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Simon E. Overall

A GRAMMAR OF AGUARUNA (IINIÁ CHICHAM)

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Volume 68

Simon E. Overall

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ISBN 978-3-11-040557-6

ISSN 0933-7636

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

♻️ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Dedicated to the Aguaruna people, with love and respect.

Acknowledgements

This book is the product of many years of work – recording, analysing, and poring over data – then writing, editing, rethinking and rewriting. I couldn't have completed it alone. At every stage of the process many people helped me immensely, and I take this opportunity to acknowledge them. Most importantly, this grammar would not have been possible without the enthusiasm and support of the *aents iiniá*: the Aguaruna people. Isaías Dati Puanchig, Pablo Santiak Kajekui, Arias Chamik Ukuncham, Elías Mañan Wamputsag, Abiut Nanchijam Jempets, Eduardo Cungumas Kujancham, Segundo Cungumas Kujancham, Liseth Atamain Uwarai, and Jessica Danducho Yampis all worked closely with me at various stages of the project, and their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. In the community of Centro Wawik, I had the privilege of recording traditional stories and songs with the following people: Tito Nanchijam Pegas, Benjamín Chamik Kujikat, Pascual Majuash Jiukam, Tsatsupig Akintui Daichap, and Rubio Akintui Daichap. In Tundusa, the following people generously provided autobiographical stories: Ana Nanantai Shawit, Alfredo Quiac Chuin, Nuria Wampash Chamikag, and Salomé Peas Agkuash. I remain in awe of their deep knowledge of Aguaruna oral tradition, and I hope that this work does justice to their contributions.

Successful fieldwork is not only about data and analysis. Consultants, their families, and others in the communities became good friends during my time in Centro Wawik and Tundusa. Many people helped me in innumerable ways, and although it would be impossible to list them all, a few deserve particular mention. Apu Abel Namarai Nanchijam in Centro Wawik and Apu Rafael Akuts in Tundusa, as the chief elected officials, gave permission for me to stay and work in their communities and happily provided all the assistance I required. Their personal interest in and support of my work was vital. The indigenous organization ASODEINI (*Asociación de Desarrollo Integral Iiniá*) provided excellent accommodation for my entire time in Centro Wawik along with generous help in all logistic matters. And I would especially like to acknowledge the generosity of the following people, in addition to those already mentioned: Doris Akintui, Prof Silvano Dati, Lucy Dekentai, and Pedro Nanchijam and family. *Yatsug aidautigmin, ubag aidautigminash, tuja muun aidautigminashkam see tajime.*

On the academic side, this work benefitted immeasurably from the excellent advice and encouragement of Sasha Aikhenvald and Bob Dixon, who supervised the dissertation on which it is based and also advised me during the revision process. Among the other people who were instrumental in my linguistics training, I take this opportunity to acknowledge two of my first linguistics teachers at the University of Auckland, the late W. Scott Allan and the late Frank Lichtenberk – inspiring mentors who introduced me to the possibilities of a career in linguistics and did everything they could to encourage and support my pursuit of it.

During the time that this grammar was a dissertation-in-progress at La Trobe University's Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, colleagues and visitors were invaluable sources of information and inspiration, and my unofficial mentors Dave Fleck and Gerd Jendraschek always found the time for enlightening discussion. I hope that some of their insight and academic rigour is reflected in these pages. Angel Corbera Mori, whose work on Aguaruna laid the foundations for much of this grammar, generously shared published and unpublished material with me, which I gratefully acknowledge. The research was funded by an Australian Postgraduate Award and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology.

Of course, the grammar you are reading now has been greatly revised and updated from the dissertation version. The long revision process was guided by useful comments from the dissertation's examiners Willem Adelaar, Bernard Comrie and John Hajek, and Mouton Grammar Library's editor Pattie Epps read the full revised version and gave me many detailed and helpful comments. Adella Edwards prepared the maps with great patience and care. And finally, Jolene Overall unflinchingly proofread the entire manuscript with an incredible eye for detail.

Most importantly, throughout all of this work, my family have tolerated my long fieldwork absences and late nights spent writing, and I thank them with all my heart.

Simon E. Overall
Cairns, November 2016

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Abbreviations and conventions

Examples, tables and figures are numbered consecutively within each chapter, in the form (1.2), which represents the second example in Chapter 1. Cited examples come from five sources:

1. Texts that were recorded, translated and glossed in the field. These are cited by the label given to the recording, of the form *agr041005_27*, where the first six digits represent the date of recording (*yymmdd*) – this example was recorded on 4 October 2005. The audio recordings and transcriptions are currently being prepared for archiving. Some examples are cross-referenced to the appended texts, and these are cited as e.g. “Text 1:2”, representing line 2 of the first text. The full labels of these recordings are included with the metadata that accompanies each text.
2. Notes made in the field, including elicitation, teaching moments, and observation of interactions among native speakers. All of these examples were noted down in writing at the time and later double-checked with native speakers for accuracy. All examples that are unmarked for source are from field notes.
3. Examples from conversation data recorded and transcribed by Clarivel Tiinch and Jessica Danducho in the course of their own fieldwork, and shared with me in anonymized form. These are cited as *Tiinch & Danducho*. I have normalized the orthography in these examples, but only mark accent where the original transcriptions do so.
4. Personal correspondence. These are anonymized examples from written (email and chat) exchanges with native speakers, and are marked as such. The orthography has been normalized, and in most cases accent is unmarked.
5. Other written sources. A few examples have been taken from published or unpublished texts, and these are referenced to the source. The orthography in these examples follows that of the written source, but is normalized in the morphemic line.

Aguaruna words cited within the text are italicized and given in the citation form, e.g. *anin* ‘magic song’. Accent is not marked unless it is relevant to the discussion. The underlying phonological form is included if it is relevant, e.g. *anin* /aninta/ ‘magic song’. Since verb roots are obligatorily bound, they are cited in a nominalized form that includes the suffix *-ta*, e.g. *yuta* ‘eat’; the suffix surfaces as /t/ when the root has two or more moras, e.g. *puhut* ‘live’. This is the same citation form used in the dictionaries (Wipio 1996; Uwarai et al. 1998), and is described in §15.4.5. Where the internal morphology of a verb form is under discussion, however, I give the underlying stem, e.g. *i-waina-* (CAUS-see-) ‘show’. All other bound forms are cited in the underlying form, for example the definite future suffix *-tata*, which surfaces as /tat/ or /tta/ depending on its position within the phonological word (§8.4.4.8).

Accent position is generally not marked in words cited in isolation, except where it is relevant to the discussion.

Cross-references to whole chapters are given as e.g. ‘Chapter 2’, while references to sections within chapters are given in the form e.g. ‘§2.3’, which refers to section 3 in chapter 2. All citations in languages other than English are followed by translations in square brackets, and translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Examples in the text have four lines:

- The first line represents the surface, phonetic form
- The second line represents the morphemic form
- The third line gives interlinear morphemic glosses
- The fourth line is a translation into idiomatic English

The hyphen (-) separates roots and suffixes in examples and glosses, e.g. *nuwa-uchi* (woman-DIM) ‘girl’. The equals sign (=) separates enclitics in examples and glosses, e.g. *nuwa=na* (woman=ACC). See §1.4.1 for a description of the criteria I use to distinguish enclitics from suffixes.

