe-d-e*_{PRED} *jamei* *koko*_O *jifue-t-e*_{PRED} [*ie* *bi-e*
 put-NEG-LK-3 **only** 1du.m play-LK-3 CONN this.CTS-CLF:G
ñee... *koko*_O *zuri~zuri-na*_{PRED} *rei-t-e*_{PRED}
 FILLER 1du.m RED~bird.announce.bad.news-E.NMLZ say-LK-3
 ‘‘The Grand Father *Jobai* didn’t put anything (in the package). He only played us.
 And that (bird)... uh... announces (this to) us!’’ he said.’

The filler *ñee* can also be used to disclose information that the speaker does not want to reveal. The example (13.56) comes from a dialogue between two women and it is an answer to the question ‘Did you get your (cassava)?’. The speaker does not want to tell that they did; she requires a brief moment to think of a reason.

- (13.56) no! **ñee**... [i-ñe-na jira]
 no.Sp FILLER exist-NEG-E.NMLZ REASON
 ‘No! Uh... Because (it) wasn’t there (lit. not being there).’

The particle *ñee* can also be used in the sentence-initial position. The example (13.54) is a very first sentence from a traditional narrative about the fight between the bull ant and the firefly.

- (13.57) **ñee**... j̄inui=mei =ua mairi-ki-na_o jaait-e_{PRE}
 FILLER water=so=really strength-CLF:INHER-N.S/A.TOP go.FUT.LK-3
 mairi-ki iadi kai_s jaki-rui-ti-kai_{PRE}
 strength-CLF:INHER but 1pl scary-MANNER-LK-1pl
 ‘Uh... So water will turn into (his) strength, the strength... But we are afraid (of it).’

B3. THE ATTENTION GETTING *baa* is a frequent feature of Murui conversational discourse; occasionally one can also hear it in traditional narratives.³⁵³ It is mainly used to attract hearer’s attention. Examples (13.58-59) come from a conversation between Murui speaker’s about the future of the Murui language.

- (13.58) [kai ñai-a-kino] **baa** ua=mei uru-iai=d̄i
 1pl speak-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS ATTENTION really=so child-CLF:G.PL=S/A.TOP
 [kai uai-na]_o ebi-rui-ñe-d-e_{PRE}
 1pl word-N.S/A.TOP nice-MANNER-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Our speech... That! So really children don’t value our language (anymore).’
- (13.59) jai **baa** mei=ua bi-rui jiai mei=ua jai
 already ATTENTION so=really this.CTS-CLF:DAY also so=really already
 [eikome ua diga=mei] uru-iai=d̄i_s rai-ñe-d-e_{PRE}
elders really WITH=so child-CLF:G.PL=S/A.TOP sit-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Anymore... That...! Today the children don’t sit with the elders (to learn).’

³⁵³ The particle *baa* occurs frequently in Tucano (Ramirez, 1997: 341-342). Tariana has the ‘urging’ particle *ne* (Aikhenvald, p.c.) to attract attention.

The particle *baa* can also have overtones of an expression of feelings of frustration, as in (13.60), taken from a conversation about a family travelling through the jungle from La Chorrera to San Jose.

(13.60) **baa!** [kome_s [uru-iai diga] jaaia]s jaki-re-d-e!_{PRED}
 FRUSTRATION person child-CLF:G.PL WITH go.COND₂ scary-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Bah! When one goes with children, it is scary!’

Example (13.61) comes from a conversation between two women. Sandriela’s response to Monika’s question ‘Where did you wake up?’ is preceded by Sandriela’s rhetorical question ‘Where’. She did not know where she woke up. This is followed by the attention getting *baa*, to further emphasize her not knowing the place.

(13.61) Monika: ni-no-mo monai-ko-tomoi_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC dawn-CLF:COVER-LK.2pl
 ‘Where did you wake up?’

Sandriela: ni-ne... **baa!** jaka uiño-ñe-ga!_{PRED}
 Q₂-LOC:NSP ATTENTION never know-NEG-PASS
 taai-no-mo!
 in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘Where... That! One will never know! In the middle of nowhere!’

The attention getting particle *baa* is commonly used by a person when they offer something to someone and the object is in sight. They will frequently use the expression *baa!* or *bai baa!* (accompanied by a free form of a demonstrative *bai-*, see §3.3.3) to draw attention of the hearer. It can have further additional locational readings (related to its demonstrative origins). (13.62), which comes from a narration about the village of El Encanto.

(13.62) mai! **baa** ua feka-di-no_s i-t-e!_{PRED}
 fine THERE really distribute-LK-CLF:PR.GR.AN exist-LK-3
 ‘Fine! The sellers (lit. those who sell) are there!’

This is similar to the example (13.60), where the particle *baa* draws attention to the place ‘there’ where people arrived at.

- (13.63) bu-e_O kai_A ati-ñe-di-kai_{IPRED} ie gui-ye-na
 Q₂-CLF:G 1pl bring-NEG-LK-1pl CONN eat-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ðino-mona_{ABL} baa bi-ti-kai_{IPRED}
 AT.LOC:NSP-CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL THERE come-LK-1pl
 ‘We didn’t bring anything to eat. From the place over there we came there!’

13.5 Contact-induced language change: Spanish influence on Murui

The ‘Witoto’ groups were contacted in the second half of 19th century, in the first instance by travellers, and later on, in the first half of 20th century, by missionaries and the rubber barons. The mostly violent contact with White settlers as well as military groups has started after the atrocities of the rubber boom period (see §1.3.2). The intensity of the contact has resulted in a number of sociolinguistic changes among the Murui. They concern mainly their attitudes towards their own culture as well as the language (§1.5). The brutality of forceful ‘acculturation’ of the ‘Witoto’ peoples has resulted in many cases in their prejudice towards speaking the Murui language. As a consequence, most of the Murui parents (those who still have a good command of Murui), do not want to teach their children the language. There is also a vast amount of mixed marriages (e.g. Bora - Murui) where wives are not required to learn their husband’s languages anymore. In the last few decades, Spanish has been becoming the language of everyday life. This situation has resulted in the overall ‘language shift’, which will possibly lead to a gradual language death in the future.

Nowadays, there are no monolingual speakers of Murui in Colombia (in Peru, the situation might be similar). Spanish is spoken by all Murui, and it is regarded as having greater utility and prestige. Even Murui elders, most of who were brought up as monolinguals in Murui between 1940-1960’s, have now a very good competence in Spanish (Amazonian Spanish). Those elders were forced to learn Spanish in missionary boarding schools (boarding schools were initially established as ‘orphanages’ for children whose

relatives died of small pox in 1930's) where speaking other languages than Spanish was forbidden and heavily punished (Bonilla, 1972).³⁵⁴ Less than 30 years ago, in the most remote Murui communities, there were still children who were brought up as monolinguals in Murui. Only when they reached school age, they would begin to learn Spanish, that later on would become their dominant language. While working among Murui communities between 2010 and 2016, I have not met one child who was brought up monolingually in Murui; all children are brought up in Spanish (nevertheless, the majority have some (mostly passive) knowledge of the language). Some children from remote communities have a passive knowledge of Murui and only a few children are able to speak the language, all with difficulties. Spanish is a dominant language in all areas of everyday life. This section focuses on a number of contact-induced changes in Murui: those which occur under the influence from Spanish (changes in grammar, §13.5.1), loan words and calques (§13.5.2), code switching and code mixing patterns (§13.5.3) and the 'impoverished' speech of young Murui speakers (§13.5.4).

³⁵⁴ As put by Echeverri (1997: 64): 'The boarding schools of La Chorrera and La Pedrera are the two oldest of the Department of Amazonas (founded in 1933 and 1934, respectively)' (Echeverri, 1997: 87) "Catalan-Spanish Capuchin Fathers have arrived to Colombia since the 1890s. The Colombian government put them in charge of the christianization of the "savage" Indians, according to a Concordat the Colombian Government signed with the Holy See in 1887. The Capuchins established their base of operations in the Sibundoy valley, upper Putumayo. In the 1930s they extended their area of operations toward the Caquetá-Putumayo and have stayed there ever since. Capuchin Father Estanislao de Les Corts founded the "Orphanage" (later boarding school) of La Chorrera in 1933, soon after the end of the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict." Echeverri (1997: 63) further adds: "Two other boarding schools were established in San Rafael (Caraparaná river) in the 1960s, and in Araracuara (Caquetá river) in the 1970s. Most of the Indians have received basic education in these boarding schools. In the aftermath of the rubber boom the Indians gradually became "Colombians" and "Christians".'

13.5.1 Language contact and change - grammar

Comparison of the speech of the Murui elders and younger speakers of Murui shows apparent language change, on phonological, morphological, and lexical levels. An example of the phonological change is the introduction of the Spanish voiceless dental fricative [θ] that is pronounced by young Murui as the voiceless apico-alveolar [s], as in *raize* [raise] instead of [raiθe] (see Chapter 2). Spanish loan nouns (which have penultimate stress) are adapted to the Murui word-initial stress pattern in the speech of older speakers, but retain their Spanish stress pattern in the speech of younger speakers. The speech of elders is also characterized by adoption of the Murui CV syllable pattern for Spanish loanwords. For instance, the name ‘Izmael’ is pronounced by elders as *Imae* [i.ma.e] (see also §2.6 on loan adaptation). Such phonological adaptation is absent in the speech of the younger speakers of Murui.

The influence from Spanish on Murui morphology is less apparent than that on the on phonology or the lexical ‘inventory’ of the language. Nevertheless, one can say that the speech of young speakers is in stage of change. Example of this is the negation of the attributive marker *-re* which in the speech of innovative Murui speakers can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe*; in the speech of the elders such negation is ungrammatical (see Chapter 10). Another example is the use of the differential object marker *-na*, which in the speech of young people is somewhat more ‘loosely’ used (see Chapter 6). The use of Murui ‘dedicated’ comparative constructions (Chapter 9) is yet another example. Monoclausal comparative constructions types (that are somewhat similar to those in Spanish) are used more frequently by younger speakers; older speakers tend to use biclausal constructions. The speech of young speakers is full of Spanish discourse markers and linkers such as *pero* (Spanish for ‘but’) and *y* (Spanish for ‘and’). The speech of Mesia Magallanes Ordoñez (Text 5 in the Appendix) is a case in point.

13.5.2 Loanwords and calques from Spanish

Spanish loanwords in Murui are numerous; the aversion to ‘language mixing’ reported for Vaupés (see Aikhenvald 2002, Epps 2006, and others) is absent among the People of the Centre cultural complex.³⁵⁵ Loanwords are typically adopted phonologically in the speech of Murui elders, as in *epejo* for Spanish *espejo* ‘mirror’, but not in the speech of younger speakers (see §2.6). An example of application of native morphology is given in (13.64), where the Spanish *tieda* ‘store’ (phonologically adopted) is followed by the native plural form *-iai*.³⁵⁶

(13.64) *tieda-iai*
store.Sp-PL
‘stores’

In general, Murui speakers are fully aware which words are ‘truly’ Murui, and which not. A few words from Spanish appear to have been nativized (and, therefore, are not considered to be Spanish loans), such as *pe(te)* ‘kick’ (possibly from Spanish *patear* ‘kick’). The most frequent Spanish loanwords in Murui are illustrated in Table 13.1.³⁵⁷ Note that borrowed nouns can easily take some nominal morphology (such as number marking, as in (13.64) above). Borrowed verbs typically occur with the nominalizers, that can be followed by

³⁵⁵ See also works on multilingualism practices in Amazonia by Sorensen (1967); Stenzel (2005), Aikhenvald (2002) and Aikhenvald (2012: 89-93).

³⁵⁶ Phonological adoption of loanwords depend not only on speakers’ age but often function in the community (§2.6).

³⁵⁷ It is often difficult to determine the exact different between a loanword and a code switch. For the purpose of the current analysis, I consider these items as loanwords. Alternatively, they can also be considered as code switches (see Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006: 333-334) for criteria for distinguishing between loanwords and code switches.

sequential marker, as the nominalizer *maneja-ja* (operate-E.NMLZ) ‘operating’ in example (13.73) in §13.5.3.

Table 13.1 A sample of frequently borrowed Spanish words into Murui

| WORD CLASS | SPANISH LOANWORDS | | | MURUI EQUIVALENTS |
|------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|---|
| | YOUNG SPEAKERS | ELDERS | MEANING | |
| NOUNS | <i>misa</i> | <i>misa</i> | ‘mess’ | no |
| | <i>kamera</i> | <i>kamera</i> | ‘camera’ | no (<i>joreño ora</i> ‘thing to take pictures’ never used in practise) |
| | <i>komputadora</i> | <i>komuptadora</i> | ‘computer’ | no |
| | <i>selular</i> | <i>serura</i> | ‘mobil phone’ | no |
| | <i>reloj</i> | <i>rero</i> | ‘watch’ | no |
| | <i>iglesia</i> | <i>igresia</i> | ‘church’ | no |
| | <i>soldado</i> | <i>sodado</i> | ‘soldier’ | <i>jobai-mie</i> (burn-CLF:PR.M) ‘warrior’ |
| | <i>avion</i> | <i>avio</i> | ‘airplane’ | <i>fee-ya</i> (fly-CLF:CRAFT) |
| | <i>motor</i> | <i>motori</i> | motor | no |
| | <i>escopeta</i> | <i>kobeda</i> | ‘shotgun’ | no (pronounced as <i>kobeda</i> by older speakers) |
| | <i>linterna</i> | <i>literna</i> | ‘torch’ | no (some say <i>rinterina</i>) |
| | <i>baile</i> | <i>baile</i> | ‘dance ritual’ | <i>rafue</i> |
| | <i>maloca</i> | <i>maroca</i> | ‘maloca’ | <i>ananeko</i> |
| | <i>semana</i> | <i>semana</i> | ‘week’ | no |
| | | days of the week | | |
| | expression of time | | | native forms relate to the position of the sun |
| | proper names | | | note that that names are replaced, e.g. <i>Gira</i> > <i>Ragi</i> (see Chapter 1) |
| VERBS | <i>grabar</i> ‘record’ | <i>graba</i> | ‘record’ | sometimes the verb <i>o(te)</i> ‘take’ is used |
| | <i>manejar</i> | <i>maneja</i> | ‘operate’ | no |
| OTHER | number words | | | with exception for ‘one’ and ‘two’; sometimes ‘three, four, five’ (§3.2.3) |

13.5.3 *Discourse functions of code switching and code mixing*

Code switching has been roughly described as a mechanism through which forms and constructions travel from one language (the source language) into another (the recipient language), and it is a frequently occurring phenomenon among those who still speak the language. Murui fluent speakers usually alternate between the two languages in the context of a single conversation (this can be triggered by various reasons, such as the presence of lexical gaps in Murui, or as a strategy to include a non-Murui speaker in the conversations and/or express power/authority). Murui distinguishes at least two types of such switching patterns: these related to participant's preference and/or competence in two languages ('code switching'), and discourse-related (brief) switches within clause or a sentence and/or occurrence of various types of insertions ('code mixing'). These are discussed in turn.

A. CODE SWITCHING is participant-related, and might either depend on the participant's preference over one of the languages, as well as their competence. In the following example (13.65), Eulogio, a 25 years old speaker of Murui, talks about the future of his children in the community. Eulogio is very devoted to the community, but admits that his children will probably neither stay in the community when they become adults nor will they be able to speak the Murui language.³⁵⁸ Eulogio continues his monologue until he becomes emotional and changes into Spanish to finish his monologue. This creates a very strong effect at the same time emphasising how helpless the current situation has become. Sentences in Spanish are in bold.

³⁵⁸ Eulogio himself speaks an already somewhat 'simplified' version of the Murui language.

B1. CODE MIXING AND INTERJECTIONS - the interjection ‘no’ is frequently taken from Spanish, as illustrated in (13.67). The Spanish interjection *sí* ‘yes’ is almost never ‘switched’.³⁶⁰

(13.67) Monika: navui i-makio tie-ka?PRED
 afternoon ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR cut-PASS
 ‘(The tree) was cut by those (who arrived) in the afternoon?’

Sandriela: **No!**
 no.Sp
 ‘No!’

B2. CODE MIXING AND DISCOURSE MARKERS AND LINKERS *y* ‘and’, *pero* ‘but’, *oo* ‘or’, *entonces* ‘so/then’, *este* ‘that’ - their frequency of use depends on individual speakers (in the speech of young speakers they are very frequent). Examples of contrast *pero* ‘but’ and *o* ‘or’ are given in (13.68-71).³⁶¹

(13.68) **i** ati-ñe-domoi?PRED **pero** yiki-zis izoi-d-EPRED
 and.Sp bring-NEG-LK.2pl but.Sp fish-CLF:MEAT similar-lk-3
 gui-ñe-domoi?PRED
 eat-NEG-LK.2pl
 ‘**And** you didn’t bring (the food with you?). **But...** you didn’t eat something like fish-meat?’