The colon (:) separates semantically identifiable morphemes in a portmanteau, in glosses only. For example, the suffix *-mĩ* marks recent past tense; third person subject; and declarative mood. These categories have distinct markers elsewhere in the paradigm, and as such can be analysed as distinct morphemes within Aguaruna grammar, but there is no principled way to identify underlying segmental markers in this suffix, so I gloss it as RECPST:3:DECL (§8.4.3.1).

The plus sign (+) separates phonologically identifiable forms that cannot be segmented, and is used in glosses only. There are three contexts where this symbol is used. The first involves suprasegmental morphemes. For example, genitive is marked with suppression of apocope in the stem and accent shift. This is a regular and identifiable phonological process, but there is no way to transcribe it separately, as with segmental markers, so it is transcribed as e.g. *atashú* (chicken+GEN) (§4.10.3). The second context is when vowel sandhi occurs. For example, the imperfective suffix *-a* fuses with the final vowel of the verb root *puhu-* ‘live’ to give *puha-* (live+IPFV-) (§8.3.2). The third function of the plus sign is to separate the glossing of a zero-marked morpheme – for example, third person subject is not overtly marked in speculative modality but contrasts with other persons that are marked: *puha-tai* (live+IPFV+3-SPEC) ‘perhaps s/he is living’ (§9.2.4).

An underscore () separates the two elements of a compound, in the morphemic line only. Compounds are glossed as one grammatical word: *ikama_yawaĩ* ‘jaguar’ (literally *forest_dog*).

For the English glosses, I have generally tried to remain consistent, so that e.g. *numi* ‘tree, wood’ is always glossed as ‘tree’ in examples, even where the free translation uses ‘wood’. In other cases more than one gloss may be necessary, e.g. the verb root *ha-* generally translates as ‘die’ in perfective aspect, or ‘be sick’ in imper-

fective. The nominalized form *hata* may translate as ‘death’ or ‘sickness’, and I have selected the most appropriate gloss for the context in each example.

In phonological forms, the full stop (.) represents a syllable boundary and hash (#) a word boundary. A single asterisk (*) marks hypothetical reconstructed segments and morphemes, while two asterisks (**) mark an ungrammatical or otherwise impossible form. Syntactic constituents (NP, clause) are enclosed in square brackets ‘[]’ in examples where this is necessary for clarity. Speech reports in examples are underlined. Spanish words in examples retain Spanish orthography, and are italicized in the morpheme line.

Glossing follows the Leipzig conventions as much as possible. A full list of abbreviations follows.

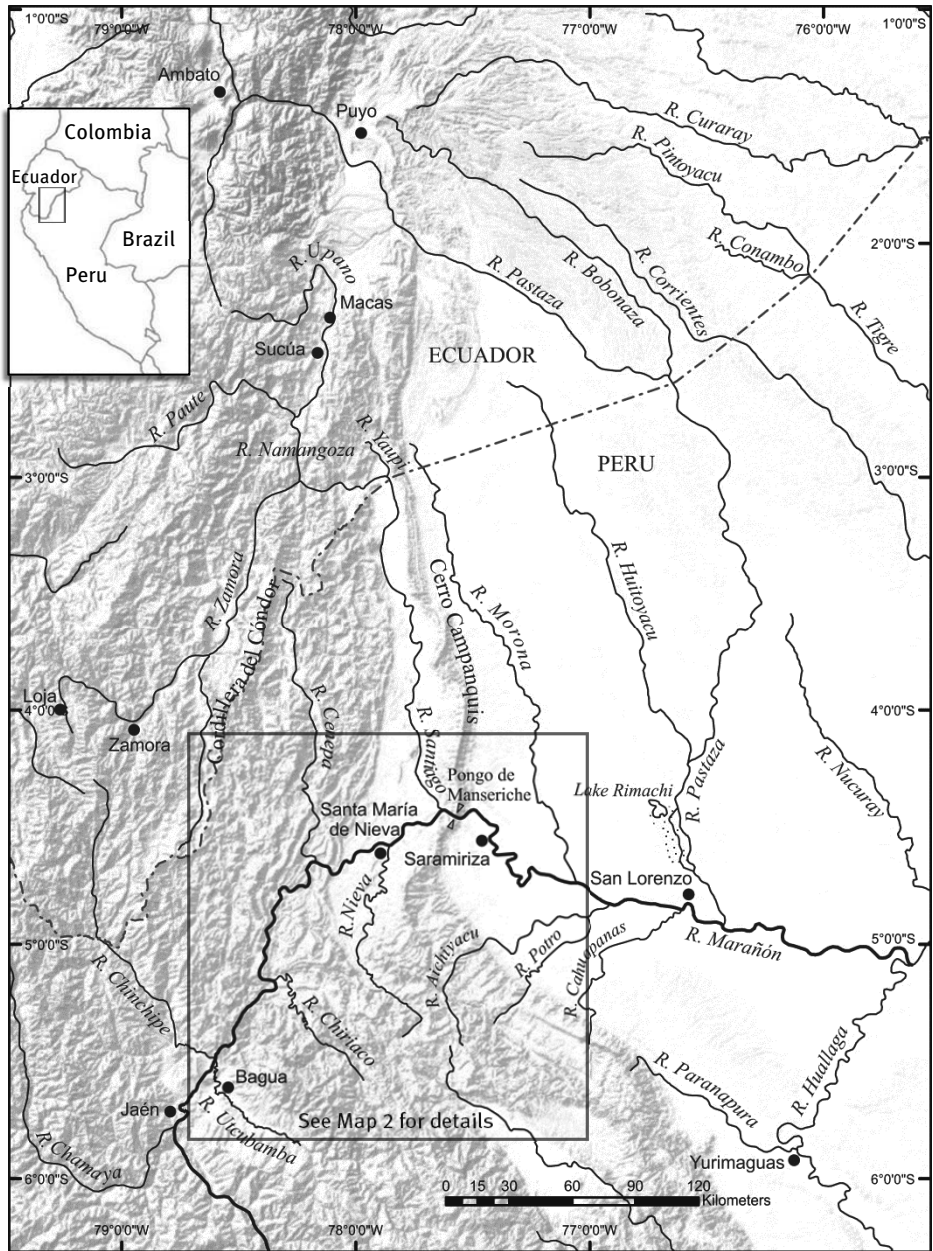
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
1SG>2SG etc.	person of subject > person of object
SBJ>OBJ etc.	role in marked clause > role in controlling clause
A	most agentive argument of a transitive clause
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACT.NMLZ	action nominalizer
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective
AGR	Aguaruna
ALL	allative
ANA	anaphoric pronoun
APPL	applicative
APPR	apprehensive
ATTRIB	attributive
BRIDGE	bridging construction
C	consonant
CA	current addressee
CAAAP	<i>Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica</i>
CAUS	causative
CC	copula complement
CNTR.EX	counter-expectation
COM	comitative
COMP	comparative
CONCESS	concessive
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CS	copula subject (only in glosses); current speaker (only in text and translations)
DECL	declarative

DESID	desiderative
DETRNS	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal demonstrative
DISTPST	distant past
DISTRIB	distributive
DR	diphthong reduction
DS	different subject
DUR	durative
E	recipient-like argument of a ditransitive clause
EP	epenthetic segment(s)
EVEN	counter-expectational adverbializer
EXCL	exclamative
EXPL	expletive
FAM	familiar
FIRST	‘first’ marker
FRUST	frustrative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HESIT	hesitation
HORT	hortative
IDEO	ideophone
IFUT	immediate future
IMP	imperative
INS	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INTENT	intentional
INTPST	intermediate past
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
ITER	iterative
JUSS	jussive
LOC	locative
MED	medial demonstrative
N	noun; nasal consonant
NARR	narrative marker
NARR.PST	narrative past nominalizer
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NONVIS	non-visual

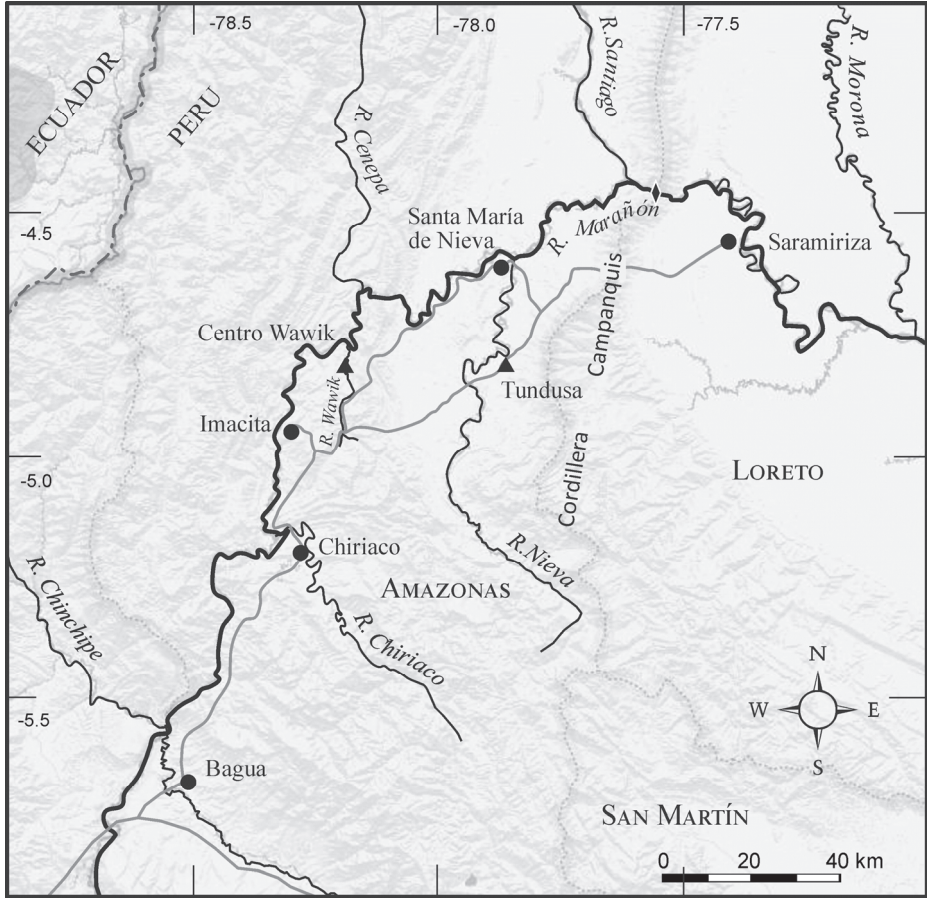
NORM	normative
NP	noun phrase
NSBJ	non-subject
O	least agentive/most patient-like argument of a transitive clause
OA	original addressee
OBJ	object (O/E)
OS	original speaker
PC	Proto-Chicham
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PRS	present tense
PSSD	possessed form of noun
PST	past tense
Q	question marker
Q.RHET	rhetorical question marker
Q.TAG	tag question marker
Q.TOP	topic in a question
Qu.	Quechua
RC	relative clause
RECIP	reciprocal
RECPST	recent past
REDUP	reduplicated material
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
REMPST	remote past
REPET	repetitive
RESTR	restrictive
S	sole argument of an intransitive clause
SAP	speech act participant
SBD	non-temporal subordinator
SBJ	subject
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SIMIL	similative
Sp.	Spanish
SPEC	speculative

SS	same subject
TERM	terminative
TIME	time adverbial marker
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive
V	vowel
VBLZ	verbalizer
VBLZ.INTR	intransitive verbalizer
VBLZ.TR	transitive verbalizer
VCC	verbless clause complement
VCS	verbless clause subject
VOC	vocative

Maps



Map 1: The Chicham speaking area and surrounds, Peru and Ecuador



Map 2: Detail showing fieldwork locations

1 Introduction to the Aguaruna language

1.1 Preliminaries

This work is a description of Aguaruna, known to its speakers as *iiniá chicham* or *awajún chicham*. Aguaruna is spoken mainly in the Peruvian department of Amazonas along the Marañón River and its tributaries, of which the most important are the Cenepa, Santiago, Nieva and Chiriaco Rivers. Peruvian census data give a population of 55,000 for ethnic Aguaruna people (INEI 2009). Wise (1999: 309) suggested the following sociographic figures (for an estimated population of 39,000): 35% monolingual Aguaruna speakers; at least 80% literate in Aguaruna and perhaps 65% literate in Spanish (there are no more recent figures on bilingualism or literacy). Aguaruna is part of the small Chicham family (formerly known as Jivaroan – see §2.2), whose closely related members are all spoken in a single geographic area in northern Peru and southern Ecuador (§2.1). Within Aguaruna, speakers recognize two major varieties of the language: one spoken on the Nieva river and its tributaries, the other spoken in the remainder of the territory, that is, on the Marañón and its tributaries, including the Cenepa and Santiago rivers.¹ I refer to these as the Nieva and Marañón varieties, respectively; this grammar is based on the Marañón variety.

This first chapter provides a preliminary sketch of Aguaruna grammar, to familiarize the reader with the essential points and ease access to the more detailed discussion in subsequent chapters. It follows the same general structure as the grammar itself, consisting of the following sections: an introduction to orthographic practices, and briefly to phonology (§1.2); word classes (§1.3); morphological patterns (§1.4). Three sections outline the syntax: referring expressions (NPs) in §1.5, clause structure in §1.6 and grammatical relations in §1.7. Next I cover a few points from a more holistic, functional perspective than is possible elsewhere in the grammar: finiteness (§1.8); subordination and nominalization (§1.9); and clause combining (§1.10). A detailed description of the historical and ethnographic background is provided in Chapter 2.

¹ A third variety of Aguaruna, spoken on the Chiriaco River in the Imaza district, was described to me by speakers of the Marañón variety as having a distinctive intonation (*medio cantando* ‘almost singing’). I was unable to collect any data on this variety. Previous analysts have recognized two “dialects” that differ in their treatment of vowel elision, either devoicing or eliding completely. There is no evidence for this distinction in my data (see further discussion in §3.5.6).