(13.69) ua...? **pero** nokae-do jaai-di-omoiPRED erua?
 really but.Sp canoe-INS go-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘Really? But you went by the canoe, right?’

(13.70) jaai-di-kue=diPRED nia **pero** ua jaka biiti-kuePRED
 go-LK-1sg=CERT still but.Sp really always come.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘If I go, I go but I will always go back.’

(13.71) kue ua... kue jaai-a=di mei ua bu-e baa
 1sg really 1sg go-E.NMLZ=CERT so really Q1-CLF:G ATTENTION
 uai-di-kuePRED **o** bu-e o-ye-na jaai-di-kuePRED
 get.ANDTV-LK-1sg **or.Sp** Q1-CLF:G get-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP go-LK-1sg

³⁶⁰ Note that Murui has no word for ‘no’.

³⁶¹ Alternatively, those linkers could be considered as loans (especially those which equivalents do not exist in Murui) (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006: 333-334).

B3. CODE MIXING AND CLAUSAL INSERTIONS - insertion of clauses draws hearer attention to particular information. In (13.74) it ‘forces’ the hearer to focus on *toda la noche* ‘the entire night’ - the speaker wants to emphasize the duration of the walk and stress how exhausting the was.

(13.74)M: aa naio-na bi-ti-omoi..._{PRED}
 INTERJ night-N.S/A.TOP come-LK-2pl
 ‘Ah, and you came back at night...’

S: jmm naio-na **toda la noche** maka-di-kai!_{PRED}
 INTERJ night-N.S/A.TOP all.Sp the.Sp night.Sp walk-LK-1pl
 ‘Yeah, at night. We walked the entire night!’

13.5.4 ‘Impoverished’ and ‘ungrammatical’ language

Generally, the language of younger Murui speakers (i.e. those younger than 35-40) is ‘simpler’ than that of the older speakers.³⁶³ In addition to code mixing and code switching (discussed in §13.5.1.4), the speech of younger speakers of is characterized by:

- frequent repetitions of the same material throughout the clauses,
- overgeneralizations and lack of lexical knowledge, e.g. *ira-re-d-e* (sick-ATT-LK-3) is used for all types of sickness, even when ‘more’ specific names for sickness types exist,
- grammatical reduction, e.g. associative number marking is used for kinship terms, which in the speech of traditional speakers have a ‘dedicated’ kin plural marking,
- frequent usage of focus and pause particles in and outside the clause (§13.4);
- limited set of verbal suffixes,
- use of ungrammatical clauses (whose meaning is understood from the situational context).

³⁶³ See Campbell and Muntzel (1989) on simplification as corollary of language obsolescence.

Ungrammaticality of clauses is illustrated in (13.72). The intended meaning is ‘because of the money’ but *jira* ‘because’ is not expressed. When an elder helped to transcribe the recording, he ‘corrected’ *mei ukube* and said *mei ukube jira*.

(13.75) i mei riái díbeji-do jiaí foo-d-e_{PREP} **mei** **uku-be...**
 and.Sp so white.men **side**-INS also differ-LK-3 so money-CLF:LEAF
 ‘Where the white people live (lit. on the side of the white men), the situation is different. So (because of) the money.’

13.6 Summary

This chapter focused on a number of salient features of Murui discourse organization. In particular, it discussed the role of repetition in the discourse (§13.1), bridging constructions and their functions (§13.2), specific features of various types of Murui genres (narratives, conversations, songs), focus s and pause markers (§13.4), and the contact-induced changes, such as Spanish influence (§13.5).

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Appendix

The majority of the recorded texts on which this grammar is based, includes songs, folk tales, spells, myths, legends, life story narratives, personal accounts, narratives of traditional

customs and practices, everyday conversations, as well as my own field notes. For the inclusion in this Appendix I have chosen an example of each of the five genres:

- Text 1 (T1) is an important mythological narrative and tells the origin story of the Murui people. The Murui people wished to include it in the grammar to show that they should not be referred to by the exonym ‘Witoto’, but by ‘Murui’, which is the name of their mythological forefather Muruima.
- Text 2 (T2) is an everyday conversation between two young women.
- Text 3 (T3) is a personal account that expresses a political attitude towards the current situation of the Murui people in Colombia.
- Text 4 (T4) is an excerpt from a hunting oration. The text is cast in the hunting avoidance speech style (see Chapter 1 §1.3.8).
- Text 5 (T5) is a life story narrative in the form of a dialogue.

All sentences have been analysed following four principles (R. M. W. Dixon, 2010b: 61). All multi-word constituents are indicated within square brackets, all verbal arguments and core constituents - A (transitive subject), S (intransitive subject), and O (transitive object) - are labelled for their syntactic function. Additionally, locative and other peripheral arguments are occasionally labelled to make these arguments immediately understandable for the reader. Each morpheme is glossed. Where possible, morpheme boundaries are shown by hyphens; where non-segmentable morphemes (e.g. due to some morphophonological changes, or lack of one-to-many correspondences) are separated by periods in English glosses (see also the List of Abbreviations and Conventions section for further details on glossing rules).

Text 1: Jiyakino - The Myth of Origin (Tercera India, 2016)

The myth of origin was narrated by elder Lucio Agga Calderon ‘Kaziya Buinaima’ of the *Ereiai* clan, 73 years old, son of Ambrocio Agga (of the *Ereiai* clan) and Irene Calderon (the *Zeuai* clan). Lucio is the traditional authority of the Tercera India community, Cara-Paraná River, Colombia. He was born in the Murui community of San Rafael. He was brought up monolingually in Murui, and acquired Spanish only at a later stage in a boarding school, when he was a boy. He has always lived in the Tercera India community, since its establishment some 50 years ago. He is bilingual, but prefers Murui over Spanish.

- 1.1 *nii=mei aki=dino_{VCS} mei ua [nai-e jiya-kino]_{VCC}*
Q2=so AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE so really ANA.SP-CLF:G base-CLF:NEWS
 ‘So well, here is the story of origin.’
- 1.2 *aki-e_S i-ñe-d-e-na nia ua ‘Uitoto’ rai~rai-na_{PRED}*
AUDIT-CLF:G exist-NEG-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP STILL really Witoto say~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘If there is no (story of origin), (we) still speak and speak of ‘the Witoto’.’
- 1.3 *ie=mei nia oni o-ñe-ga=d_i_{PRED}*
CONN=so STILL LOCAL₂ get.out-NEG-PASS=CERT
 ‘And so, we would not yet abolish (the name ‘Witoto’).’
- 1.4 *‘Uitoto’ mei [ie origen]_S i-ñe-d-e=d_i_{PRED}*
Witoto so CONN beginning.Sp exist-NEG-LK-3=CERT
 ‘(Because) there is no origin of ‘Witoto’.’
- 1.5 *ua bi-e kai... [kai ua moo Juziñamui]_A [bi-e*
really this.CTS-CLF:G 1pl 1pl really father Juziñamui this.cts-CLF:G
eni-e]_O komui-ta-t-_e_{PRED}
land-CLF:G grow-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘We... Our Father Creator *Juziñamui*³⁶⁴ created (lit. made grow) this land.’
- 1.6 *ie [bie eni-e=d_i]_{VCS} [kai ei]_{VCC}*
CONN this.CTS-CLF:G land-CLF:G=S/A.TOP 1pl mother
 ‘And this land is our mother.’

³⁶⁴ I have chosen not to translate the names of mythological figures and places.

- 1.7 ie-ra=mei [kai ei abi]_{VCS} [bai-e i-fo]_{VCC} [jamei
 CONN-REASON=so 1pl mother body that-CLF:G ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV ONLY
 ua i-fo]_{VCC} rai-ya=za_{PRED}
 really ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV say-E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘The body of our mother, we say, is that cave³⁶⁵, not more than a cave.’
- 1.8 ie-ra kai_s mei nai-fo-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{PRED}
 CONN-REASON 1pl so ANA.SP-CLF:CAV-INS come-LK-1pl
 ‘And so, through that cave, we came out.’
- 1.9 jai [bi-e ua mona]_s navui-ya-no-mona_{ABL} [ari
 already this.CTS-CLF:G really sky darken-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL uphill
 ua diga nai-rai]_s nai-e-do_{INS} bi-t-e_{PRED}
 really MANY clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS come-LK-3
 daa-fo-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{PRED} ari ua bi-ti-kai_{PRED}
 one.same-CLF:CAV-INS come-LK-1pl uphill really come-LK-1pl
 ‘From (when) the sky got dark, many of the clans came up (lit. uphill) through there,
 through the same cave. We came (outside).’
- 1.10 [bai-e ua i-fo fuue]_{LOC} zii-d-e ra-es
 that.FSH-CLF:G really ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV mouth tied.up-LK-3 thing-CLF:G
 nano-ka-ra-es
 first-FOC-CLF:THING-CLF:G
 ‘By the cave (lit. on the side of the mouth of the hole) was tied up a load-bearing stud,
 the very first load-bearing stud.³⁶⁶’
- 1.11 nai-no=koni_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED} jiai joone-ga_{PRED} [Kuegoma_s rai-ya]
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ exist-LK-3 also put.TH-PASS Kuegoma say-E.NMLZ
 ‘At that spot stood (lit. was put) so-called *Kuegoma*.’
- 1.12 jae=di=mei ana-na_{ABL} i-fo-mona_{ABL} [oma-kai diga]
 PAST=S/A.TOP=so below-N.S/A.TOP ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV-ABL tail-CLF:STICK WITH
 bi-ti-kai=za_{PRED} ari
 come-LK-1pl=UNCERT uphill
 ‘Long time ago, we came (out) from beneath (the ground), from the cave, with tails.’
- 1.13 [jemi-niai izoi] oma-kairuai-di-kai_{PRED}
 monkey-COLL similar tail-CLF.STICK-CLF:LONGISH.FLEX.PL-LK-1pl
 ‘Like the *churuco* monkey, we had tails (lit. we were taily).’

³⁶⁵ In fact, the literal translation of ‘cave’ is ‘cavity-like, hole-like’. I have chosen to translate it as ‘cave’.

³⁶⁶ The fundamental structure of a Murui round communal house (called from Spanish *maloca*) consists of four fundamental load-bearing studs. The first stud, called *nanokarae* is the closest to the men’s ritual space called *bibiri* (*mambiadero* in Spanish) that is directed towards west (cf. Torres 1988).

- 1.14 ie bai-e_S jaiyu-ka_{PRED}
 CONN that.FSH-CLF:G cut-PASS
 ‘And they (the tails) were cut (by *Kuegoma*).’
- 1.15 ari bi-t-e_{PRED} die-ze bai-e_S jaiyu-oi-ga_{PRED}
 uphill come-LK-3 AT.CLF:G-SIMIL that.FSH-CLF:G cut-DUR-PASS
 ua mona monai-ya=koni jae dino=koni fiebi-d-e_{PRED}
 really sky brighten-E.NMLZ=LOCAL₁ PAST AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ stay-LK-3
 jiai-no jai jmm...
 other-CLF:SP.PLACE already INTERJ
 ‘(As) many came outside, (their tails) were being cut off until dawn (lit. the moment when the sky brightened). In that moment, others (who didn’t come out), remained.’
- 1.16 ie-ra mei ua jai mona monai-ya-no=koni jai
 CONN-REASON so really already sky dawn-E.NMLZ-SEQ=LOCAL₁ already
 bai-e fiebi-di-no=di_{PRED} dino_{LOC} jaka ua jai
 that-CLF:G stay-LK-CLF:SP.PLACE=S/A.TOP AT.CLF:SP.PLACE always really already
 fiebi-d-e_{PERD} nai-fo-mo_{LOC} ari bi-ñe-d-e=di_{PRED} jmm...
 stay-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:CAV-LOC uphill come-NEG-LK-3=CERT INTERJ
 ‘And so, at dawn, those who stayed there, remained in that (cave) forever. They didn’t come out.’
- 1.17 ie-ra aki=dino-mo_{LOC} mei ua [kai=ua eirue
 CONN-REASON AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC so really 1pl=really forefather
 jito]
 son
 ‘And so, in that moment, (we have) our first forefather-son³⁶⁷.’
- 1.18 nai-maki=di_S aki=dino-mo_{LOC} uai-nino
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN=S/A.TOP AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC word³⁶⁸-PRIV
 komui-d-e_{PRED}
 grow-LK-3
 ‘They (all those who came out of the cave) in that moment were born without language.’
- 1.19 [nai-maki uai]_S i-ñe-d-e_{PRED} uzini-d-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN voice exist-NEG-LK-3 blind.NEG.ATT-LK-3
 uiz_O eko-ri-ñe-d-e_{PRED} jmm...

³⁶⁷ *Enirue jito* is regarded to be ‘the first man’ in Murui mythology. According to the myth of origin, when the forefathers of the people came out of the cave and surfaced on the earth, *Juziñamui* left them to go to the hills and took with him his narrations as well as the fire. See also Echeverri (1997: 106) as well as G Petersen de Piñeros (1994b: 50).

³⁶⁸ The word *uai* has various meanings: ‘voice’, ‘word’, and ‘language’. I choose a relevant translation depending on the context.

- eyes open-DUR-NEG-LK-3 INTERJ
 ‘They didn’t have a voice. They were blind. Their eyes didn’t open.’
- 1.20 ie-ra feei... feei jorai-mona_{ABL} ari
 CONN-REASON downhill downhill lake-ABL uphill
 yigai-ño-t-e_{PRED}
 light.illuminate-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘And so, downhill, from the lake beneath, a light shone out.’
- 1.21 [nai-maki abi-do]_{INS} [nai-e electricidad izoi=ua]
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN body-INS ANA.SP-CLF:G electricity.Sp similar=really
 [too yai-ya izoi] uzi-tiai-kai-d-e_{PRED}
 electric.eel electrocuted-E.NMLZ similar hot?-INCP-LK-3
 ‘Through their bodies, similar to electricity, similar to being electrocuted by an electric eel, they heated up.’
- 1.22 ie-mo jaa nai-maki_A uizi...o uizi_O eko-kai-d-e_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC soon ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN eyes eyes open-INCP-LK-3
 ‘And they soon started opening their eyes.’
- 1.23 uizi_O eko-kai-ya-mona_{ABL} jae bai-e ua [kai eirue jito
 eyes open-INCP-E.NMLZ-ABL PAST that.FSH-CLF:G really 1pl forefather son
 Jitirugido] jaai-diaimi_{ePRED} [feei jai feei]_{LOC}
 Jitirugido³⁶⁹ go-LK.3du.m downhill already downhill
 ie-mo nooi-zai-d-e_{PRED} [Muinama diga]
 CONN-LOC bathe-ANDTV-LK-3 Muinama WITH
 ‘Having opened the eyes, our first forefather-son *Jitirugido* went down the hill (in the direction where the light came from) to go wash (himself together) with Muinama.’
- 1.24 ie-ra nai-maki_S jaai-d-e_{PRED} rii-d-e_{PRED}
 CONN-REASON ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN go-LK-3 arrive-LK-3
 ‘So they went. (And they) arrived.’
- 1.25 Muruima fuiri raina-da-kai-da afai
 Muruima downriver sit.down.TH-BODY-INCP-SEQ.COMPL upriver
 eroda-t-e_{PRED} Muinama fuiri ie-mo eroda-t-e_{PRED}
 look.BODY-LK-3 Muinama downriver CONN-LOC look.BODY-LK-3
 ‘*Muruima* (another name of *Jitirugido*), after having sat down in the downriver part, (turned and) looked upstream (to the north); *Muinama* (sitting in the downriver part) looked downstream (to the south)’.
- 1.26 naa³⁷⁰ Muruima_A uai_O bota-d-e_{PRED} “nai-e_{VCS} bu-e?_{VCC}” rai-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP Muruima word cut-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G Q2-CLF:G say-LK-3

³⁶⁹ *Jitirugido* is another name of the mythological hero *Muruima* that appears further in the narration. The name *Jitirugido* might be related to the verbal root *jiti-* ‘darken’.

³⁷⁰ The word *naa* is an equivalent of *nai-e* (ANA.SP-CLF:G) ‘that’ in this genre.

‘(And so) Muruima expressed (lit. cut) a word. “What is this (lit. this - what (thing))?” (he) said.’

- 1.27 aki=dino-mona_{TEMP} komui-d-e_{PRED} [kai bi-e Murui uai]_s
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL grow-LK-3 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G Murui word
 [ie uai]_s [buu ia uai]_s
 CONN word Q₂ ?CONN³⁷¹ word
 ‘And from that moment our language was born. Our Murui language. Their language. The language (called) “Bue”.’

- 1.28 ie-mo [bai-e Muruima=di]_s [nai-mie bigi
 CONN-LOC that.FSH-CLF:G Muruima=S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M club
 diga] i-t-e_{PRED} ie-mo [nai-mie
 WITH exist-LK-3 CONN-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
 jokome-foro]
 type.small.palm.tree-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED
 ‘And so, Muruima had his *bigi* club (lit. he was with his club). And so, (he had) his *jokomeforo* palm frond.’³⁷²

- 1.29 ie=mei Muinama-ka [fuirī ie-mo]_{LOC} eruai-d-e_{PRED}
 CONN=so Muinama-FOC downriverANA.NSP-LOC keep.look-LK-3
 ‘And *Muinama* kept looking downriver.’

- 1.30 mei ‘aafe³⁷³ minika³⁷⁴, rai-t-e_{PRED} jmm...
 so this what.Q say-LK-3 INTERJ
 ‘So, (he) said “What is this? (lit. this - what)”.’

- 1.31 aki=dino-mo_{TEMP} komui-d-e_{PRED} [bai-e Muinama uai]_s
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC grow-LK-3 that.FSH-CLF:G Muinama word
 [Minika-ja uai]_s

³⁷¹ Here Lucio Agga used *ia*, which might be a form of CONN *ie*.

³⁷² The *bigi* club is the identifying weapon of the Murui people. It is made from a hard durable wood, and is about one meter long (D. Minor, 1973: 29). The *jokomeforo* palm frond (used for dance rituals) is another identifying symbol distinguishing the Murui people from other groups in the area.

³⁷³ *Minika* has different roots of nominal demonstratives. The language uses *aa-fe*, rather than *nai-e* as in Murui (note however, that both languages are very close: in Murui the word *aa-fe* (above-CLF:SIDE) is grammatical, however, it is frequently associated with the *Minika* language).

³⁷⁴ In fact the word *minika* for ‘what’ in *Minika* is related to the *Mika* word for ‘what’ which is *mika*. Both have the focus marker *-ka* (cf. *buu-ka* for ‘who’ in Murui).

Minika-? word

‘And from that moment the language of Muinama was born. The “Minika” language.’

- 1.32 ie jira mei=ua aki-e jaa [Muinama [nai-mie
 CONN REASON so=really AUDIT-CLF:G soon Muinama ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
 toi-roki diga] [nai-mie toi-rai diga]]s
 pole-CLF:BUSH WITH ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M pole-CLF:BUSH.NODE WITH
 i-t-e_{PRED}
 exist-LK-3
 ‘And so, soon (this) Muinama was with his *toiroki* pole, with his *toirai* pole.’³⁷⁵
- 1.33 ie=ua [nai-mie noma-rofe]_O nai-mie-mo_{O:RECIPIENT}
 CONN=SO ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M type.tree-CLF:STRING.THIN ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M-LOC
 yiriai-d-e_{PRED}
 tie-LK-3
 ‘And as his bark made of the *nomana*³⁷⁶ tree is tied on him (his head).’³⁷⁷
- 1.34 aki-evcs [aki-maki ‘origen’]_{VCC} jmm...
 AUDIT-CLF:G AUDIT-CLF:PR.GR.AN origin.Sp INTERJ
 ‘This is their “origin” (of the Minika people).’
- 1.35 jae=mei [aki-e]_{VCS} jokome-fo_{VCC} bigi_{VCC}
 PAST=SO AUDIT-CLF:G type.small.palm.tree-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED club
 ie-ra [bai-e bigi] [bai-e=di] jaka ua
 CONN-REASON that.FSH-CLF:G club that.FSH-CLF:G=S/A.TOP always really
 kaima-taia jaka ua [kai raa] [kai mairi-ki ua]
 happy-BECOME₂.COND₁ always really 1pl thing 1pl power-CLF:INHER really
 ‘So, long time ago, this was the *jokomeforo* palm frond (and) the *bigi* club (for the
 Murui people). And that’s why when we celebrate, the *bigi* club (and the *jokome-fo*)
 are always our power, our strength.’
- 1.36 ie-mona_{ABL} komui-ya_{PRED} ie-mona_{ABL} jai ari
 CONN-ABL grow-E.NMLZ CONN-ABL already uphill
 jae ua nooi-ya_{PRED} [bai-e nai-rai]_S
 PAST really bathe-E.NMLZ that.FSH-CLF:G clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE
 ‘From that moment (when Muruima and Muinama expressed their first words), (they)
 grew. (Other) tribes bathed (later as well).’³⁷⁸
- 1.37 ie=ua [bai-e ribeo]_{VCS} [bai-e mutio]_{VCS} [kai ua
 CONN=really that.FSH-CLF:G placenta that.FSH-CLF:G umbilicus 1pl really
 nai-rai]_{VCC} [ribeo]_{VCS} [kai jii nai-rai]_{VCC} [ie

³⁷⁵ The *toiroki* and *toirai* poles are identifying elements of the Minika people.

³⁷⁶ *Nomana* [Sapucaia] is called *coco mono* or *machin mango* (Sp.) tree, and it is similar to the *maní*.

³⁷⁷ The Minika people wear hair bands made out of the *nomana* tree bark during dance rituals and ceremonies.

³⁷⁸ There was a certain hierarchical order in which particular clans and groups would bathe.

- clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE placenta 1pl yes clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE CONN
 ua mutio]vcs
 really umbilicus
 ‘So, the placenta, the umbilicus is our tribe, the placenta is our tribe, (it’s) its
 umbilicus.’
- 1.38 bai-e-na_o fairi-da-ja_{pred}
 that.FSH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP float-BODY-E.NMLZ
 ‘With that it floats (similar to a fish, to an anaconda).’³⁷⁹
- 1.39 ie-ra jaa dino-mona_{temp} [nai-e]_o=ua nai-e_o
 CONN-REASON soon AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ANA.SP-CLF:G=really ANA.SP-CLF:G
 niki-do-zi-d-e_{pred} aare=ua jai i-maki_o dane
 fight-CAUS-PP-LK-3 long=really already ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN ONCE
 ri-i-aka-ga_{pred}
 eat.meat-EMPH-DES-PASS
 ‘From that moment onwards, they (the people) fought him (the anaconda) for a
 long time; soon they were hungry for meat.’
- 1.40 jaka o-ni-d-e_{pred}
 never get-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘(They) never got (him).’
- 1.41 [nai-e bai-e]vcs [ua dobai-ra-io]vcc
 ANA.SP-CLF:G that.FSH-CLF:G really turn-CLF:NEUT-CLF:REP.SNAKE
 bure-ra-io_{vcc} jabi-ra-io_{vcc}
 twist-CLF:NEUT-CLF:REP.SNAKE rotate-CLF:NEUT-CLF:REP.SNAKE
 ‘It was turning, (it was) twisting, (it was) rotating.’
- 1.42 ni-e-ze mei=ua faia-do-na jaka jabi-ri-kai-d-e_{pred}
 Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL so=really hit-LK.2sg-N.S/A.TOP always rotate-DUR-INCP-LK-3
 [ruika ie-mo]LOC jabi-re-d-e_{pred}
 other.side CONN-LOC rotate-ATT-LK-3
 ‘How do you hit it when it starts rotating on the other side. It would have the ability to
 rotate...’
- 1.43 ie-ra [diga=ua raa diga=ua] nai-e_o niki-do-t-e_{pred}
 CONN-REASON MANY=really thing WITH=really ANA.SP-CLF:G fight-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘And that’s why, they would fight him with many things.’
- 1.44 Nuiki-do_{ins} zai-ta-ta-ga_{pred} Nuiki_A aa=dine-na_{abl}
 Nuiki-INS step-CAUS-CAUS-PASS Nuiki above=AT.LOC:NSP-ABL
 bi-ya-no zai-ta-ja_{pred} abi-na_o
 come-E.NMLZ-SEQ step-CAUS-E.NMZL body-N.S/A.TOP

³⁷⁹ The mythological name of the anaconda figure is *Agaro* (the surname of Lucio Agga Carderon comes from the name *Agaro*).

‘Trampling it with *Nuiki*. *Nuiki*, having come from the air, trampled the anaconda’s body.’³⁸⁰

- 1.45 *jaka* *ua* *naa-mo*_{O:RECIPIENT} *zai-ta-d-e*_{PRED} *ruika* *jabi-ri-kai-d-e*_{PRED}
 always really ANA.SP-LOC step-CAUS-LK-3 other.side rotate-DUR-INCP-LK-3
 [dino *iye ana-mo*] *fiabi-kai-d-e*_{PRED} *jai*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE river below-LOC stay-INCP-LK-3 already
 ‘(*Nuiki*) trampled it. (*Agaro*) kept rotating to the other side (taking *Nuiki* with it), and (*Nuiki*) remained beneath the river.’
- 1.46 *ni-e* *ana* [*bai-e* *nuikito-na*]_O *i-t-e*_{PRED} *emodo-mo*_{LOC}
 Q₂-CLF:G below that.FSH-CLF:G type.fish-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3 top-LOC
*nai-mie*_S *ei-kobe*_O *fiabi-kai-d-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M foot-CLF:ROUND.LEAF stay-INCEP-LK-3
 ‘And beneath the water he turned into the *nuikito*³⁸¹ fish. (A symbol of a bird-like) claw remained on his back.’
- 1.47 *ua* *aki-e-ze* *niki-do-zi-d-e*_{PRED} *jaka* *o-ni-d-e*_{PRED}
 really AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL fight-CAUS-PP-LK-3 always get-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘This way, they (the people) fought (but) never could get (the anaconda).’
- 1.48 *ie-ri* *jaa* *Jitoma-mo*_{LOC} *uaifai-ti-maki*_{PRED}
 CONN-BENEF.CAUS soon Jitoma-LOC word.throw-LK-3pl
 ‘That is why, they soon requested help of (lit. threw word at) *Jitoma*.’
- 1.49 *aki-e-ze=mei* *kai=di*_S *yo-ti-kai*_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL=so 1pl=S/A.TOP tell-LK-1pl
 ‘This is the way we narrate (lit. tell) (this story).’³⁸²
- 1.50 *Jitoma-mo*_{LOC} *uaifai-ti-maki*_{PRED} [*Jitoma* *i-aime*_i
Jitoma-LOC *word.throw-LK-3pl* *Jitoma* *ANA.NSP-3du.m*
bai-e *Fizido Jizima diga*]
 that.FSH-CLF:G *Fizido Jizima* WITH
 ‘They requested help of *Jitoma*. *Jitoma* together with *Fizido Jizima*³⁸³.’
- 1.51 *ie-mo* *bi-t-e-mo*_{TEMP} *obi-ya-kai*_O *zita-ja-no*
 CONN-LOC come-LK-3-TEMP blow-E.NMLZ-CLF:STICK bring.arms-E.NMLZ-SEQ
*obi-d-e-mo*_{TEMP} *jaka* *bai-ñe-d-e*_{PRED}
 blow-LK-3-TEMP always find-NEG-LK-3

³⁸⁰ A mythological figure *Nuiki*, which previously has a form of a bird, was sent to trample *Agaro* from above.

³⁸¹ *Nuikito* ‘type of fish’ is probably a combination of *nuiki* ‘anaconda’ and the repeater *-to* (from *jito* ‘son’).

³⁸² This is the version according to the *Ereiai* clan.

³⁸³ Known elsewhere as *Kechatoma*, a brother of *Jitoma*, brought up by *Jitoma*. *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* were very powerful figures.

‘And (then) when they came, after having brought their blowguns. When (*Jitoma*) shot, it would not reach (the anaconda).’

- 1.52 *jaka jabi-da-kai-da taai-fo-do*_{INS}
 always rotate-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT-INCP-SEQ.COMPL in.vain-CLF:CAV-INS
*jaai-d-e*_{PRED}
 go-LK-3
 ‘It would always turn around, (the arrow) would go in vain.’
- 1.53 *dane jiai-mie*_S *obi-d-e-mo*_{TEMP} *jaka jiai bai-ñe-d-e*_{PRED} *jaka*
 ONCE other-CLF:PR.M blow-LK-3-TEMP always also find-NEG-LK-3 always
 ‘When the other man shot, it would also never reach (the anaconda).’
- 1.54 *ie jira jaa jaai-d-e*_{PRED} *jaa nai-e-mo*_{LOC} *jaai-d-e*_{PRED}
 CONN REASON soon go-LK-3 soon ANA.SP-CLF:G-LOC go-LK-3
*jaa [nai-e-mo ua jibi-a dine]*_{LOC} *da-je*
 soon ANA.SP-CLF:G-LOC really destruct-E.NMLZ AT.LOC:NSP one-CLF:G
*nai-mie*_O *jibi-ka*_{PRED} *dino-mo*_{LOC} *nai-mie*_A
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M destruct-PASS AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
*fai-ga-be*_O *jibui-zai-d-e*_{PRED}
 throw-PASS-CLF:LEAF watch-ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘That is why they soon went (away), they went to the place of destruction, killed by *Jitoma*. *Jitoma* went to see the thrown leaf (that appeared in his dreams).’³⁸⁴
- 1.55 *ie=mei jano-riza i-t-e*_{PRED} *ati-d-e*_{PRED} *iniai-ki*_O
 CONN=SO small.LITTLE exist-LK-3 bring-LK-3 sleep.PL-CLF:INHER
*ie-do*_{INS} *yiai-jiza ini-ta-t-e*_{PRED}
 CONN-INS half-LITTLE sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘But there was (only) little left of it. (*Jitoma*) brought the dream. With this, (they) made *Agaro* sleep a bit.’
- 1.56 *ie-ra [batine bi-beji=dine]*_{LOC}
 CONN-REASON THERE.LOC:NSP this.CTS-CLF:SIDE.WATER =AT.LOC:NSP
*nainada-t-e*_{PRED} *[jiai-mie*_S *[bai-beji=dine]*_{LOC}
 stand.up.BODY-LK-3 other-CLF:DR.M that.FSH-CLF:SIDE.WATER =AT.LOC:NSP
*nainada-t-e*_{PRED}
 stand.up.BODY-LK-3
 ‘And so, (*Jitoma*) one would stand on one side of the river; another one would stand on the other side.’

³⁸⁴ Before taking on the mission to destroy *Agaro*, *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* killed a harmful animal. They killed with a dream that was hidden in a leaf. After having killed the animal, they threw away the leaf; that is why, in this part of the narration, *Jitoma* goes to look for that leaf, in order to bring it with him to kill *Agaro*.

- 1.57 bi-mie-mo eruai-a_{PRD} meino Jitoma_S aa=dine_{LOC}
 this.CTS-CLF:PR.M-LOC keep.look-E.NMLZ after Jitoma above=AT.LOC:NSP
 obi-d-e_{PRD} mona-mo_{LOC}
 blow-LK-3 sky-LOC
 ‘(While) (*Agaro*) was looking at him (*Kechatoma*), *Jitoma* shot up into the sky.’
- 1.58 jadino-na_{ABL} aa=dine-na_{ABL} bi-t-e_{PRD}
 this.CTH-SP.PLACE-ABL above=AT.LOC:NSP-ABL come-LK-3
 fai-ji-a_{PRD} [nai-mie emodo-mo]_{LOC}
 throw-CLF:SMALL.ROUND-E.NMLZ ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M back-LOC
 ‘From there, from above (the arrow) came and nailed (*Agaro*) in his back.’
- 1.59 aki i-aimiaia_A ie=mei jai=mei nai-e_S meine-ga_{PRD}
 AUDIT ANA.NSP-3du.m CONN=so already=so ANA.SP-CLF:G kill-PASS
 ‘And so, both (of the brothers) killed him (*Agaro*).’
- 1.60 ie meino [bai-e ua jiai-nuai]_S ua bi-t-e_{PRD}
 CONN after that.FSH-CLF:G really other-CLF:PR.GR.PL really come-LK-3
 [ua emodo-mo_{LOC} komui-di-no]_S nai-rai nogo-ni
 really top-LOC grow-LK-CLF:PR.GR clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE pot-CLF:DR.GR
 ‘And after this, the others came. (Also) those who were born later (after the fight with *Agaro* has started). The *Nogoni* clan (lit. the clan of ‘the ceramic pot’).’
- 1.61 [kai... ua komini i-fo=koni...] bai-maki_S
 1pl really people.CLF:DR.GR ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV=LOCAL₁ that.FSH-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 jai ua jino_{LOC} bai-e-na_O jaa
 already really outside.CLF:SP.PLACE that.FSH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP soon
 nai-e_S ari ziri-d-e_{PRD}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G uphill submerged.half.in.water-LK-3
 ‘At the ‘Cave of Humanity’ (after the fight with *Agaro*)³⁸⁵... they have (started) taking *Agaro* outside. Soon he was half on the land, and half in the water.’
- 1.62 jai ua jai-yu-zi-t-e_{PRD} ua ti-bero-zi-d-e_{PRD}
 already really cut-CLF:BIG.FLAT-PP-LK-3 really slice-CLF:LEAF.ROUND-PP-LK-3
 dino=koni nai-maki_S mei=ua mei abi-mo_{LOC}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN so=really so body-LOC
 [nai-e dirue-na]_O mui-nai-zi-t-e_{PRD}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G blood-N.S/A.TOP smear-BECOME₁-PP-LK-3
 ‘(They) have already cut big pieces (of *Agaro*), sliced thinner pieces. And there they smeared the blood onto their bodies.’