1.2 Orthography and examples

A standard Aguaruna orthography was first developed in the 1950s by the SIL missionary Mildred Larson, and an official orthography was approved by the Peruvian government on 6 November 2009.² It is based on Spanish orthographic practices, and is mostly phonemic, except in a few respects. Orthographic <g> represents the phones [u] (between vowels) and [ŋ] (syllable finally). This situation arises from an analysis by which the two were incorrectly considered allophones of one phoneme (Pike & Larson 1964). Although it misrepresents the phonology, there is no ambiguity because the two phones are in complementary distribution. Nasality is not indicated in standard orthography, although publications by the *Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica* (CAAAP) have used the convention of underlining nasal vowels, thus for example *yawaã* [yãwãã] ‘dog’ would be written <yawáa>.³ Standard orthography does distinguish (prenasalized) oral and nasal voiced stops, while I treat the former as allophones of the latter, as discussed in §3.4. Written accents are included in reference works or other material intended for use by non-native speakers,⁴ but in normal usage they are only written where there is potential for ambiguity or where a word-final vowel is accented. The official Aguaruna alphabet is shown in Table 1.1, along with IPA equivalents.

Table 1.1: Standard Aguaruna orthography

Orthography	IPA equivalent
a	a
b	^m b
ch	tʃ
d	ⁿ d
e	ɛ
g	u [between vowels]
g	ŋ [elsewhere]
h	ʔ
i	i

² The relevant legislation is identified with the code 2554-2009-ED.

³ Although it does not form part of the standard orthography, the graph <ñ> is used by some speakers to represent the nasalized palatal glide [ỹ] that appears in nasal environments, so e.g. *yawaã* ‘dog’ would be written as <ñawaa>. This has the advantage of indicating nasality without requiring any vowel diacritic.

⁴ See for example the dictionaries Wipio (1996) and Uwarai et al. (1998), and CAAAP’s pedagogical grammar (Regan et al. 1991).

Orthography	IPA equivalent
j	h
k	k
m	m
n	n
p	p
r	r
s	s
sh	ʃ
t	t
ts	ʈs
u	u
w	w
y	j

I find the official orthography impractical for use in this grammar: the Spanish based orthography conflicts with both IPA and English orthographic norms (the graphs <h> and <j>, in particular, are potentially confusing); the dual function of <g> is not intuitively obvious, nor does it accurately reflect the Aguaruna phonemic system; and the use of underlining to mark nasality is awkward to implement, and conflicts with more widely used orthographic norms. In Chapter 3 on phonology I use standard IPA, although I follow established Americanist practice in transcribing the palatal glide as /y/ rather than /j/. In the rest of the grammar I use a blend of IPA and official orthography, aiming to provide a system that is both intuitively accessible and aesthetically more pleasing for a reader of English. The main departure from IPA is in my use of the digraphs <ch> and <sh> to represent the affricate /tʃ/ and fricative /ʃ/, respectively. This use of <sh> brings with it the potential for ambiguity in a few examples where the phonemes /s/ and /h/ come together through elision of an intervening vowel; in those cases I separate the letters with an apostrophe; that is, <s'h> is to be read as IPA /sh/. Examples (1.1) and (1.2) illustrate the distinction.

(1.1) káshai [káʃei]
 'agouti'

(1.2) díkas'hai [ˈdíkaʃeɪ]
 dika-tsu-ha-i
 know+IPFV-NEG-1SG-DECL
 'I don't know'

Table 1.2 shows the graphs used in this grammar that differ from their IPA values.

Table 1.2: Non-IPA orthography used in this grammar

this grammar	IPA
b	^m b
ch	^h tʃ
d	ⁿ d
r	ɾ
sh	ʃ
s'h	sh
ts	^h ts
y	j

Full Aguaruna words in the text are given in the citation form, after the application of vowel elision, which is analysed as a synchronic process (see §3.5). Where relevant, the underlying form is also given. Bound morphemes are cited in the underlying form. Examples consist of four lines: the surface form (in italics), the underlying morphological form, a gloss line and a free translation. Spanish words in examples appear in Spanish orthography and are italicized in the morphological line, as in example (1.3). Note that consonant-final Spanish words typically require an epenthetic vowel /a/ prior to any further morphology being added. Loans that have been nativized to Aguaruna phonology are treated as native Aguaruna words, for example *bachit* < Sp. *machete*.

- (1.3) *dúka hospitalak*
 nu=ka *hospital*-a=ka
 ANA=TOP hospital-EP=TOP
 ‘that hospital’

Some predictable allophonic variants are not transcribed (see Chapter 3 for details), but allomorphs that are not strictly phonologically conditioned are transcribed distinctly. Nasality spreads across contiguous sequences of vowels and glides (§3.4), and all are transcribed as nasal in surface forms. Where one vowel can be identified as the source of nasality (by comparison with other forms), I transcribe just that vowel as nasal in underlying forms; otherwise I follow David Payne (1990b) in transcribing nasality on the rightmost segment with which it can be associated. There are some occurrences of /m/ and /n/ that are compulsorily denasalized at the lexical level, and I transcribe these using and <d>. Those that are optionally denasalized are transcribed <m> and <n>.

1.3 Word classes

Open word classes in Aguaruna show a basic division between VERBAL and NOMINAL roots. The term nominal is used here in the classical sense, encompassing both nouns and adjectives; within this class, nouns and adjectives can be distinguished as they differ in their derivational possibilities, possessability, and ability to head an NP (although an adjective may be the only constituent of a headless NP – see Chapter 5 on NP structure, and §4.3 on the distinction between noun and adjective). The majority of their grammatical properties are shared, however, and the distinction is neutralized in their most typical functions: as the sole constituent of an NP and as the predicate in an equative or attributive clause. Because of this, nouns and adjectives are for most purposes best described as a single class of nominals.

Closed word classes are personal and demonstrative pronouns; numerals; quantifiers; adverbial words, with subclasses of manner adverbs, time words, location words, and a rich set of ideophones; a set of discourse particles; and interjections – the latter class runs through a continuum from more conventionalized words to involuntary vocalizations and many do not fit the standard phonology. Interrogative words are all members of other classes but share certain semantic and morphosyntactic properties, described in Chapter 10. There are no true conjunctions, but the discourse particle *tuhã* may function as a contrastive conjunction ‘but’, and the interjection *atsa* ‘no’ may function as a disjunction ‘or’ (see Chapter 12). Table 1.3 summarizes the functional slots that can be filled by the main word classes.

Table 1.3: Word classes and functional slots

	verb	noun	pronoun	dem	adjective	adverb
Core or oblique argument	–	✓	✓	✓	–	–
Equative clause complement	–	✓	✓	✓	✓	–
Head of predicate	✓	limited	–	–	limited	–
Head of NP	–	✓	✓	✓	–	–
Possessum in NP	–	✓	–	–	some	–
Possessor in NP	–	✓	✓	✓	–	–
Modifier in NP	–	some	–	✓	✓	some
Modifier of a verb	–	–	–	–	–	✓

Table 1.4 lists the word classes and the sections in which their properties are described. The remainder of this chapter gives a brief overview of these properties.