³⁸⁵ This ‘cave’ is also referred to as ‘the Hole/Cave of Awakening’ (*Kaiyafu*) or ‘Hole/Cave of Humanity’ (*Komimafu*). See §1.2 and Echeverri (1997: 100-107).

- 1.63 ua [bai-e nogo-ni-ai ie nogo-mo]_{LOC} roko-ka=za_{PRED}
 really that.FSH-CLF:G pot-CLF:DR.GR-PL CONN pot-LOC cook-PASS=UNCERT
 nai-e_S
 ANA.SP-CLF:G
 ‘And so in the pot of the *Nogoni* people was (where) it (*Agaro*) was cooked.’
- 1.64 ie=dino-mo_{TEMP} [bai-e ua jiai-nuai]_S ua
 CONN=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC that.FSH-CLF:G really other-CLF:PR.GR.PL really
 dire ñai-t-e_{PRED} jaka nai-maki_S uai_O duiji-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 strange.ATT speak-LK-3 always ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN word pronounce-NEG-LK-3
 aki=dino-mona_{ABL} nai-maki_S uai_O duiji-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN word reach-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And (from) then, others speak in a strange manner. They don’t pronounce well, from
 that moment they don’t pronounce well (anymore).’
- 1.65 mei bai-e_{VCS} [[ñee ni-maki] Yoriai]_{VCC}
 so that.FSH-CLF:G FILLER Q₂-CLF:PR.GR.AN Yoriai
 ‘These are the, what’s the name, *Yoriai*.’
- 1.66 Yoriai bai-e=di_S ua [jaka ri-a meino] ua
 Yoriai that.FSH-CLF:G=S/A.TOP really always eat.meat-E.NMLZ after really
 [i-be jerei-yai]_O me-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.NSP-CLF:LEAF inside-PL lick-LK-3
 ‘The *Yoriai*, after the meat was eaten, licked only the inside of the leaves.’³⁸⁶
- 1.67 ie [nai-e juna-d-e]_{PRED} bure-gi_S ie mai-ga_{PRED}
 CONN ANA.SP-CLF:G find-LK-3 type.wasp-CLF:OVAL CONN bite-PASS
 iife-na_O
 tongue-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘There were wasps and they bit the tongues (of the *Yoriai* people).’
- 1.68 ie-ra [bai-e nai-maki=di] iidiri
 CONN-REASON that.FSH-CLF:G ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN=S/A.TOP swollen
 ñai-t-e_{PRED} iife_O [bai-e jai buregi-na]
 speak-LK-3 tongue that.FSH-CLF:G already type.wasp-N.S/A.TOP
 mai-ga=za_{PRED}
 bite-PASS=UNCERT
 ‘And they speak in a swollen manner because wasps bit (their) tongues.’
- 1.69 ie jai [ri-a ua meino] jai jaai-zi-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN already eat.meat-E.NMLZ really after already go-PP-LK-3
 ari=bene_{LOC} [dane jai ari]_{LOC} [nai-rai]_S jai
 uphill=HERE.LOC:NSP ONCE already uphill clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE already
 ‘After having eaten, they all went through the land (together), as one (large) tribe.’

³⁸⁶ The clan *Yoriai* arrived late, after the meat of *Arago* had been eaten.

- 1.70 ua batine oni Atena ari fakai Caquetá
 really THERE.LOC:NSP LOCAL₂ Atena uphill LOCATION Caquetá
 bi-bei dino-mo_{LOC} jai dino-mo_{LOC}
 this.CTS-CLF:LEAF.EDGE AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC already AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ofi-d-e_{PRED} [nai-rai eima]_S
 unite-LK-3 CLAN-CLF:BUSH.NODE forefather.CLF:DR.M
 [mena i-du]_{LOC} ua ofi-d-e_{PRED}
 two ANA.NSP-CLF:HILL really united-LK-3
 ‘Over there close to Atena at the side of Caquetá, there the forefathers of the clans
 came together. They united over the space of two hills.’³⁸⁷
- 1.71 dino-mo_{LOC} jai [kai moo]_S ana bi-t-e_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC already 1pl father below come-LK-3
 nai-maki-mo_{LOC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN-LOC
 ‘There our Father Creator came down upon them.’
- 1.72 ie jira [bu-e diga] bi-ñe-d-e=za_{PRED} jai ua
 CONN REASON Q1-CLF:G WITH come-NEG-LK-3=UNCER already really
 mei baa [kai nai-rai]_{O:RECIPIENT} ua “zeda-ye_{PRED}
 so ATTENTION 1pl clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE really take.care-FUT.E.NMLZ
 jiguí-da” ati-d-e_{PRED} ua
 baston-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT bring-LK-3 really
 ‘And so, he didn’t come with anything. He only brought norms (lit. the cane of future
 taking care) to our clans.’
- 1.73 [kai ua nai-rai=ua zeda-ra]_O jibi-roki_O
 1pl really clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE=really take.care-CLF:THING tobacco-CLF:BUSH
 ati-d-e_{PRED} [dio-roki diga] b-i-te_{PRED}
 bring-LK-3 tobacco-CLF:BUSH WITH come-LK-3
 ‘He brought ‘norms’, the graft of coca. He came with the graft of tobacco.’
- 1.74 jadi-no_O bai-e_O fii-a-no-na
 this.CTH-SP.PLACE that.FSH-CLF:G leave.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP
 bai-e_O jai bo-t-e_{PRED} [jai uai diga]
 that.FSH-CLF:G already divide-LK-3 already word WITH
 ‘There, after having left this (what he brought), he divided the people with words (of
 Coca and Tobacco).’

³⁸⁷ Lucio is narrating about a place located mid Caquetá River, west to Atena. This is where the mythical *Bokire Idu* ‘Hill of Division’ is to be located (see also Chapter 1). It is also referred to as ‘Savannah of Cahuinarí’ (Echeverri, 1997: 26).

1.75 *batine*_{LOC} *ji*ai*-no*_s *jaai-d-e*_{PRED} *ua* *bene*_{LOC} *ji*ai*-no*_s
 THERE.LOC:NSP other-CLF:PR.GR go-LK-3 really HERE.LOC:NSP other-CLF:PR.GR
*jaai-d-e*_{PRED} [*fui*ri*=dine*]_{LOC} *ji*ai*-no*_s *jaai-d-e*_{PRED}
 go-LK-3 downriver=AT.LOC:NSP other-CLF:SP.PLACE go-LK-3
*oni=dine*_{LOC} *jaai-d-e*_{PRED}
 LOCAL2=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-3
 ‘Others went there, yet others went here, yet others went downriver, yet others went about there...’

1.76 [*nai-du* *mame-ki*]_{VCS} [*Bokire Idu*]_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:HILL name-CLF:INHER Bokire ANA.NSP-CLF:HILL
 ‘The name of that hill is *Bokire Idu*³⁸⁸.’

1.77 ‘*jai* *ji*ibi*-e*_s *jaka* *bii!* *da-je-d-e*_{PRED} *ji*ibi*-na*_s
 already coca-CLF:G always THIS.HERE one-CLF:G-LK-3 coca-CLF:TREE
*ji*ai*-e-ñe-d-e*_{PRED} *ie-ra* [*nai-e* *uai*]_s
 other-CLF:G-NEG-LK-3 CONN-REASON ANA.SP-CLF:G word
*nai-e-mo*_{LOC} *i-t-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-LOC exist-LK-3
 “‘The coca is always unique, take it! Like the coca there is no other (plant). That is why, these words live in coca.’”

1.78 ‘*bi-e-do*_{INS} [*oo nai-rai*]_o *zeda-iti-o!*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS 2sg clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE take.care-FUT.LK-2sg
*bi-e-do*_{INS} [*oo jizakuru*]_o *zeda-iti-o!*_{PRED} *bi-e-do*_{INS}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS 2sg young.person take.care-FUT.LK-2sg this.CTS-CLF:G-INS
*ji*ta*ño*_o *zeda-iti-o!*_{PRED}
 young.girl.CLF.DR.F take.care-FUT.LK-2sg
 “‘With this protect (lit. take care) of your people! With this protect your youngsters! With this protect young girls!’”

1.79 ‘*bi-e-do*_{INS} *ua* *nai-rai-na*_o *yeta-iti-o!*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS really clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE-N.S/A.TOP advise³⁸⁹-FUT.LK-2sg
rai-ya-no *joone-kai-d-e*_{PRED} *nai-mie*_s
 say-E.NMLZ-SEQ put.TH-INCP-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
 “‘With this, direct the tribe!’ he left these (norms) after having said that.’”

1.80 *aki=dino-mo*_{LOC} *mei* *ua* [*nai-e* *ua* *bi-e* *kai*
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC so really ANA.SP-CLF:G really this.CTS-CLF:G 1pl
 ‘origen’ *rai-ya*] [*ua* *kai* *komui-ya* *jiya-ki*]

³⁸⁸ The direct translation is ‘the Hill of Division’.

³⁸⁹ The verbal root *yeta-* can be translated as ‘advise, direct, punish, teach the norms’.

origen.Sp say-E.NMLZ really 1pl grow-E.NMLZ base-CLF:CLUSTER
 aki=dino-mo_{LOC} duju-d-e_{PRED}
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC reach-LK-3
 ‘Until there is what is called ‘origin’, our base of living (lit. growing). It reaches here.’

1.81 dino_{LOC} rii-d-e_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE arrive-LK-3
 ‘That’s how it ends (lit. ‘the end’ has arrived)’.

Text 2: Riño ñaiakino - A Women’s Conversation (Tercera India, 2013)

This is a conversation between two young women, Judy Amparo Rombariyama Agga, 25 years old (her father belongs to the *Kanieni* clan and her mother is of the *Ereiai* clan) and Sandriela Agga Arteagga, 27 years old, (her father belonged to the *Ereiai* clan, her mother to the *Ziueni* clan from San Rafael). Both women have an equal mastery in Spanish as in Murui and have been residents of Tercera India community all their lives. Judy was brought up bilingually; Sandriela was brought up in Murui, learning Spanish at school at the age of 8.

2.1 J: Sama domingo-mo_{TEMP} ua ni-ora-mo_{TEMP} afai jaai-di-o?_{PRED}
 Sama Sunday.Sp-LOC really Q2-hour.Sp-LOC upstream go-LK-2sg
 ‘Sama, at what time on Sunday did you go up the river?’

2.2 S: kue [Katarina diga] jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg Katarina WITH go-LK-1sg
 ‘I went with Katarina.’

2.3 J: ua?
 really
 ‘Really?’

2.4 S: jii!
 yes
 ‘Yes!’

2.5 J: y... bu-e-do_{INS} jaai-di-omuiño?_{PRED}
 and.Sp Q1-CLF:G-INS go-LK-2du.f
 ‘And how did you go?’

2.6 S: [Katarina diga] jaai-di-kue_{PRED} mei Rata_S [kai diga] dane
 Katarina WITH go-LK-1sg so Rata 1pl WITH ONCE
 jaai-ya_{PRED} afai [oo ei=dino-mo]_{LOC}

go-E.NMLZ upstream 2sg mother=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘I went with Katarina. Rata went with us up the river to your mother.’

2.7 J: ua? pero nokae-do_{INS} jaai-di-omoi_{PRED} erua?
 really but.Sp canoe-INS go-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘Really? But you went by a canoe, right?’

2.8 S: nokae-do_{INS} jaai-di-kue_{PRED} dino-mona_{ABL} dane Rata afai
 canoe-INS go-LK-1sg AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE Rata upstream
 bai-gobe-mo_{LOC} kue nai-e dane jaai-ya dino-mona_{ABL}
 that-CLF:THICK.LEAF-LOC 1sg ANA.SP ONCE go-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL
 jai jaai-di-kañai_{PRED} ari-do_{INS}
 already go-LK-1du.f uphill-INS
 ‘I went by canoe. From there, at the (canoe) dock of Rata up the river, I went (by foot).’

2.9 J: ari-do?_{INS}
 uphill-INS
 ‘By land?’

2.10S: [Ligia dine]_{LOC} iba-ri-zai-di-kai_{PRED}
 Ligia AT.LOC:NSP buy-DUR-ANDTV-LK-1pl
 ‘We went to Ligia’s to buy (things).’

2.11J: y... bu-ruia_{IO} iba-di-omuiño?_{PRED}
 and.Sp Q₁-CLF:THINGS.PL buy-LK-2du.f
 ‘And what (things) did you two (females) buy?’

2.12S: [da-je ono-kobe jide-ra]_O [kai ie-na]_O
 one-CLF:G hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF paint-CLF:NEUT 1pl CONN-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘One nail polish, for us.’

2.13J: niña_A ibai-ya_{PRED} ie_A jiai iba-ka?_{PRED}
 child.F.Sp buy-E.NMLZ CONN also buy-PASS
 ‘Did *niña* (referring to S’s daughter) buy it? Did she (referring to K) also buy it?’

2.14S: jii ie... ie_A jiai ie-mo naiño jïnui jiro-i-aka-na
 yes CONN CONN also CONN-LOC CLF:PR.F water drink-EMPH-DES-E.NMLZ
 muido-na [nai-e=dine]_{LOC} rii-di-kañai_{PRED}
 FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP ANA-CLF:G=AT.LOC:NSP arrive-LK-1du
 ‘Yes, she (bought) that too. And (in this situation), because she wanted to drink water (lit. reason of her wanting to drink water), we came over there (to Lidia’s store).’

2.15J: aa ua?
 INTERJ really
 ‘Ah, really?’

2.16S: jii!

yes
'Yes!'

2.17J: *nii-ka raifi-ya_{PRE} [nai-e dine]_{LOC} erua?*
 Q2-FOC expensive-E.NMZL ANA.SP-CLF:G AT.LOC:NSP see.really
 'It is expensive there, isn't it?'

2.18S: *eo raifi-d-e!_{PRE} dino-mona_{ABL} dane bi-ti-kañai_{PRE}*
 veryhave.value-LK-3 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE come-LK-1du.f
baai=bene jifanua_O jibui-zaibi-ti-kañai_{PRE}
 THERE=HERE.LOC:NSP play.E.NMLZ watch-VENTV-LK-1du.f
 'Very expensive. From there we came back once again. We came to see the
 (football) game.'

2.19S: *y... estadio-mo_{LOC} raai-di-kañai_{PRE} [ñaiño diga]*
 and.Sp stadium.Sp-LOC sit-LK-1du.f CLF:PR.F WITH
[nai-no dino-mo]_{LOC} ono-kobe_O
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF
jide~jide-d-e_{PRE}
 paint~RED-LK-3
 'And we sat at the stadium, with her. There at that spot she was painting and painting
 her nails.'

2.20S: *ie-mo [tio Siva]_S [naiño dine]_{LOC} bi-t-e_{PRE}*
 CONN-LOC uncle.Sp Silva CLF:PR.F AT.LOC.NSP come-LK-3
[komini uai-do]_{INS} [ñaiño diga] ñai-t-e_{PRE}
 people.CLF:DR.GR language-INS CLF:PR.F WITH speak-LK-3
 'And (in this), Uncle Silva came to her, he talked to her in Murui (lit. by the 'words
 of the people).'

2.21S: *dino-mona_{ABL} dayu i-ti-kai_{PRE} jai [baai*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL one.moment exist-LK-1pl already THERE
misa-mo]_{LOC} jaai-ya_{PRE}
 mass.Sp-LOC go-E.NMLZ
 'From that moment, we stayed a moment longer, and went over there for the mass.'

2.22J: *ie-mo_{TEMP} baai_{LOC} kai rii-di-kai_{PRE} baai jaai-di-kai_{PRE}*
 CONN-LOC THERE 1pl arrive-LK-1pl THERE go-LK-1pl
 'And then (in this), we arrived there. We went (in) there.'

2.23S: *jii ie-mo_{TEMP} baai jiai rii-di-O_{PRE}*
 yes CONN-LOC THERE also arrive-LK-2sg
 'Yes, and so you arrived there too.'

2.24J: *omoi jiai jai [nai-e jerei-mo]_{LOC} i-ti-omoi_{PRE} erua?*
 2pl also already ANA.SP-CLF:G inside-LOC exist-LK-2pl see.really
 'And you were also inside (the church), weren't you?'

- 2.25S: jii jai bai-e kai misa-mo_{LOC} i-ti-kai_{PRED} y... oo
 yes already that.FSH-CLF:G 1pl mass.Sp-LOC exist-LK-1pl and.Sp 2sg
 uie-ko-mo_{LOC} naidai-do_{PRED}
 face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC sit.down.BODY-LK.2sg
 ‘Yes, we were already at the mass. And you sat down in the front.’
- 2.26J: jari-re uie-ko-mo_{LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED} mei navui-da
 quick-ATT face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC go-LK-1sg so darken-SEQ.COMPL
 rii-di-kue_{PRED} oo_O ki-a-no jari-re uie-ko-mo_{LOC}
 arrive-LK-1sg 2sg see-E.NMLZ-SEQ quick-ATT face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC
 kakarei-zai-di-kue_{PRED}
 listen.TH-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 ‘I went quickly up front; well, I came (in) in the evening. When I saw you, I went to
 listen up front (in the church).’
- 2.27 J: nii-ka uzi-re-na iadi nai-rui-do_{INS} ua?
 Q₂-FOC hot-ATT-E.NMLZ but ANA.SP-CLF:DAY-INS really
 ‘But it was (so) hot that day, right?’
- 2.28S: eo uzi-re-d-e_{PRED}
 very hot-ATT-LK-3
 ‘(It was) very hot.’
- 2.29J: uru-e ee~e-na_{PRED} ua raire monoi-na kue=di
 child-CLF:G cry~RED-E.NMLZ really quick.ATT breast-N.S/A.TOP 1sg=S/A.TOP
 jiro-ta [nai-e uru-iai moto-mo]_{LOC}
 drink-SEQ.COMPL ANA.SP-CLF:G child-CLF:G.PL middle-LOC
 ee-ñeiye-na jira kue jino-fe baa
 cry-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP REASON 1sg outside-CLF:SIDE THAT.THERE
 uie-ko-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘The child was crying. After I quickly gave him my breast, so (he) wouldn’t be
 crying in the middle of (other) children outside, I didn’t go up front.’
- 2.30S: ie=ta [bi-e uru-e]_S ee-ñeiye-na_{PRED}
 CONN=REP this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G cry-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘And the child would not cry.’
- 2.31J: aa ua? y... ie_S jari-re fui-t-e?_{PRED}
 INTERJ really and.Sp CONN quick-ATT finish-LK-3
 ‘Ah, really? And... And (the mass) finished quickly?’
- 2.32S: jii raire fui-t-e_{PRED} [naiño yua] eo
 yes quick.ATT finish-LK-3 CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ very
 jari-ki-na padre_A misa_O fino-d-e_{PRED}
 quick.CLF:INHER-N.S/A.TOP father.Sp mass.Sp make-LK-3
 ‘Yes, quickly. According to her, the father did mass very quickly.’

- 2.33S: [naiño eni-e-mo]_{LOC} aki fino-ia aare i-t-e_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F land-CLF:G-LOC AUDIT make-COND₁ long exist-LK-3
 naiños eo zefui-nai-fi-re-d-e_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F very tired-BECOME₁-PAST.HAB-ATT-LK-3
 ‘In her country (as heard), when (a priest) makes (a mass), it lasts long. She used to become very bored (lit. tired).’
- 2.34J: ie=ta [kai dine]_{LOC} kaima-re i-t-e_{PRED} jari-ki-na
 CONN=REP 1pl AT.LOC:NSP happy-ATT exist-LK-3 quick.CLF:INHER-N.S/A.TOP
 jino_{LOC} b-i-te_{PRED}
 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE come-LK-3
 ‘And so among us, she lives happily. She went outside quickly.’
- 2.35S: kaima-re i-t-e_{PRED} jino bi-t-e=za_{PRED}
 happy-ATT exist-LK-3 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE come-LK-3=UNCERT
 joreñoai_O o-t-e_{PRED} komulga-ja_{PRED} fakai
 picture.CLF:DR.F.PL take-LK-3 take.communion.Sp-E.NMLZ time
 ro-a_{PRED} nana_O
 sing-E.NMLZ all
 ‘She is happy. She went outside (of the church), she took pictures. In the time of receiving communion (lit. time of receiving communion), she sun all (songs).’
- 2.36S: roo~ro-d-e_{PRED} jiai kue eki naidai-ta_{PRED} jamei ni-niai_O
 sing~RED-LK-3 also 1sg **angle.side** sit.down-SEQ.COMPL ONLY Q₂-COLL
 ‘(She) was singing and singing, at my side (after she sat down), only some (songs).’
- 2.37J: ni-niai_O da-ño_A ro-t-e_{PRED} Polaco-do_{INS} ni-niai_O
 Q₂-COLL one.alone-CLF:DR.F sing-LK-3 polish.Sp-INS Q₂-COLL
 ro-t-e_{PRED} iadi jaka jari-re ziga-kai_O jeno-d-e=di
 sing-LK-3 but always quick-ATT cigarette-CLF:STEM search-LK-3=CERT
 ‘Which (songs) she sang alone in Polish, which songs she sang... But (then), like always, she would look for cigarettes.’
- 2.38S: jii ziga-kai bo-no-ye-na ie jira
 yes cigarette-CLF:STEM burn-SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP CONN REASON
 eo fuma-i-aka-d-e_{PRED}
 very smoke.Sp-EMPH-DES-LK-3
 ‘Yes, to light a cigarette. That’s why she wants to smoke so much.’
- 2.39J: ie jira jaka jino_{LOC} aizi-d-e_{PRED} ñee
 CONN REASON always outside.CLF:SP.PLACE run-LK-3 FILLER
 jenuai-d-e_{PRED}
 search.ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘And that is why (she) ran outside, to go to look for (smokes).’
- 2.40S: jino_{LOC} jenuai-d-e_{PRED}
 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE search.ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘(She) went to look outside.’

- 2.41J: jai iadi nai-e-na_o fie-d-e_{PRED}
 already but ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP leave-LK-3
 ‘But (I thought that she) quit (lit. leave) (smoking)...’
- 2.42S: jai fie-d-e_{PRED} nai-e-na_o naiño_s yo-a_{PRED}
 already stay-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP CLF:PR.F tell-E.NMLZ
 nare [bi-e afai]_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRED} jai iba-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 yesterday this.CTS-CLF:G upstream go-LK-3 already buy-NEG-LK-3
 ‘(She) quit it, according to her (lit. she tells). Yesterday (she) went up the river; she didn’t buy (cigarettes).’
- 2.43J: aa iba-ñe?_{PRED}
 INTERJ buy-NEG
 ‘Ah, (she) didn’t buy (the cigarettes)?’
- 2.44S: jii [naiño uku-be i-ñe-na jira]_{Cl:Comp} [naiño
 yes CLF:PR.F money-CLF:LEAF exist-NEG-E.NMLZ REASON CLF:PR.F
 yua] [naiño uku-be]_s jai i-ñe-d-e=_{za}_{PRED}
 tell.E.NMLZ CLF:PR.F money-CLF:LEAF already exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘nai-e-na_o jai iba-ñe-iti-kue!’_{PRED} rai-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP already buy-NEG-FUT.LK-1sg say-LK-3
 ‘No, because she has no money, according to her. She has no money. ‘I won’t buy this anymore!’, she said.’
- 2.45J: aa, ua?
 INTERJ really
 ‘Ah, really?’
- 2.46S: jii
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 2.47J: mare=mei [naiño ñee jaza-ki] ebe-na
 good.ATT=so CLF:PR.F FILLER breath-CLF:INHER straight-N.S/A.TOP
 rifai-za!
 rot-APPR
 ‘So, (it’s) good. Careful, her... lungs will rot straight away!’
- 2.48S: jii ie_A jai navui naiño-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} kue_{OBLIQUE} yo-ga_{PASS}
 yes CONN already evening CLF:PR.F-LOC 1sg tell-PASS
 ‘fuma-ñe-iti-o!’_{PRED} [oo jaza-ki]_s rifa-ia_{PRED}

smoke.Sp-NEG-FUT.LK-2sg 2sg breath-CLF:INHER rot-COND₁

oo_S baai-a!_{PRD}

2sg die-E.NMLZ

‘Yes, this was told to her by me yesterday: ‘Don’t smoke! When your lungs rot, you die!’

2.49J: y... ni-e-ze rei-t-e_{PRD} naiño?_A
and.Sp Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL say-LK-3 CLF:PR.F
‘And what did she say?’

2.50S: ‘tua-no! tua-no!’ rei-t-e_{PRD} ie-ze ñai-a_{PRD}
spit-IMP spit-IMP say-LK-3 CONN-CLF:G-SIMIL speak-E.NMLZ
‘‘Spit (it out), spit (it out)! ‘‘ (she) said; (she kept) saying like this...’

2.51J: aa ua?
INTER really
‘Ah, really?’

2.52S: kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{PRD}
listen.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3
‘(She) doesn’t want to listen...’

2.53J: bu-e-na?_O
Q₁-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
‘What (things)?’

2.54S: nai-e-na_O kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{PRD} aki...
ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP listen.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3 AUDIT
‘She doesn’t want to listen to this...’

2.55S: ie=mei jai jino bi-ti-kai_{PRD} ie bai-e
CONN=so already outside.CLF:SP.PLACE come-LK-1pl CONN that.FSH-CLF:G
oni=bat_{LOC} jifano-a_O jibui-zai-di-kai_{PRD}
LOCAL₂=THERE play-E.NMLZ watch-ANDTV-LK-1pl
‘So (later) we came outside, and there we went to watch a (football) game.’

2.56J: navui-da ie jai kai_S bi-ya_{PRD} ua
darken-SEQ.COMPL CONN already 1pl come-E.NMLZ really
‘We came back in the evening.’

2.57S: jii y [naiño yua] zefui-nai-t-e_{PRD} afai
yes and.Sp CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ tired-BECOME₁-LK-3 upriver
jaai-ya-no
go-E.NMLZ-SEQ
‘Yes... And according to her, after going up the river, she becomes very bored (lit. tired).’

- 2.58J: ie=mei jai jaai-ñe-it-e?_{PRED}
 CONN=so already go-NEG-FUT.LK-3
 ‘So (she) won’t go (anymore?)’
- 2.59S: [naiño yua] ‘kue kakarei-i-aka-di-kue_{PRED} afai
 CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ 1sg hear.TH-EMPH-DES-LK-1pl upstream
 i-maki-na_O ebi-re ñai-a’_{PRED}
 ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.AN.GR-N.S/A.TOP nice-ATT speak-E.NMLZ
 naiño_S yoo~yo-na_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F tell~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘(She) says (lit. according to her): “I want to listen to those (from) up the river (talk).
 They speak beautifully.” she keeps telling...’
- 2.60S: ‘afai jaai-di-kue_{PRED} zefui-nai-ti-kue_{PRED} da-no-mo_{LOC}
 upstream go-LK-1sg tired-BECOME₁-LK-1sg one-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 raai-di-kue=za’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 sit-LK-1sg=UNCERT say-LK-3
 “I go up the river, and I get tired (bored) by sitting in one place” (she) says.’
- 2.61J: “maka-ñe-no!”_{PRED} oo=di_S rai-ñe-no_{PRED}
 walk-NEG-PRIV 2sg=S/A.TOP say-NEG-PRIV
 “Don’t walk!” you should have said (to her) (lit. you didn’t say).’
- 2.62S: rai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 say-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I didn’t say (it to her).’
- 2.63J: “kai afai jai-a fibi-di-kai=ta da-no-mo_{LOC}
 1pl upstream go-E.NMLZ get.used-LK-1pl=REP one-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 raai-di-kai!” rai-ñe-no_{PRED}
 sit-LK-1pl say-NEG-PRIV
 ‘(When) we go up the river, we are used to sit in one spot’ (you) should have said
 (to her) (lit. you didn’t say).’
- 2.64J: “oo fibi-ñe-do=za_{PRED} oni baa ua ari
 2sg get.used-NEG-LK.2sg=UNCERT LOCAL₂ THAT.THERE really uphill
 maka-do-na maka-do_{PRED} komini_O
 walk-LK.2SG-N.S/A.TOP walk-LK.2sg people.CLF:DR.GR
 ñaai-do-ñai-do-kai-ñe-no!”_{PRED}
 speak-CAUS-TALK-CAUS-INCP-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 “You don’t get used to (to stay with us). If you walk by land, walk. Do not talk to
 people (lit. encourage people to talk)!”
- 2.65S: jii iadi dayu=koni maka-d-e=di_{PRED}
 yes but one.moment=LOCAL₁ walk-LK-3=CERT
 ‘Yes, but she walked a bit.’
- 2.66J: maka~maka-kai-d-e-na mare

walk~RED-INCP-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP good.ATT
 ‘When (one) starts walking, it’s good.’

2.67S: jii
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

2.68J: kai_A bai-e_O fibi-di-kai=ta_{PRED} dino raai-kana jamei
 1pl that.FSH-CLF:G get.used-LK-1pl=REP AT.CLF:SP.PLACE sit-OVERLAP ONLY
 dino-mona_{ABL} raai-ta abido bi-ya_{PRED}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL sit-SEQ.COMPL AGAIN come-E.NMLZ
 ‘We are used to this, sitting there. Only after having sat, one goes back from there.’

2.69S: kai fibi-di-kai_{PRED} kai-mona_{ABL} jai zefui-ni-d-e_{PRED}
 1pl get.used-LK-1pl 1pl-ABL already tired-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘We are used to it. For us (lit. from us), it’s not tiring.’

2.70J: erua?
 see.really
 ‘Really?’

2.71S: jii
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

2.72J: ikare bi-e jaai-ñe-iti-kai_{PRED} ikare ie=are
 tomorrow.ATT this.CTS-CLF:G go-NEG-FUT.LK-1pl tomorrow.ATT CONN=long
 ‘Tomorrow we won’t go; the day after tomorrow....’

2.73S: uiño-ñe-ga_{PRED} jaai-ti-kai!_{PRED}
 know-NEG-PASS go-FUT.LK-1pl
 ‘One doesn’t know... We will go!’

2.74J: nai-ñaiños nibai jaai-ñe-it-e..._{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F maybe go-NEG-FUT.LK-3
 ‘She might not go...’

2.75S: jaai-ñe-i-t-e_{PRED} izoi-d-e_{PRED} ebena ie jaai-aka-nia...
 go-NEG-FUT-LK-3 similar-LK-3 straight-N.S/A.TOP CONN go-DES-COND₁
 ‘It looks as though she won’t go... (But) if at once she wants to go...’

2.76J: kai bi-e jifano-ai-ti-kai=za_{PRED}
 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G play-VENTV-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 ‘We come to play.’

2.77S: jii jifanua-m_{LOC} jibui-zai-di-kai_{PRED}
 yes play.E.NMLZ-LOC watch-ANDTV-LK-1pl
 ‘Yes, we go to see the game (lit. watch into the game).’

- 2.78J: aa ua mare jaai~ji-kai-ya=za³⁹⁰_{PRED}
 INTERJ really good.ATT go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ=UNCER
 ‘Ah, really? It’s good to get going.’
- 2.79J: naga ñee naga-rui jo-fo-mo_{LOC} i-ti-kai=za_{PRED}
 EACH FILLER EACH-CLF:DAY house-clf:cav-LOC exist-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 nai-rui-do_{VCS} [kai jaai-ya-rui-do]_{VCC} jaka
 ANA.SP-CLF:DAY-INS 1pl go-E.NMLZ-CLF:DAY-INS always
 ‘We sit (lit. are) home everyday. That day is always our day to go out.’
- 2.80S: jii
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 2.81J: jo-fo-mo_{LOC} jamei rai-fire-na zefui-re-d-e_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC ONLY lazy-HAB.PST-E.NMLZ tired-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Laziness at home is tiring.’
- 2.82S: zefui-re-d-e_{PRED}
 tired-ATT-LK-3
 ‘(It’s) tiring.’
- 2.83J: [afai komini uie-ko]_o jibuiiz-ai-yap_{PRED}
 upstream people.CLF:DR.GR face-CLF:SPHERICAL watch-ANDTV-E.NMLZ
 mare-na
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘It’s good to go to watch the faces of the people from up the river.’
- 2.84S: jii dayu aiyi jaai-aka-di-kue_{PRED} iadi [uzi-re-na
 yes one.moment bit go-DES-LK-1pl but hot-ATT-E.NMLZ
 muido-na]_{Cl:Comp} jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘Yes, for a moment I didn’t want to go, because of the heat, I didn’t want to go.’
- 2.85J: aa ua... [kue jaai-zai-di-kue-mo]_{TEMP} [kue ñee uru-e abi]_s
 INTERJ really 1sg go-ANDTV-LK-1pl-TEMP 1sg FILLER child-clf:g body
 [eo uzi-re-na-ri] jaka jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 very hot-ATT-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS always go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘Ah really? When I am about to go myself, because of the body of my child being hot, I don’t go.’
- 2.86S: kue oni jaai-d-e-na oki-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg LOCAL₂ go-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP rest-LK-1sg
 ‘When I go there, I rest.’