Table 1.4: Word classes

word class	described in
Noun	Chapter 4
Adjective	§4.3
Verb	Chapters 6, 8, 9, and 13
Personal and other pronouns	§4.6
Numerals	§5.3.1, §12.2.1
Quantifiers	§5.3.2, §12.2.2
Adverbial words	Chapter 12
Discourse particles	§12.4.1
Interjections	§12.4.2
Question words	Chapter 10

Word class changing derivation is described in the chapters relating to the target class. Table 1.5 lists the derivation types in terms of the source and target classes, and indicates where they are described.

Table 1.5: Word class changing derivations

source class	target class	described in
Verb	Nominal	Chapter 15
Verb, adverb	Adjective	§4.3.3
Noun	Verb	§6.6.1
Onomatopeia	Verb	§6.6.2
Pronoun	Verb	§6.6.2

1.3.1 Verbs

Verbs function as predicates. While nominals can function predicatively in equative/attributive clauses, they are restricted in their morphological possibilities (see Chapter 7). Verbs are obligatorily inflected for tense, mood, aspect, number, person OR subordination and switch reference. The only possibility of a bare verb root appearing is directly preceding an inflected auxiliary verb, and in that case the two form a single complex predicate (§6.7).

Semantically, verbs express actions, events and states. While there is an adjective class in Aguaruna, a number of property meanings are expressed with verbs,

e.g. *tsitsimat* ‘feel cold’, *ishamat* ‘be afraid’. Verb roots have inherent transitivity values, and there is a strong preference for divalent, transitive verbs. The language relies very heavily on verb roots in discourse, in particular in clause chaining constructions where many of the clauses consist only of a verb; the head-marking nature of the grammar means that overt NPs are not necessary to track referents. Verbs in this grammar are cited in a nominalized form, marked with final *-ta*, which surfaces as /t/ if the root is not monovocalic.

1.3.2 Nominals

Nominals form referring expressions, and syntactically they form noun phrases. Nouns head NPs while adjectives modify, but this distinction is not always clear, as headless NPs consisting only of a single adjective are possible. In discourse, adjectives most frequently function as predicates, and in that function they show identical formal properties to nouns. Nominals are inflected for case with phrase-level enclitics. There is no nominal number marking except with a nominalized plural-marked existential verb, syntactically a relative clause. There is no grammatical gender, nor noun classes beyond the distinction between alienably and inalienably possessible nouns.

1.3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns share most nominal morphology, and share with nouns the syntactic property of heading NPs. Unlike nouns, pronouns cannot be possessed, they do not take vocative forms, and they cannot be modified by adjectives within the NP. In discourse pronouns must have an accessible referent, whether already introduced in the discourse or introduced by a demonstrative pronoun itself through deictic reference. There is a set of personal pronouns, with distinct singular and plural forms (Table 1.7 in §1.8.2); these are the only nominals that vary for number. There is a set of demonstratives that also function anaphorically and as preposed determiners in the NP. The demonstratives form a three-way contrast between proximal *hu*, medial *anu* and distal *au*. There is a dedicated anaphoric pronoun *nu* which, like the demonstratives, may also function as a determiner. The demonstratives and the anaphoric pronoun also share the possibility of being postposed to a predicate to form a relative clause (see Chapter 16). There is one indefinite pronoun, *tikich* ‘(an)other’. Question words are not used with an indefinite sense, as they are in some (especially Indo-European) languages.

1.3.4 Adverbial words

In language descriptions ‘adverb’ tends to be a something of a disparate category. Adverbs typically divide into at least three subclasses, those of MANNER, TIME and LOCATION; and this is the case in Aguaruna. IDEOPHONES form an important fourth subclass in Aguaruna, behaving syntactically like manner adverbs but considered by native speakers to be a different class (see below). Adverbs modify predicates or clauses, and are distinguished by their very restricted range of morphology. A subset of manner adverbs is inflected for the person of the ‘subject’ (that is, the subject of the predicate they modify), using the same set of person markers as same-subject subordinate verbs (§12.3). Time and location words can take diminutive *-uchi* and the topic enclitic *=ka*. QUANTIFIERS typically modify NPs semantically, but pattern with adverbs in their morphology and syntax, as they are not formally part of the NP. They may also function as adverbs semantically, modifying a clause.

1.3.5 Ideophones

Ideophones are a distinct and important class, that have most in common with the manner adverbs in terms of their syntactic behaviour. Defined by Dingemanse (2012: 655) as “marked words that depict sensory imagery”, ideophones in Aguaruna typically, but not always, represent sounds. For example *puhut* represents the sound of something heavy splashing into deep water, while *tapit* represents grabbing something. Ideophones cannot take any morphology, and most have the phonological form CVCVC.

1.4 Morphology

Aguaruna is both head and dependent marking at the NP and clause level. The morphology is almost entirely suffixing and basically agglutinating, although vowel elision can obscure the regularity in surface forms. There are a few cases of fusion and these are discussed below. The only trace of prefixing is a prefixed vowel that forms causative verbs. This is unproductive, the quality of the vowel is not predictable, and in some cases is accompanied by other phonological changes in the root – all very different from the generally regular and productive suffixing behaviour characteristic of the rest of the morphology. A productive suffix is also available to form causative verbs.

Phonological effects triggered by bound morphology include: accent shift; special ‘combining forms’ of pronominal hosts; and simplification of sequences of identical consonants. Both affixes and enclitics may trigger the first two of these effects, but enclitics do not trigger simplification of CC clusters.

1.4.1 Affix and clitic

Within the class of bound morphemes I distinguish between **AFFIXES** and **CLITICS** on syntactic grounds: affixes operate at the level of the word, while clitics operate at the phrasal or clausal level. Affixes are thus part of word formation in morphology while clitics are positioned by syntactic principles. The set of enclitics in Aguaruna is somewhat diverse, comprising five types that differ from one another in their morphological and phonological effects (Table 1.6). Those that can co-occur have strict ordering rules. The key parameters of variation are whether the enclitic has fixed or floating position, and whether it triggers accent shift in nominal stems. In addition, the case markers trigger the combining forms of pronominal hosts.

Table 1.6: Clitic types

clitic type	host	effects
accusative, locative, comitative, instrumental, ablative (§4.10)	NP; fixed position	combining form of pronominal hosts; accent shift for some
restrictive, additive, topic (§4.11, §4.12)	Constituent(s) in scope; floating	accent shift for ADDITIVE and RESTRICTIVE ; no shift for TOPIC
question topic, speculative (§4.13)	Constituent(s) of marked clause; floating	accent shift
polar interrogative (§4.13)	NP or predicate; floating	accent shift on nominal
copula (§4.14)	Predicate NP; fixed	takes verbal suffixes

Fixed position enclitics are restricted to a particular constituent and are positioned by strict grammatical criteria. Case markers are enclitic to the final element of the NP, which is always a noun, adjective, personal or demonstrative pronoun. The copula enclitic must be attached to the final element of an NP functioning as the predicate of an equative/attributive clause.

Floating enclitics are more flexible in their positioning, following more pragmatic principles. The discourse markers (restrictive, topic and additive) appear on a constituent that the marker has scope over. The question topic and speculative markers are linked to specific clausal moods and are also apparently positioned according to scope. Both topic and question topic markers may appear on more than one constituent. The polar interrogative marker typically appears on the predicate, and forms part of the mood/modality paradigm, but may alternatively appear on a constituent that is the focus of the interrogation.