³⁹⁰ *Jaaijaikaiya* (with a reduplicated root *jai-*) is an equivalent here of *jaaijikaiya*.

- 2.87J: *jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} nii nai-mie_s jaka bita-ni-d-e_{PRED}*
 go-NEG-LK-1sg Q2 ANA.SP-CLF.PR.M always lay.down-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘I don’t go... Oh, he (talking another son) could not go to bed.’
- 2.88J: *jaka ono-yi-mo_{LOC} i-aka-d-e=za_{PRED} ua ni-e-ze*
 always hand-CLF:BUSHY-LOC exist-DES-LK-3=UNCERT really Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL
kome jai jai-kai-d-e?_{PRED} eo zefui-re-d-e_{PRED} mee-re-d-e_{PRED}
 person already paddle-INCP-LK-3 very tired-ATT-LK-3 heavy-ATT-LK-3
 ‘(He) always wants to be in (my) hands. And how then can I start paddling? (It’s)
 very tiring. Very heavy.’
- 2.89J: *ie-ri jai jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} jamei bi-mona-do_{INS}*
 CONN-BENEF.CAUS already go-NEG-LK-1pl ONLY this.CTS-CLF:SKY-INS
jo-fo-mo_{LOC} raai-di-kue_{PRED}
 house-CLF.CAV-LOC sit-LK-1sg
 ‘That’s why I don’t go. Today I stayed (lit. sit) at home.’
- 2.90S: *jai iko joko-ri-zai-di-kue-mo_{PRED} [Elger i-ñe-na*
 already one.day wash-DUR-ANDTV-LK-1sg-LOC Elger exist-NEG-E.NMLZ
muido-na]_{Cl:Comp} kome jaai-d-e-na jaaiti-kue_{PRED}
 FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP person go-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP go.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘In a bit when I go to wash, as Elger is not here, if someone (from the community)
 goes (up the river), I’ll go too.’
- 2.91J: *Kiña_{OBLIQUE} ui-ga=di_{PRED} fuiri aima-jai-d-e_{PRED} aki*
 Kiña take-PASS=S/A.TOP downstream fish-ANDTV-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘(The canoe) was taken by Kiña. He went fishing downstream (so I hear).’
- 2.92S: *nai-e-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PRED} aiyo-kae-do_{INS}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS go-LK-3 big-CLF:REP.CANOE-INS
 ‘By the big canoe he went (lit. with that one, that big canoe).’
- 2.93J: *nai-e-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PRED} aki bai-e jano-re-d-e eo*
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS go-LK-3 AUDIT that.FSH-CLF:G small-ATT-LK-3 very
yoku_{PRED} ie jira nai-e-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 drop.E.NMLZ CONN REASON ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS go-LK-3
 ‘(He) went by that (canoe) (so I hear). The other canoe (lit. that) is very small and
 leaks. That is why he went with the (other canoe).’
- 2.94J: *ie nii [[aki-e yiki_{ai}]_s eo fuiri i-ya-na]_{Cl:Comp}*
 CONN Q2 AUDIT-CLF:G fish.PL very downriver give-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
kue-mo_O yo~yo-na_{PRED}
 1sg-LOC tell~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘And do keep letting me know if there are any fish downstream (where Elger went to
 fish today).’
- 2.95J: *ie jaka o-ñe-d-e_{PRED} mei*
 CONN always get-NEG-LK-3 so

‘He never catches anything...’

Text 3: Dajena kai iniye - To live united (Tercera India, 2015)

This account is by Rubio Agga Botyay of the Ereiaï clan, son of Lucio Agga Calderon (aged 45) and Clementina Agga Botyay (a Minika woman). Rubio is the vice president of the Consejo Mayor del Pueblo Murui, the CIMPUM organization, a political organization in Colombia that unites the Murui people throughout the country. Rubio was born and brought up monolingually until the age of five, after which he was taken to the Murui community of Tercera India and leant Spanish from other children. He moved back to the Tercera India community a few years ago, after having lived in various locations in southern Colombia for many years. Especially in the last few years, he became engaged in political activities. He has an equal mastery in Spanish as in Murui.

- 3.1 kai-maki! [kai=mei i-ya ra-fue]_o ua
 1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN 1pl=so exit-E.NMLZ thing-CLF:STORY really
 yooiti-kue_{PRED} omoi-mo_{OO:ADDRESSEE}
 tell.FUT.LK-1sg 2pl-LOC
 ‘Our people! I will tell you the story of how we live here.’
- 3.2 jino kai ua gobierno-mo_{OO:ADDRESSEE} kai
 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE 1pl really government.Sp-LOC 1pl
 akata-ye_{PRED}
 show.CAUS-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘To show outside, to the government.’
- 3.3 kai ua bi-rui beno ua due-re-tai-ya
 1pl really this.cts-CLF:DAY HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE really poor-ATT-BECOME₂-E.NMLZ
 ie ra-fue bi-e ua aa o-i-aka-di-kai_{PRED}
 CONN thing-CLF:STORY this.CTS-CLF:G really above get-EMPH-DES-LK-1pl
 ‘We want to put forward the story of our pain.’
- 3.4 bi-rui [kai maiji-a]_{PRED} jaka=mei ua ari jaai-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY 1pl work-E.NMLZ always=so really uphill go-NEG-LK-1pl
 baai jaai-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 THERE go-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘We work today, but we don’t progress (lit. we don’t go uphill), we don’t move forward (lit. we don’t go ahead).’

- 3.5 ie baai-fe-mona_{ABL} bi-rui ua ua ana-mo ua
 CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE-ABL this.CTS-CLF:DAY really really below-LOC really
 due-re ua jaai-di-kai_{PRED}
 poor-ATT really go-LK-1pl
 ‘And for this (reason), nowadays, we continue living (lit. going) unsatisfactorily (lit. poorly).’
- 3.6 taai-no yo-ti-kai_{PRED} [kai i-ya-kino-do]_{INS}
 in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-1pl 1pl exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS-INS
 i-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 exist-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘We lie. We don’t live by our traditions.’
- 3.7 dino nii baai fñebi-ya ie baai-fe=koni
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE Q₂ THERE stay-E.NMLZ CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE=LOCAL₁
 due-re-tai-di-kai_{PRED}
 poor-ATT-BECOME₂-LK-1pl
 ‘We’re leaving our ways, and we are become poorer.’
- 3.8 bi-rui ua kai... [kai ua nai-rai]_S ‘dajena
 this.cts-CLF:DAY really 1pl 1pl really clan-CLF:BUSH.NODE TOGETHER
 kai ini-ye’ kome-ki-nao ñai-ti-kai_{PRED}
 1pl sleep-FUT.E.NMLZ heart-CLF:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP speak-LK-1pl
 ie iadi jamei ua taai-no yo-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN but ONLY really in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-3
 ‘Today our people talk about ‘living together and sharing (lit. sleeping in one *maloca*)’
 with (their) hearts, but this is not true (lit. they only talk in vain).’
- 3.9 eneno rui-ya-kino kai ua ana ui-ya_{PRED}
 on.own other.side-CLF:NEWS-INS 1pl really below take-E.NMLZ
 ‘By not being united (everybody does things on their own) we take ourselves down.’
- 3.10 ie baai-fe-mona_{ABL} bi-rui ua kai iyazuruai ua
 CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE-ABL this.CTS-CLF:DAY really 1pl **generation**.PL really
 [naga kome]_A raa-nao jitai-d-e_{PRED}
 EACH person thing-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-3
 ‘For this reason, nowadays, our young generation, everybody, wants things for
 themselves.’
- 3.11 aki-e ua niki-dua_{PRED} ana=koni kai=di ua
 AUDIT-CLF:G really fight-CAUS.E.NMLZ below=LOCAL₁ 1pl=S/A.TOP really
 bi-rui bi-e ua kai da-ni kai ua
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY this.CTS-CLF:G really 1pl alone-CLF:DR.GR 1pl really
 iyazuru-mona bi-e kome-ki-do_{INS} baai jaai-aka-di-kai_{PRED}
 generation-ABL this.CTS-CLF:G heart-CLF:ROUND-INS THERE go-DES-LK-1pl
 ‘For this we fight, us alone. With this in mind, today, with (our) hearts we want to
 work for our young generations.’

- 3.12 da-je ua da-je kome-ki-do_{INS} baa kai
 one-CLF:G really one-CLF:G heart-CLF:ROUND-INS ATTENTION 1pl
 ñai-ye-na [da-je uai]
 speak-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G voice
 ‘To speak with one heart into the future, one voice.’
- 3.13 [kai uai] bi-rui niki-do-ti-kai_{IPRED} [Murui uai] ‘bue’
 1pl language this.CTS-CLF:DAY fight-CAUS-LK-1pl Murui language Bue
 rai-ya
 say-E.NMLZ
 ‘We fight today for our language, the language of the Murui, the language (we) call
 “Bue”.’
- 3.14 aki-e ua niki-do-ti-kai_{IPRED} nia ua baai baa
 AUDIT-CLF:G really fight-CAUS-LK-1pl STILL really THERE THAT.THERE
 jaai~jai-kai-ye-na_{PRED}
 go~RED-INCP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This way, if we keep fighting, we will go forward.’
- 3.15 kai komo-no=ua baai baa kai ui-ye-na_{PRED}
 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR=really THERE THAT.THERE 1pl take-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘To take forward our new generations.’
- 3.16 [bi-e kai maiji-a-mo]_{LOC} ua bi-rui dane kai ua
 this.CTS-CLF:G 1pl work-E.NMLZ-LOC really this.CTS-CLF:DAY ONCE 1pl really
 kome-ki-do_{INS} [kai o-ga-kino]
 heart-CLF:ROUND-INS 1pl get-PASS-CLF:NEWS
 ‘What we work on today, we do it from our hearts (i.e. we do it because we want to,
 nobody is forcing us).’
- 3.17 ie jira omoi-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} ua kome-ki ua
 CONN REASON 2pl-LOC really heart-CLF:ROUND really
 fai-ti-kai_{IPRED}
 throw-LK-1pl
 ‘That’s why we stretch our hearts to you.’
- 3.18 [da-je uai]_O kai yii-ye-na
 one-CLF:G voice 1pl hold-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘To have one voice.’
- 3.19 [da-je kome-ki-do]_{INS} kai ñai-ye-na
 one-CLF:G heart-CLF:ROUND-INS 1pl speak-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘To speak with one heart.’
- 3.20 ie=ta bi-e mei [kai maiji-a=di] ua enenorui-ya
 CONN=REP this.CTS-CLF:G so 1pl work-E.NMLZ=CERT really ?-E.NMLZ
 jiai-zie rai-ya-no-na kai fino-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 other-CLF:CLAN speak-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP 1pl make-NEG-PASS

‘The work that we are doing is not for others to be jealous of (is not just for us but for others).’

- 3.21 [kai Murui] ua kai riido-ye-na dajena
 1pl Murui really 1pl united-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP TOGETHER
 ie jira kai maiji-a_{PRE}
 CONN REASON 1pl work-E.NMLZ
 ‘To feel that, we, the Murui, are united, that’s why we do it.’
- 3.22 ie iadi bi-e fakai ua da-nio [kai
 CONN but this.CTS-CLF:G time really alone-CLF:DR.GR 1pl
 kome-ki-do]_{INS} kai_O o-ga_{PRE}
 heart-CLF:ROUND-INS 1pl get-PASS
 ‘We do it alone, we do it from our hearts.’
- 3.23 [kai moto-mo]_{LOC} rii-d-e_{PRE} [riaño ‘Polaca’]_S
 1pl middle-LOC arrive-LK-3 non.Witoto.CLF:DR.F Polaca.Sp
 ‘In our midst came a white woman ‘Polaca’.’
- 3.24 i-ñaiño ua kai kanua-do bi-rui jai mei
 ANA.NSP-CLF:DR.F really 1pl help.E.NMLZ-INS this.CTS-CLF:DAY already so
 ua kai maiji-a baai jaai-d-e_{PRE}
 really 1pl work-E.NMLZ THERE go-LK-3
 ‘With a help (like that), today our work will continue.’
- 3.25 ie-do bi-rui ua jai [kai uai]_O jooda-oi-kai-d-e_{PRE}
 CONN-INS this.CTS-CLF:DAY really already 1pl language organize-DUR-INCP-LK-3
 jai kio-di-kai_{PRE}
 already see-LK-1pl
 ‘With this our language will be organized well. We already see it.’
- 3.26 jae taai-no yo-t-e_{PRE} antropologo bene
 PAST in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-3 anthropologist.Sp HERE.LOC:NSP
 bi-t-e_{PRE} ua jai [kai uai]_O jai ari=dine
 come-LK-3 really already 1pl language already uphill=AT.LOC:NSP
 jooi-d-e_{PRE}
 put-LK-3
 ‘In the past, anthropologists who came here lied. He put our language out there (as a language that is recognized and described).’
- 3.27 ie-ñe-d-e=dí! kai_O jifue-t-e_{PRE}
 CONN-NEG-LK-3=CERT 1pl play-LK-3
 ‘It is not! They lied to us (lit. played us).’
- 3.28 ie bi-rui jai ua raize [kai uai]_O
 CONN this.CTS-CLF:DAY already really well 1pl voice
 joone-ye-na maiji-kana jaaiti-kai_{PRE}
 put.TH-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP work-OVERLAP go.FUT.LK-1pl
 ‘And today to present our language well, we will go and keep on working.’

- 3.29 ie fakai-ze ina ua [gobierno nacional]_A kai_o
 CONN time-SIMIL some.day really government.Sp national.Sp 1pl
 ua kai_o kano-ye-na jitai-di-kai_{PRED}
 really 1pl help-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1pl
 ‘In those times, we need the help of the national government.’
- 3.30 ie moto-do_{INS} mei=ua jiai ministerio
 CONN middle-INS so=really also ministry.Sp
 ‘And by means of the ministries...’
- 3.31 nana_o ua da-je... [bi-e da-je ua aiyue
 ALL really one-CLF:G this.CTS-CLF:G one-CLF:G really big.CLF:G
 ra-fue eima]_o dajena yhi-kai-ye-na_{PRED}
 thing-CLF:STORY forefather.CLF:DR.M TOGETHER hold-INCP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘All united, we will maintain this great work together.’
- 3.32 bi-rui ua kai-mo eo ua izire i-ti-kino mei
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY really 1pl-LOC very really painful.ATT exist-LK-CLF:NEWS so
 ua kai komo-no
 really 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘Nowadays, the life of our young ones pains us a lot.’
- 3.33 [kai uru-iai] kai ua komo-gi-na mei ua
 1pl child-CLF:G.PL 1pl really new-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER-N.S/A.TOP so really
 [kai ra-fue-na]_o mei jamai-d-e_{PRED}
 1pl thing-CLF:STORY-N.S/A.TOP so mature-LK-3
 ‘Our children, our teenagers (lit. new ‘heads’) don’t care for the tradition anymore.’
- 3.34 aki-e kai-mo_{O:RECIPIENT} eo bi-rui ua riire jooi-ya_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G 1pl-LOC very this.CTS-CLF:DAY really strong.ATT put-E.NMLZ
 ‘This is what is heavy for us, nowadays.’
- 3.35 jooda-kana bi-t-e_{PRED}
 persist-OVERLAP come-LK-3
 ‘(It) will persist (lit. keep coming).’
- 3.36 ni-no-mona_{ABL} ie-ze-di-kai?_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP-ABL CONN-SIMIL-LK-1pl
 ‘How did we come to this (lit. from where are we this way)?’
- 3.37 kai mei=ua bii moo-di-kai_{PRED} yo-ñe-na_{PRED} moo-di-kai_{PRED} mei
 1pl so=really THIS.HERE father-LK-1pl tell-NEG-E.NMLZ father-LK-1pl so
 ñai-ñe-na_{PRED} moo-di-kai_{PRED} [nai-kino diga]
 speak-NEG-E.NMLZ father-LK-1pl ANA.SP-CLF:NEWS WITH
 ie-na=za
 CONN-N.S/A.TOP=UNCERT

‘We are fathers (but as) fathers we don’t teach (lit. tell) (the children). We are fathers (but) we don’t speak. We are fathers, and as fathers, we (stay) with this (problem).’

- 3.38 *ie baai-fe-na mei ua [kai uai]_s faifi-kana*
 CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE-N.S./A.TOP so really 1pl language loose-OVERLAP
jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 go-LK-3
 ‘For this reason our language is being lost.’
- 3.39 *ie=ta=mei=ua kome-ki fakai-ti-kai=za_{PRED} mei*
 CONN=REP=so=really heart-CLF:ROUND think-LK-1pl=UNCERT so
daa-maki-di-kai=za_{PRED}
 the.same-CLF:PR.GR.AN-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 ‘So we need to think. We are all of the same people.’
- 3.40 *ni-no-mo i-t-e?_{PRED} kome-ki faka-ja-no=mei*
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3 heart-CLF:ROUND think-E.NMLZ-SEQ=so
ua ñee jibui-ti-kai_{PRED} ni-e-ze mei kai o-ye?_{PRED}
 really FILLER watch-LK-1pl Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-SIMIL so 1pl get-FUT.E.NMLZ
ni-no-mona_{ABL} kai o-ye?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 1pl get-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘Where is it (this problem)? After having thought (about it), we (finally) see it. How will we solve (it) (lit. get it)? From which angle (lit. from which place) will solve this?’
- 3.41 *aki-rui_s mei fiiebi-kai-ya jaai-d-e_{PRED}*
 AUDIT-CLF:THING.PL so stay-INCP-E.NMLZ go-LK-3
 ‘This is what stays (lit. goes while staying).’
- 3.42 *ie... kai=mei=ua ra-fue kai ñee=ua kaima-kinuai*
 CONN 1pl=so=really thing-CLF:STORY 1pl FILLER=really happy-CLF:NEWS.PL
yo-ye!
 tell-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘Our tradition, our celebrations, we have to tell (the children)!’
- 3.43 *aki=dino jiai mei eo fiiebi-d-e=za da-je ua*
 AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE also so very stay-LK-3=UNCERT one-CLF:G really
da-je uai-do_{INS} mei kai yo-ia=di mei=ua
 one-CLF:G voice-INS so 1pl tell-COND₁=CERT so=really
baai baa jaaiti-kai_{PRED} ari biiti-kai_{PRED}
 THERE THAT.THERE go.FUT.LK-1pl uphill come.FUT.LK-1pl
 ‘That’s how it (the tradition) will remain if we teach it with a united voice. We will go forward. We will grow (lit. go uphill).’
- 3.44 *ie=mei yo-ñe-nia=di=mei=ua jaka ana ie-mo*
 CONN=so tell-NEG-COND₁=CERT=so=really always below CONN-LOC
jaai-kana ua...

go-OVERLAP really
 ‘And if we don’t advise, we will keep going down.’

- 3.45 ie baai-fe-mona_{ABL} mei=ua i-t-e_{PREL} [diga
 CONN=so THERE-CLF:SIDE-ABL so=really exist-LK-3 MANY
 i-kinuai]
 ANA.NSP-CLF:NEWS.PL

‘There are many other things for our young ones to deal with here.’

- 3.46 [kai komo-no]_A kai bi-rui=ua eo izire
 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR 1pl this.CTS-CLF:DAY=really very painful.ATT
 jooi-di-kino jamei=ua [kai komo-za-iai]_A mei=ua ñee [kai
 put-LK-CLF:NEWS ONLY=really 1pl new-CLF:AN-PL so=really FILLER 1pl
 uai-na]_O jai ñai-ñe-d-e_{PREL}
 language-N.S/A.TOP already speak-NEG-LK-3

‘Nowadays, it’s very painful, that our young ones do not speak the language anymore.’

- 3.47 jai ua ñee... da-je ua riama uai-do_{INS}
 already really FILLER one-CLF:G really non.Witoto.CLF:DR.M language-INS
 ñai-ga_{PREL} aki=dino=dí mei jaka kai-mo_{LOC}
 speak-PASS AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=S/A.TOP so always 1pl-LOC
 izi-re i-t-e_{PREL}
 painful-ATT exist-LK-3

‘Well... They speak only the language of the white men. This pains us a lot (lit. it’s painfully in us).’

- 3.48 ñaiñe-d-e_{PREL} kome=dís bai-es jai ‘Murui-di-kue’_{PREL}
 speak-NEG-LK-3 person=S/A.TOP that.FSH-CLF:G already Murui-LK-1sg
 rai-t-e_{PREL} iadi=mei jai ie-ñeit-e_{PREL}
 say-LK-3 but=so already CONN-NEG.FUT.LK-3

‘They don’t speak (the language). They say “I am Murui” but they will never be that (Murui).’

- 3.49 jai ua bai-e jamei jamei da-ma ua Murui
 already really that.FSH-CLF:G ONLY ONLY one-CLF:DR.M really Murui
 mame-ki-do_{INS} i-t-e_{PREL} jai taai-no-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PREL}
 name-CLF:INHER-INS exist-LK-3 already in.vain-CLF:SP.PLACE-INS go-LK-3

‘They are only ‘Murui’ by name, in vain.’

- 3.50 aki-e-mo_{LOC} ua [[kai uru-tiko]s [kai komo-no]s
 AUDIT-CLF:G-LOC really 1pl child-CLF:AN.SMALL 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR
 rii-ya-na]_{Cl:Comp} jitai-ñe-di-kai_{PREL}
 arrive-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP need-NEG-LK-1pl

‘We don’t want our young ones to come to this.’

- 3.51 *ie=ta mei=ua nai-kino_o dajena yiii-kai-za_{PRD}*
 CONN=REP so=really ANA.SP-CLF:STORY TOGETHER hold-INCP-APPR
 ‘That is why, (we need to be) careful to tackle this (problem) together.’
- 3.52 [*kai eina-maki*] *kai=ua ñee nia ua ñai-ti-no mei*
 1pl forefather-CLF:PR.GR.AN 1pl=really FILLER STILL really speak-LK-CLF so
ua jaka ui-ye
 really always take-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘Our elders, those who still speak the language, have to take it on.’
- 3.53 *mei=baa ua nai-e ra-fue=dĩ kai-e=za*
 so=ATTENTION really ANA.SP-CLF:G thing-CLF:STORY=S/A.TOP 1pl-GEN=UNCERT
buu i-ñe-d-e_{PRD}
 Q₁ exist-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Well, the tradition is ours. It’s nobody else’s.’
- 3.54 *jiai-ma ie-d-e-na mei bai-ruano kai-mona_{ABL} ui-t-e_{PRD}*
 other-CLF:DR.M CONN-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP so that.FSH-CLF 1pl-ABL take-LK-3
 ‘If it was somebody else’s, they could just grab it and take it away from us.’
- 3.55 *kai-e=za mei da-nĩ kai ua yiii-ye_{PRD}*
 1pl-GEN=UNCERT so alone-CLF:DR.GR 1pl really hold-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘But it is ours and we alone will maintain it.’
- 3.56 *kai izirui-a=dĩ mei ua baai baa jaaiti-kai_{PRD}*
 1pl adore-E.NMLZ=CERT so really THERE THAT.THERE go.FUT.LK-1pl
 ‘If we keep it in a high esteem, we will go forward.’
- 3.57 *ie=mei kai izirui-ñe-nia=mei kai yiii-ñe-nia kai*
 CONN=so 1pl adore-NEG-COND₁=so 1pl hold-NEG-COND₁ 1pl
ua koni-ma kai kano-ñe-nia=dĩ mei=ua
 really EACH.OTHER-CLF.DR.M 1pl help-NEG-COND₁=CERT so=really
jaka uai faifi-kana jaait-e_{PRD}
 always language loose-OVERLAP go.FUT-LK-3
 ‘If we don’t, if we don’t maintain it, if we don’t help ourselves, our language will be lost (lit. will go while being lost).’

Text 4: Momo jikakaza - An appeal to the Father Creator (Tercera India, 2013)

This oration was narrated by Walter Agga Arteagga ‘Nimaira Buinaima’ of the Ereiaï clan, aged 40, son of late Lucas Miguel Agga ‘Nimaira Buinaima’ (one of the last great Murui *sabedores* of the Ereiaï clan from San Rafael, brother of Lucio Agga Calderon, see T1), and Francisca Agga of the Ziueni clan from San Rafael. Walter is a traditional healer of the

Tercera India community. He was brought up monolingually in Murui, and learnt Spanish fluently as a child in school in San Rafael. He has lived in Tercera India almost all his life. In the 90's he spent eight years in La Chorrera among the Minika speakers, with his Minika wife, Flor de Jesus Rojas Monayatofe. Walter speaks Minika well.

- 4.1 moo-mo_{LOC} jika-ka=za_{PRED}
 father-LOC ask-PASS=UNCERT
 'In you Father, I ask.'
- 4.2 ie jira [oo-re moo] ua oo-mo_{LOC}
 CONN REASON 2sg-ATTENTION father really 2sg-LOC
 uaifai-ti-kue=za_{PRED}
 word.throw-LK-1SG=UNCERT
 'That is why, listen Father, I request (of you) (lit. throw my words at you).'
- 4.3 oo-ka ua [naga raa]_O komui-ta-to_{PRED}
 2sg-FOC really EACH thing grow-CAUS-LK.2sg
 '(It's) you, you make each thing grow.'
- 4.4 oo-ka ua [bi-e eni-e-mo]_{LOC} komui-d-e_{PRED}
 2sg-FOC really this.CTS-CLF:G land-CLF:G-LOC grow-LK-3
 'You grew (up) in those lands (on this earth).'
- 4.5 ra-na_O uiño-ti-o_{PRED}
 thing-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-2sg
 'You know things!' ³⁹¹
- 4.6 ie=ta jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 CONN=REP need-LK-2sg
 'And I need it.'
- 4.7 kio-do_{PRED} maiji-i-aka-di-kue_{PRED} iadi ri-ye_O
 see-LK.2sg work-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg but eat.meat-FUT.E.NMLZ
 i-ñe-na_{PRED}
 exist-NEG-E.NMLZ
 'Look! I want to work but there is no meat!'

³⁹¹ This in fact can be interpreted as 'You have powers'. In Murui, the word *raa* in certain ritual contexts, means 'power' rather than 'thing'. This is also the origin of the *rafue* discourse, so called 'power discourse'. See e.g. Echeverri (1997); Wojtylak (2017).

- 4.8 oo_{VCS} [moni-fue naa-ma-na]_{VCC}
 2sg abundance-CLF:STORY owner-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘You are the owner of an abundance.’
- 4.9 oo-mo_{LOC} [naga raa]_O dui-d-e_{PRED}
 2sg-LOC EACH thing belong-LK-3
 ‘All things belong to you.’
- 4.10 jae ua uzu-tia_S jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED} mei ifo
 PAST really grandparent-PL.KIN go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ so head
 [ni-no-mo_{LOC} obe-do_S uai-d-e_{PRED}]_{Cl.Comp}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC umarí.black-CLF.POINTEED fall-LK-3
 ‘In the past, our forefathers used to go where black *umarí* fruits fall.’
- 4.11 nekazi-na_O [oo-re moo] kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to=za_{PRED}
 green.umarí-N.S/A.TOP 2sg-ATTENTION father 1sg give-LK.2sg=UNCERT
 ‘I ask you Father, give me green *umarí* fruits!’
- 4.12 [kue uru-ki]_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} eka-ye=za
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ni-no jae [kai eina-maki]_S jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE PAST 1pl forefather-CLF:PR.GR.AN go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ
 [meido ana-mo] [ni-no-mo obe-do
 stubble below-LOC Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC umarí.green-CLF:POINTED
 uai-d-e_{PRED}]_{Cl.Comp}
 fall-LK-3
 ‘For me to feed my children, through a stubble where our forefathers used to pass,
 where *umarí* fruits fall.’
- 4.13 obe-do_S ni-no jini-d-e-na_{PRED} kue_{O:RECIPIENT}
 umarí.green-CLF:POINTED Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE ripe-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP 1sg
 i-to!_{PRED}
 give-LK.2sg
 ‘Where they are ripe, give me green *umarí* fruits!’
- 4.14 [kue uru-ki]_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} eka-ye=za_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 [ni-no [meido jerei]_{LOC} muzeyi uai-d-e=za_{PRED}]_{Cl.Comp}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE stubble inside maraca.fruit fall-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘For me to feed my children where inside the stubble the *maraca* fruit falls.’
- 4.15 [oo-re moo] muzeyi-na_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
 2sg-ATTENTION father maraca.fruit-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 ‘Listen father, give me *maraca* fruits!’
- 4.16 uru-ki_O kue_A eka-ye=za
 child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘(So) I can feed my children.’

- 4.17 jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
need-LK-1sg
'I need (*maraca* fruits).'
- 4.18 kio-do_{PRED} maiji-i-ti-kue_{PRED} iadi bu-e-na_O [uru-ki
see-LK.2sg work-FUT-LK-1sg but Q1-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP child-CLF:CLUSTER
ono-yi jerei]_{LOC} kue joone-ye_{PRED}
hand-CLF:BUSHY inside 1sg put-FUT.N.NMLZ
'Look! I will work to put something in the hands of the children.'
- 4.19 ni-no ua ua noki_S choo~chobeia ua
Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really really rain drop~RED.E.NMLZ really
nai-e-na_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
'Where the rain keeps falling, give me that!'
- 4.20 ni-no ua ñeki-ki_S ei-nai-t-e_{PRED}
Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really type.fruit-CLF:ROUND mature-BECOME₂-LK-3
ñeki-ki-na_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
fruit-CLF:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
[kue uru-ki]_O kue eka-ye=za_{PRED}
1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
'Where *ñekiki* fruits become ripe. Give me *ñekiki* fruits! To feed my children.'
- 4.21 ni-no-mo_{LOC} ua [bi-e ñee nome-do]_S
Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really this.CTS-CLF:G FILLER avocado-CLF:POINTED
ei-nai-t-e_{PRED} nomedo-na_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
mature-BECOME₁-LK-3 avocado-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-lk.2sg
[kue uru-ki]_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} eka-ye=za
1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
'Where *avocado* fruits become ripe, give me the avocado fruit to feed my children!'
- 4.22 ni-no ua [moo moni-fue]_A [juzitofe airida]_O
Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really father abundance-CLF:STORY ? ?
jooi-d-e_{PRED} ie-na_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
put-LK-3 CONN-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
[kue uru-ki]_O eka-ye
1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER feed-FUT.E.NMLZ
'Where the Father of the abundance put the ? (check). Of this, give me to feed my children!'
- 4.23 ua ni-no uibiyi uai-d-e_{PRED}
really Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE type.fruit fall-LK-3
[oo-re moo] uibiyi-na_O jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
2sg-ATTENTION father type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1sg
[kue uru-ki]_O kue eka-ye=za
1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
'Where *uibiyi* fruits fall. Listen Father, I need *uibiyi* fruits! to feed my children!'

- 4.24 ni-no-mo_{LOC} ua jemiki-nao uai-d-e_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC really type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP fall-LK-3
 [jemiki nana]_O kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
 type.fruit ALL 1sg give-LK.2sg
 nai-ki_O ati-a-no kai yi-ye=za
 ANA.SP-CLF:ROUND bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ 1pl suck.FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘Where the *jemiki* fruit fall. Give me all *jemiki* fruits! After having brought them, we will suck on them!’
- 4.25 ni-no-mo ua bi-e ua aa komui-ta-ga_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC really this.CTS-CLF:G really above grow-CAUS-PASS
 buinajima i-t-e_{PRED} ie-na jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 type.food exist-LK-3 CONN-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1sg
 kai gui-ye-na...
 1pl eat-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Where above the *buinajima* fruit is being grown. Of that I need for us to eat!’
- 4.26 ni-no-mo_{LOC} ua jifikogi ei-nai-t-e_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC really guamas.fruit mature-BECOME₁-LK-3
 [oo-re moo] jifikogi-nao kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to_{PRED}
 2sg-ATTENTION father guamas.fruit-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 ‘Where the *guamas* fruit becomes mature, listen Father, give me *guamas* fruits!’
- 4.27 ie jira [oo-re moo] ua mare uizi-nao [kue
 CONN REASON 2sg-ATTENTION father really good.ATT eyes-N.S/A.TOP 1sg
 uru-e]_S maka-ri-t-e_{PRED} nai-e-nao kio-i-ye=za
 child-CLF:G walk-DUR-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:F-N.S/A.TOP see-EMPH-E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘And that’s why, listen Father, my children walk with good eyes, to see this (all the aforementioned fruits and food).’
- 4.28 aare i-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 far.ATT exist-NEG-LK-3
 ‘It’s not far...’
- 4.29 ni-no jamei ua nia nai-fue jamei=ua... ua...
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE ONLY really STILL ANA.SP-CLF:STORY ONLY=really really
 kinekogi-nao jooi-ya=za
 type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP put-E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘Where the story of the *kinekogi* fruit is still put....’
- 4.30 nia ni-no nai-fue ua yarinigi-nao
 STILL Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE ANA.SP-CLF:STORY really type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP
 bii-ya_{PRED}
 lie.down-E.NMLZ
 ‘Where the story of the *yarinigi* fruit lies down....’