Those enclitics that can co-occur follow strict ordering: within case markers, locative and ablative may co-occur, in that order. Case markers may be followed by

one of additive, restrictive, topic, question topic, speculative, polar interrogative, all of which are mutually exclusive. The copula enclitic may follow polar interrogative, but not any of the other enclitics, and in such cases the nominal stem may not include case marking.

Moving on to the discourse status markers, restrictive =*ki* is enclitic to the NP over which it has scope. The topic marker =*ka* is enclitic to the constituent(s) over which it has scope, or can be attached to a subordinate clause forming a conditional clause. Additive =*sha(kama)* is similarly enclitic to an NP constituent, but may have semantic scope over that NP or the whole clause. Encliticized to a subordinate clause, the additive marker forms a concessive clause. Interrogative and speculative clauses in addition to their verbal mood marking also involve enclitics that mark the focus of the mood operator. Polar interrogative is usually marked on the predicate, but the marker may instead be enclitic to the questioned constituent.

The copula is encliticized to nominal predicates, and is followed by verbal morphology. In some TAM combinations the copula must take the form of a separate verb.

There is one apparent and one actual case of endoclysis in the morphology of Aguaruna.⁵ The apparent case is that of the enclitic copula, which may be followed by verbal suffixing morphology. In this case it is clear that the suffixes relate to the copula, that is, they are suffixed to the copula. This is clear from the fact that the copula enclitic alternates with a full morphologically free verb in some contexts.

The actual case of endoclysis involves the polar interrogative =*ka*. This enclitic functions as part of the verbal mood/modality paradigm, and normally appears in verbal slot G (see Chapter 6 on verbal morphology, and §10.4 on polar interrogative clauses). It may also appear on another constituent, in which case the verb takes no mood/modality marker. But when the verb is marked, and also includes the recent past tense marker *-ma*, polar interrogative must directly follow that suffix, in which case it precedes the person suffix. It is not clear how this unusual morphological behaviour came about. One could analyse polar interrogative as a suffix on verbs but an enclitic on other constituents (cf. Dixon's 2010: 21–22 analysis of Portuguese “endoclititic” pronouns), but this does not reflect the fact that it is clearly the same marker, whatever its position.

A final point regards the relativizing pronouns (Chapter 16). These may be ENCLITICIZED to the predicate of the relative clause, and in previous work (Overall 2007) I treated these as the only examples of clitics. In fact, this is better described as a surface phonological process, and distinct from the morphological class of clitics.

⁵ I define endoclysis as the appearance of a clitic within a phonological word consisting of a root and affixes. In the examples discussed here, this means the clitic appears between a stem and suffixes. There are no examples of a clitic appearing within a root in Aguaruna.

1.4.2 Agglutination and fusion

Although mainly agglutinating, there is some fusion in the morphology. Before describing these cases, it is necessary to distinguish a few apparently fusional morphemes that are in fact the result of synchronic phonological processes. An illustrative example is in (1.4), where second person subject *-mi* in a declarative clause does not appear to be followed by the declarative suffix *-i* (compare example 1.5).

- (1.4) *wíuami*
 wi-a-mi
 go-IPFV-2SG+DECL
 ‘you are going’

- (1.5) *wíuahai*
 wi-a-ha-i
 go-IPFV-1SG-DECL
 ‘I am going’

In this case, however, the non-appearance of the declarative suffix is due to a phonological rule, as the sequence /ii/ is disallowed. Despite not being manifested phonetically, the underlying presence of the suffix has a phonological effect: its presence blocks the application of apocope to the final CV syllable. Compare example (1.6), in which polar interrogative is marked on the questioned constituent leaving the verb unmarked for mood. In this case, the final syllable does undergo apocope.

- (1.6) *píŋkíhak puhám*
 piŋkiha=ka puha-mi
 good=Q live+IPFV-2SG
 ‘are you well?’

The same apparent fusion happens with the first person plural suffix *-hi* when followed by declarative *-i*.

Genuine cases of fusion are associated mainly with the combination of tense markers + third person subject + declarative mood. Compare (1.7), in which tense, person and mood can be readily separated, to (1.8), in which a single suffix is the exponent of all three categories (see Chapter 8 for details of these markers).

- (1.7) *wímahai*
 wi-ma-ha-i
 go+PFV-RECPST-1SG-DECL
 ‘I went’

- (1.8) *wimĩ*
 wi-mĩ
 go+PFV-RECPST:3:DECL
 ‘s/he went’

The most spectacular departures from straightforward agglutination involve supra-segmental morphs of two types: (i) suppression of apocope and (ii) nasality. As an example, first person plural subject in same-subject subordinate verbs is marked solely by non-application of apocope, as in example (1.9). Compare example (1.10), in which third person subject in the same context is marked by nasalization of the final vowel; as a result, both forms end in CV syllables underlyingly. Only the third person form undergoes apocope, however. Unlike the example in (1.4) above, there is no possibility of explaining this absence of apocope on purely phonological grounds.

- (1.9) *wĩʉaku*
 wi-a-ku
 go-IPFV-SIM+1PL:SS
 ‘as we were going, (we ...)’

- (1.10) *wĩʉak*
 wi-a-kũ
 go-IPFV-SIM+3:SS
 ‘as s/he was going, (s/he ...)’

Person marking in subordinate verbs is described in Chapter 13, and suppression of apocope is also a marker of some interrogative clause types, described in Chapter 10.

1.5 The noun phrase

The noun phrase consists minimally of a head noun, and may include preposed or postposed modifiers. The accusative, comitative, locative and instrumental case markers are enclitic to the final element of the NP, except where one of the following three determiners precedes the head: proximal demonstrative *hu*; distal demonstrative *au*; anaphoric pronoun *nu*. In that case all elements of the NP show case agreement. Possession is head-marked with a suffix and/or vowel change in the possessed noun, and the possessor, if it appears, takes the genitive form if it is a noun, or accusative case if it is a pronoun. Relative clauses are formed with nominalizations, or by means of pronouns postposed to a predicate (Chapter 16). Although most NPs have a simple structure, some more complex issues arise. Discontinuous

NPs are possible, and the modifier of a discontinuous NP may functionally simulate a separate argument. Headedness of NPs can be difficult to determine, as nouns and adjectives share morphology. All of these issues are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.6 Clause structure

The clausal unit describes a situation – an action, event or state. The clause consists of a single predicate, typically a verb, and its associated participants, which may be overt NPs. Clauses can be categorized by two sets of criteria: the first is finiteness, and relates to the the predicate itself, and the grammatical categories that are (or are not) associated with the predicate in any given clause. The second, grammatical relations and transitivity, is the relation between the predicate and its associated participants.

The syntactic constituents that combine to form a clause in Aguaruna are noun phrase(s) and predicate. Minor syntactic constituents are adjective phrase and manner adverb phrase: each consists of an optional modifier slot in pre-head position in addition to the head. Neither time words nor location words can be modified, thus always form single-word constituents. There is a strong verb-final tendency in all clause types. Subordinate clauses are always verb-final, while finite clauses show variation for pragmatic purposes. Constituent ordering is discussed in more detail in Chapter 18.