- 4.31 ie ati-ye koko ua zibe-gi ana
 CONN bring-FUT.E.NMLZ 1du.m really pot-CLF:OVAL below
 ñuita-ye i-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 insert-FUT.E.NMLZ exist.NEG-LK-3
 ‘And for the pot that we will bring, there is nothing to put (inside).’
- 4.32 jiibi-e_O nai-e-do_{INS} koko beei-ye=za_{PRED}
 coca-CLF:G ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS 1du.m toast-FUT.E.NMZL=UNCERT
 ni-no ua yaurai izoi-d-e_{PRED} jooi-a_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE really leaf.type similar-LK-3 put-E.NMLZ
 ati-ye=za_{PRED}
 bring-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘With this (pot), we will toast our coca, where that, which similar to yaurai plants, is
 put. (We will) bring (it).’
- 4.33 [koko ua yera]_O ana koko bono-ye=za
 1du.m really liquid.tobacco below 1du.m burn.SMLF-F.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ni-no-mo ua ua kojoma_S uai-d-e=za_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC really really type.leaf fall-LK-3=UNCERT
 kojoma-na_O ati-ye=za_{PRED}
 type.leaf-N.S/A.TOP bring-FUT.E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘To light up (the fire) for our liquid tobacco, where the kojoma leaf fall; (we will)
 bring the *kojoma* plant.’
- 4.34 [oo-re moo] nana oo-mo i-t-e_{PRED}
 2sg-ATTENTION father ALL 2sg-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘Listen Father! In you, there is everything.’
- 4.35 [oo raa] [oo jafai-ki i-ya-no]
 2sg thing 2sg breath-CLF:INHER exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE
 [oo uai i-ya-no] ie dane kai
 2sg voice exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE CONN ONCE 1pl
 o-ye-na_{PRED} abido kai fino-ye-na_{PRED}
 get-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP AGAIN 1pl make-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘You power (lit. thing), the place of your spirit, the place of our voice. That we will get
 once again to make (things).’
- 4.36 ie jira [oo-re moo] aki-e oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 CONN REASON 2sg-ATTENTION father AUDIT-CLF:G 2sg-LOC
 uaifai-ti-kue_{PRED} buu=di ua moni-fue i-t-e_{PRED}
 word.throw-LK-1sg Q₁=S/A.TOP really abundance-CLF:STORY exist-LK-3
 eki-mo_{LOC} aime-ri maiji-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 angle.side-LOC hungry-BENEF.CAUS work-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And that is why, listen Father, I request of you, you who live at the side of the
 abundance, (who) doesn’t work because of the hunger.’

- 4.37 ua bi-rui [kai jitai-ya jira]_{Cl:Comp} aki-e
 really this.CTS-CLF:DAY 1pl need-E.NMLZ REASON AUDIT-CLF:G
 oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} uaifai-ti-kue_{PRED}
 2sg-LOC word.throw-LK-1sg
 ‘Today, because we really need (it), we request of you.’
- 4.38 ie-mo_{LOC} kakarei-di-kue_{PRED} ie-na kome-ki
 CONN-LOC hear.TH-LK-1sg CONN-N.S/A.TOP heart-CLF:ROUND
 i-ti-kue_{PRED}
 exist-LK-1sg
 ‘And (with this) (my) heart it, And I am listening (to you).’
- 4.39 [oo-re ei-ño Fareka Buinaño] oo jiaí [kai konirue-na]_O
 2sg-ATTENTION mother Fareka Buinaño 2sg also 1pl youngster -N.S/.TOP
 kano-i-to=za_{PRED}
 help-FUT-LK.2SG=UNCER
 ‘Listen Mother Fareka Buinaño, you also help our youth!’
- 4.40 oo-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} aki-e_O yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 2sg-LOC AUDIT-CLF:G tell-LK-3
 ‘I tell you this.’
- 4.41 aki-es izoi-d-e_{PRED} [oo-re moo]
 AUDIT-CLF:G similar-LK-3 2sg-ATTENTION father
 ‘This (all) is (my request), listen Father!’

Text 5: Kai iyikinuai - Our life stories (Tercera India, 2016)

This is a part of a dialogue between Anastasia Agga Arteagga (the Ereiaí clan, a sister of Walter Agga, see T4), 56 years old, and Mesia Magallanes Ordoñez (from the Murui community of San Rafael of Cara-Paraná), 55 years old. Anastasia was brought up monolingually in Murui, and learnt Spanish at school as a child. As a young girl, she lived in Bogotá, Colombia. She has been living in the Tercera India community for over 15 years now. Anastasia is fully bilingual. Her husband Mesia was brought up bilingually by his father. For many years he lived and worked in Puerto Leguizamo (Putumayo, Colombia). His command of Spanish is slightly better than Murui.

- 5.1 M: pues... kue ua jaive jano-re-mona_{ABL}
 well.Sp 1sg really some.time.ago small-ATT-ABL

- [kue quince año] kue_s [riai moto-mo]_{LOC} maiji-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg fifteen.Sp year.Sp 1sg non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC work-LK-1sg
 jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 go-LK-1sg
 ‘So... Some time ago when I was young, around 15, I was working in the cities
 of the white man. I went there.’
- 5.2 A: jaai-d-e!_{PRED}
 go-LK-3
 ‘He went.’
- 5.3 M: jaie=dī tenía ua [quince años] nia
 PAST=S/A.TOP have.PST.IMPERFECT.Sp really fifteen.Sp year-PL STILL
 ‘Long ago. I was fifteen back then.’
- 5.4 M: kue=mei ua jano-re-mona_{ABL} ua [de cinco año-s]
 1sg=so really small-ATT-ABL really of.Sp five.Sp year-PL
 yo fue huérfano de ei=dibene
 1sg.Sp go.PRETERITE.Sp orphan.Sp of.Sp mother=AT.HERE
 ‘When I was 5 I became an orphan when my mother passed away.’
- 5.5 M: [kai moo] da-ma komui-ta-ja_{PRED}
 1pl father alone-CLF:DR.M grow-CAUS-E.NMLZ
 ‘My father brought us up on his own.’
- 5.6 M: ie [kue estudia]_O zai-ya-mona_{ABL} kue maiji-ai-di-kue_{PRED}
 CONN 1sg study.Sp finish-E.NMLZ-ABL 1sg work-ANDTV-LK-1sg
 [riai moto-mo]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC go-LK-1sg
 ‘When I finished school, I went away to work, I went to the cities of the white
 people.’
- 5.7 M: [riai moto-mo]_{LOC} jaai-ya mare
 non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC go-E.NMLZ good.ATT
 ‘Going to the cities of the white people is good.’
- 5.8 A: mare=ta
 good.ATT=REP
 ‘It’s good.’
- 5.9 M: ua... ua...
 really really
 ‘Really, really...’
- 5.10A: uno aprende_{PRED} jaka fuueo-t-e_{PRED}
 one.Sp learn3sg.Sp always learn-LK-3
 ‘One learns. One learns.’
- 5.11M: uno aprende_{PRED} [naga raa-na]_O kio-d-e_{PRED} [naga
 one.Sp learn-3sg.Sp EACH thing-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3 EACH

- raa-na]_o fuueo-t-e_{PRE}
 thing-N.S/A.TOP learn-LK-3
 ‘One learns all kinds of things, one sees and learns all they see.’
- 5.12M: ua jifai-ya-kino_o i-t-e_{PRE} zai-ya-kino_o
 really intoxicate-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS exist-LK-3 step-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS
 i-t-e_{PRE} ua fiiri-ya-kino_o i-t-e_{PRE} ua...
 exist-LK-3 really rob-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS exist-LK-3 really
 ‘There is getting drunk, there is dancing, there is robbing.’
- 5.13A: nana i-t-e_{PRE}
 ALL exist-LK-3
 ‘There is everything.’
- 5.14M: ua jiai-mie faija-ta-kino jiai-mie ua... i-t-e_{PRE}
 really other-CLF:PR.M hit-CAUS-CLF:NEWS other-CLF:PR.M really exist-LK-3
 ‘There is hitting others, other... there is.’
- 5.15M: pero [kue kome-ki-na]_o nai-e
 but.Sp 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:G
 jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRE} jaka... jmm...
 go-NEG-LK-3 always INTERJ
 ‘There is no violence in my heart... Hm...’
- 5.16M: maraiñe-d-e_{PRE} bai-e ie iadi bai-e jaka
 good.ATT.NEG-LK-3 that.FSH-CLF:G CONN but that.FSH-CLF:G always
 [riai dibene]_{LOC} mare=ia pues ua diga-kinuai_o
 non.Witoto.PL AT.HERE good.ATT=COND₂ well.Sp really MANY-CLF:NEWS.PL
 [mare ra-fue]_o kome_A kio-d-e_{PRE}
 good.ATT thing-CLF:STORY person see-LK.2sg
 ‘This is not good. Although those things are always there, one also sees many
 good things.’
- 5.17M: ua maiji-a_o kome_A maiji-d-e_{PRE} uku-be_s i-t-e_{PRE}
 really work-E.NMLZ person work-LK-3 money-CLF:LEAF exist-LK-3
 ua kome maiji-d-e_{PRE} [naga raa]_o iba-d-e_{PRE} ua
 really person work-LK-3 EACH thing buy-LK-3 really
 [mare raa-na]_o kio-d-e_{PRE} ua [riai
 good.ATT thing-CLF:N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3 really non.Witoto.PL
 i-rue-na]_o
 ANA.NSP-CLF:THINGS-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘One has good work, there is money, one works, buys things, sees good things
 of the white man.’
- 5.18M: [riai moto]=mei kue kome-ki=mei ie
 non.Witoto.PL middle=so 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND=so CONN
 fakai jaai-ya fakai-ze mei mare

time go-E.NMLZ time-SIMIL so good.ATT
 ‘In the time of my going to the city, my heart was good (i.e. innocent).’

5.19A: jmm...
 INTERJ
 ‘Hmm...’

5.20M: i hay maraiñe-di-kino eo i-t-e_{PRED} jiai
 and.Sp there.is.Sp good.ATT.NEG-LK-CLF:NEWS very exist-LK-3 also
 ‘And there’s a lot of bad things too.’

5.21M: uno se vuelve también como pícaro también por allá...
 (In Spanish) ‘One turns into a lady’s man over there too...’

5.22A: kome=mei jaka ie jira [riai moto-mo]_{LOC} ua
 person=so always CONN REASON non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC really
 nana ua fuueo-t-e_{PRED}
 ALL really learn-LK-3
 ‘Well, in the city one always learns everything.’

5.23M: Y pues ninguno de los dos...
 (In Spanish) ‘And so, none of these two (worlds)...’

5.24M: jii... jaka=ua ua ni-e-ze yooiti-kue_{PRED}
 yes always=really really Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL tell.FUT.LK-1sg
 aki dino...
 AUDIT AT.CLF:SP.PLACE
 ‘Yes... how will I explain (lit. tell) this...’

5.25M: riiai=dibene mare iadi pero abi uñua
 non.Witoto.PL=AT.HERE good.ATT but but.Sp body know.E.NMLZ
 dibene mare
 AT.HERE good.ATT
 ‘The side of the White people is good but one has to know how to behave oneself (first).’

5.26M: jii=ua jiai-mie ni-no [iraizi-ya ana-mo]
 yes=really other-CLF:DR.M Q₂-CLF:SP.PLACE dance-E.NMLZ below-LOC
 [jirua ana-mo] ua [jifai-ya ana-mo] jai
 drink.E.NMLZ below-LOC really intoxicate-E.NMLZ below-LOC already
 kome_A ua fa-t-e_{PRED} jiai-mie_O ua...
 person really kill-LK-3 other-CLF:PR.M really
 ‘Yes, a man, wherever (he is at), as he goes to parties, as he drinks, as he get intoxicated... One kills others, really...’

5.27M: bueno jai kue_O faita-d-e_{PRED} jiai jiai-e-mo kue_O kofe-d-e_{PRED}
 well.Sp already 1sg fight-LK-3 also other-CLF:G-LOC 1sg cut-LK-3

‘Well, they fight me, also at other (time, situation) they wound me (with machetes)...’

- 5.28M: *jaka=ua jiai=dibene ua kue kome-ki-do_{INS}*
 always=really other=AT.HERE really 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND-INS
jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED} entonces...
 go-NEG-LK-3 so.Sp
 ‘My heart never turned that way there. So...’
- 5.29M: *ua kai komini=dibene ie izoi-ñe-d-e_{PRED}*
 really 1pl people.CLF:DR.GR=AT.HERE CONN similar-NEG-LK-3
raize=mei=ua
 well.SIMIL=so=really
 ‘The side of our people isn’t like that, really.’
- 5.30A: *kue=mei jaka jiai [riai moto-mo]_{LOC}*
 1sg=so always also non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC
 ‘I also went to a city.’
- 5.31A: *[quince año]=ia da-ño jaai-di-kue_{PRED} [riai*
 fifteen year.Sp=COND₁ alone-CLF:DR.F go-LK-1sg non.Witoto.PL
moto-mo]_{LOC}
 middle-LOC
 ‘When I was fifteen years... I went on my own to the city.’
- 5.32A: *dino-mo_{LOC} jaa kue bi-e fueeo-ti-kue_{PRED} jai*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC soon 1sg this.cts-CLF:G learn-LK-1sg already
baa guiye rokua-rue-nao fueo-ti-kue_{PRED} nanao
 ATTENTION food cook.E.NMLZ-CLF:THINGS-N.S/A.TOP learn-LK-1sg all
 ‘Soon I’ve learnt there everything about cooking, I’ve learnt all those things.’
- 5.33A: *jai [bi-e dibeki dine]_{LOC} [riai*
 already this.CTS-CLF:G AT.CLF:SIDE.WATER AT.CLF:NSP non.Witoto.PL
moto jiai] mare jii kome_A uiño-t-e=za_{PRED}
 middle also good.ATT yes person know-LK-3=UNCERT
fueeo-t-e=za_{PRED} da-kino-rie_O kome uiño-ñe-ga
 learn-LK-3=UNCERT one-CLF:NEWS-CLF:FEW person know-NEG-PASS
raa-nao
 thing-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘That side of (living in) a city is good, yes. A person knows, they learn a few things that one doesn’t know.’
- 5.34A: *aki-e izoi-d-e_{PRED}*
 AUDIT-CLF:G similar-LK-3
 ‘That’s how it is.’
- 5.35M: *ie izoi-d-e..._{PRED} [aki-e riai=dibene]*
 CONN similar-LK-3 AUDIT-CLF:G non.Witoto.PL=AT.HERE
 ‘That’s how it is... The side of the white man.’

- 5.36A: [riai=dibene ie]
 non.Witoto.PL=AT.HERE CONN
 ‘Of the white man.’
- 5.37M: mare=ia pero jaka=ua jaka raize [kue
 good.ATT=COND₁ but.Sp always=really always well.SIMIL 1sg
 kome-ki-do]_{INS} jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED} [kue kome-ki=di]
 heart-CLF:ROUND-INS go-NEG-LK-3 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND=S/A.TOP
 ‘It’s good but my heart doesn’t turn / go that way (i.e. going to the city isn’t
 appealing to me).’
- 5.38M: kue=mei jaai-di-kue_{PRED}=ia jaai-di-kue_{PRED} maiji-a-na_o
 1sg=so go-LK-1sg=COND₁ go-LK-1sg work-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 tell-LK-1sg
 ‘As I said although I went there to work.’
- 5.39M: maiji-ai-di-kue_{PRED} jaai-di-kue_{PRED} [kue moo]_s bene_{LOC}
 work-ANDTV-LK-1sg go-LK-1sg 1sg father HERE.LOC:NSP
 fiiebi-kai-d-e=za_{PRED}
 stay-INCP-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘I went away to work. My father stayed here.’
- 5.40M: kue=mei moo i-t-e=di_{PRED} ni-ne_{LOC} kue bene_{LOC}
 1sg=so father exist-LK-3=CERT Q₂-LOC:NSP 1sg HERE.LOC:NSP
 ua kue i-ti-kue_{PRED} [riai moto-mo?]_{LOC}
 really 1sg exist-LK-1sg non.Witoto.PL middle-LOC
 ‘My father still lived so how could I live over there in the city?’
- 5.41M: jaaiti-kue abido pero abido rii-zaibi-di-kue_{PRED} [[kue
 go.FUT.LK-1sg AGAIN but.Sp AGAIN arrive-VENTV-LK-1sg 1sg
 moo]_s i-ya jira]_{Cl:Comp} ie-ze...
 father exist-E.NMLZ REASON CONN-SIMIL
 ‘I will go again over there but I will always come back, because of my father
 living here. And this way...’
- 5.42A: nai-e_s izoi-d-e_{PRED} naiño_s jikano-t-e=ta_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G similar-LK-3 CLF:PR.F ask-LK-3=REP
 ‘This is it, she asked (us to talk about)...’