Subordinate clauses are embedded, to the extent that they are treated as syntactic constituents of the clause on a par with NP arguments. Only nominalized clauses can take case marking and function as core arguments (but see Chapter 17 for discussion of apparent examples of finite clause complements to the verb *wainat* ‘see’). Floating enclitics marking discourse pragmatic status and focus of clausal mood operators can equally well attach to subordinate clauses as to NPs, and subordinate clauses can be centre-embedded.

Verbs can be categorized as intransitive, transitive, ditransitive or copula, on the basis of the number and type of arguments they subcategorize for. This then dictates the type of clause each verb can appear in. Valency changing derivation can be used to adjust a verb root’s subcategorization profile. Subjects and speech act participant (SAP) objects are indexed with verbal suffixes and NP arguments are case-marked to show their role in the clause – core arguments take nominative or accusative case. Equative/attributive clauses and copular clauses headed by copula verbs all require two arguments, a subject and a complement. In the former, the complement is marked with an enclitic copula which hosts finite verbal morphology. Verbless equative/attributive clauses are possible within a highly restricted range of TAM values (§7.8).

The predicate may consist of just one verb, a predicate nominal, or a non-finite main verb and finite auxiliary. The main verb in an auxiliary construction may take

one of several forms, and it is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between auxiliatation and clause-combining constructions (§6.7). Nominalized verbs are widely used in relativization and complementation, and also function as finite verbs in some narrative genres.

1.7 Grammatical relations

Aguaruna follows a nominative-accusative alignment. Grammatical relations centre on SUBJECT and OBJECT, and participant nominalizations contrast SUBJECT with NON-SUBJECT – the latter includes objects and oblique participants such as location and instrument. Subjects take unmarked nominative case, and objects take accusative case, marked with the enclitic =*na*. There is a scenario-conditioned split in accusative case marking (§7.3), whereby third person objects remain unmarked if the subject is first person plural or second person. Case marking of all objects (notional direct (O) and indirect (E) objects as well as those added by applicative derivation) is identical. There is only one morphological slot for marking SAP objects on the verb, and clauses with more than one SAP object are avoided (§7.3).

There is no voice alternation in Aguaruna. Productive valency increasing derivations are applicative, which typically adds a semantic beneficiary or maleficiary, and causative; a few valency reducing derivations are unproductive (Chapter 6).

1.8 Finiteness

Finiteness can be defined functionally for clauses and formally for verbs. A finite clause is one that is specified for the categories of TENSE and MOOD. These categories allow cognitive grounding of the clause, deictically in time, and in reality status. Finite clauses also have fully specified arguments. Functionally, a finite clause can function independently, constituting a well-formed grammatical utterance. The finite verb in Aguaruna is defined as one which can head a finite clause, and is marked for the full range of verbal grammatical categories. In particular, the categories of TENSE, PERSON and MOOD/MODALITY are obligatorily specified in finite verbs, distinct from non-finite verb forms and other word classes. Tense is definitional for finite verbs. Person of the subject is also marked on some subordinate verbs and manner adverbs, but using a different set of suffixes. Mood and modality form a single paradigm encompassing speech act distinctions, epistemicity and markers of speaker's attitude. There is an almost perfect co-occurrence of mood marking with finite verbs, but polar interrogative may be marked on constituents other than the verb – the clausal scope of speech act distinctions makes this possible. Aspect is not a definitional criterion of finiteness for Aguaruna verbs: some finite forms are unmarked for aspect, while some non-finite forms do take aspect marking. The basic

template for a finite verb is given in Figure 1.1 (a more detailed schema appears in §6.1).

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

Figure 1.1: Morphological structure of a finite verb

Verbal morphology may be added directly to the unmarked root plus any valency changing and object markers in slots A and B, or to one of the following four stems (all consisting of ROOT + (A) + (B) + C): IMPERFECTIVE; PERFECTIVE; POTENTIAL; DURATIVE. Some verbal suffixes always select a particular stem, others are more flexible and the choice of stem then alters the meaning of the form, as shown by the minimal pair (1.11), with perfective stem, and (1.12), with durative stem.

(1.11) *yuwáta*
 yu-a-ta
 eat-PFV-IMP
 ‘eat (it)!’

(1.12) *yuumatá*
 yu-ma-ta
 eat-DUR-IMP
 ‘keep on eating!’

Subordinate verbs have suffixes marking their subordinate status in slot E instead of tense, and lack mood marking (slot G). Most subordinate verbs and some manner adverbs take suffixes marking person of the subject, but these are a different set from the ones used in finite verbs. All subordinate verb forms are marked for SWITCH-REFERENCE, a category that is absent from finite verbs (Chapter 13).

While a finite verbal clause must be headed by a finite verb, the question remains what happens in clauses with non-verbal predicates. In copular clauses, the copula may be enclitic to the predicate nominal or it may be a separate fully inflected verb, depending on TAM and person values. Both enclitic and verbal copulas are marked with finite verbal morphology. In present tense, declarative copular clauses with third-person singular subject, a verbless construction is possible. This can be considered to still be specified for the clausal categories of tense and mood, as it is restricted to specific values of these categories. Non-verbal predication is discussed further in §7.9.

1.8.1 Tense and aspect

Aguaruna has four synthetic past tenses, plus a past tense nominalizer, and two synthetic future tenses, plus a future nominalizer. A range of periphrastic tensed constructions allows for expression of aspectual distinctions (Chapter 8). Most verb forms, whether finite or not, are formed on either a perfective or imperfective stem, and these aspect-marked stems may also mark number of the subject (§8.3).

1.8.2 Person and number

Verbal marking of subjects involves a number of distinct suffixes in slot F, which resemble the free pronouns only in second person. Table 1.7 shows the free pronouns, which distinguish three persons and two numbers. Bound person marking paradigms generally distinguish four persons: 1sg, 1pl, 2 and 3. Second person singular and plural are obligatorily distinguished only in finite verbs, while third person shows distinct plural marking in only a few contexts. First person plural is marked identically to second person in the object marking paradigm, and to third person in the possession paradigm (see Table 1.9).

Table 1.7: Free pronouns

	singular	plural
1	<i>wii</i>	<i>ii ~ hutii</i> (see §4.6)
2	<i>ami</i>	<i>atum /atumi/</i>
3	<i>nĩ</i>	<i>dita</i>

Morphological alternations show that the underlying forms of 1sg and 3sg are /wi/ and /nĩ/, respectively, with vowel lengthening in free forms to preserve a minimal word requirement (see §3.5.1). The final /mi/ of the second person pronouns surfaces throughout the subject paradigms, and changes to /mi/ when followed by certain bound morphemes. In contrast to the stability of the second person forms, first and third person are represented by remarkably diverse forms. There are also differences in the conditioning environments for the different allomorphs – second and third person subject markers in finite verbs differ depending on the tense of the verb, while first person singular and plural are not affected by this change (Table 1.8).

Table 1.8: Verbal subject markers

	finite verb		subordinate verb
	non-past tense	past tense	
1sg	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-nu</i>
1pl	<i>-hi</i>	<i>-hi</i>	zero / <i>-i</i>
2sg	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-umi</i>	<i>-mi</i>
2pl	<i>-humí</i>	<i>-uhumí</i>	<i>-mi</i> ~ <i>-humí</i>
3	<i>-wa</i>	portmanteau TENSE + PERSON	nasality

Verbal number is obligatorily marked for SAP subjects of finite verbs. There are also optional plural markers in slot C available for all persons, which can combine with the plural subject markers in slot F. Optional plural marking differs in imperfective and perfective stems, and does not appear in stems that lack aspect marking (see §8.3). In subordinate verbs, only first person makes an obligatory number distinction; use of the second person plural form is optional.

Verbal object marking (Table 1.9) is quite distinct from subject marking, and appears in slot B, except in the combination of first person subject with second person object, marked in slot F. Verb roots fall into two classes based on their marking of objects and the form of the applicative suffix, all of which take initial /h/ in the first class and /t/ in the second (§6.3). The applicative suffix is homophonous with the first person singular markers in both verb classes. Third person objects are not marked on the verb. The second person object markers when subject is third person include the sequence /ma/, which may relate to the /mi/ that marks second person in other paradigms (the allomorph *-pa* is a phonologically conditioned contraction of *-tama*). When the subject is first person, second person object is marked with the suffix *-mi* combined with the subject marker in slot F (analysed as a portmanteau in §6.3.1), and the verb class distinction is neutralized. First person plural objects are marked as second person, but a distinct suffix *-kahatu* may be used to mark first person plural exclusive object. This suffix is otherwise used to mark generic human objects.

Nominal possession markers have some similarity to verbal markers, but only the second person forms are clearly cognate (again we see the form /mi/). There are two possession classes, one signalled with vowel change and nasalization in third person and the other with a suffix. First person plural possessors are marked identically to third person. The distinction between classes is neutralized with first person singular possessor. First person singular *-hu* may be cognate with the verbal object marker in the *hu* verb class, or it may reflect an old possession marker – note that all the possession markers in the suffix class include initial /hu/ or /h/. See §4.8 for details of possession morphology.

Table 1.9: Verbal object markers and nominal possession markers

	object on verb		possessor on noun	
	<i>hu</i> class	<i>tu</i> class	vowel change class	suffix class
1sg	<i>-hu</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-hu</i>	<i>-hu</i>
1pl	(as 2) / <i>-kahatu</i>	(as 2) / <i>-kahatu</i>	(as 3)	(as 3)
2	<i>-hama</i> (3 subject) <i>-mi</i> (1 subject)	<i>-tama</i> / <i>-pa</i> (3 subject) <i>-mi</i> (1 subject)	vowel change + <i>-mi</i>	<i>-humí</i>
3	unmarked	unmarked	vowel change + nasality	<i>-hĩ</i>

In sum, person marking is disparate not just in the forms used, but also in the arrangement of the paradigms involved. There is no motivation to treat the verbal markers of subjects and objects or the nominal markers of possessors as bound forms of the pronouns, as they are quite distinct.

1.8.3 Mood and modality

In general, finite verbs are marked for mood/modality, a single paradigm that covers traditional speech acts as well as epistemic and attitudinal distinctions. Major mood types are declarative, interrogative, exclamatory and imperative; declarative and interrogative moods subsume various formally and functionally distinct subtypes.

Declarative is the basic form of a statement, and as such is functionally unmarked; formally, however, declarative is marked with a suffix while exclamative is zero-marked. The imperative marker is cognate with the future tense markers, and appears in a different morphological slot to the other mood/modality markers.

For some mood/modality values, the morphological marking may be distributed through the clause. Interrogative clauses mark one or more constituents with the question topic enclitic =*sha*, and in some cases this enclitic itself may mark interrogative mood. Speculative, an epistemic modality marker, utilizes both a verbal marker and a dedicated focus-marking enclitic. Polar questions are marked with the enclitic =*ka* which typically appears on the verb in slot G, but may also appear on a questioned constituent, leaving the predicate unmarked.

1.9 Subordinate and nominalized verbs

While finite verbs are obligatorily specified for tense and mood/modality, non-finite verbs never are; this is the criterial morphological distinction between the two groups. Subordinate verbs may take other inflectional categories such as aspect and

person – although the person paradigm is distinct from that used in finite verbs (see Table 1.8 above). Non-finite verbs fall into two general groups: subordinate verbs and nominalizations. All subordinate verbs are obligatorily marked for switch-reference, and most also take aspect and person marking. A clause headed by a subordinate verb must be syntactically linked to a finite clause, although this link may be mediated by another subordinate clause; that is, subordinate clauses may be nested.

Nominalization is an important part of Aguaruna grammar. Nominalized verbs by definition function as constituents of a noun phrase, either heading or modifying. They generally take neither person nor switch-reference marking (see §15.3 for some exceptions to these generalizations), but some are marked for perfective/imperfective aspect. Nominalizations find use in clause combining as relative (Chapter 16) and complement clauses (Chapter 17), and one type of nominalization may also function as a finite verb, where it functions as a non-firsthand evidentiality strategy (§15.5.3).

1.10 Clause combining

Aguaruna can be characterized as a clause-chaining language. Texts in all genres have few finite verbs relative to non-finite forms. The non-finite verb forms are specified for fewer grammatical categories than finite forms, and are in that sense morphologically dependent. However, they do not necessarily share the operators of their associated finite clause. Unlike finite verbs, the verbs of subordinate clauses are marked for switch-reference. In terms of narrative structure, non-finite verb forms may be part of the main event line.

Syntactically, the non-finite clauses are treated as constituents of a matrix clause, and thus subordinate. The syntactic evidence for this comes from two sources: firstly, subordinate clauses may host floating mood enclitics and discourse enclitics; and secondly, subordinate clauses may be centre-embedded. Subordinate clauses may also be nested, in the sense that one may be dependent upon another, not necessarily directly upon a finite clause (§13.7).

The notion of SENTENCE is not particularly useful for Aguaruna grammar: the basic multiclausal construction is the clause chain, consisting of one finite clause and one or more associated subordinate clauses. The difficulty with identifying this construction with the sentence of traditional grammar is that the non-finite clauses, while subordinate by morpho-syntactic criteria, are not necessarily so by semantic or pragmatic criteria.

Bridging constructions, in which the first verb of a clause chain recapitulates the final verb of the preceding chain, are also widely used in texts (§14.8), and nominalizations may also function in clause chaining (see §15.5.2). Coordination of finite clauses is possible, though rare (§14.7).

1.10.1 Switch-reference

All subordinate clauses are marked for switch-reference. Most of the switch-reference marking involves a reflex of the ‘different subject’ suffix $-(n)\tilde{i}$, and follow the canonical pattern of marking the subordinate clause as having the same or different subject from the controlling clause. This is a robust distinction in simple biclausal constructions in Aguaruna. Two subordinate clause markers do not follow the canonical pattern, instead requiring that a common argument appear in both the marked and controlling clause, in the specific grammatical functions shown in Table 1.10. This typologically unusual type of switch-reference is a notable feature of Panoan languages (Loos 1999; Valenzuela 2003). The non-inflecting subordinate verb forms do not receive any person marking, nor any reflex of the different subject suffix $-(n)\tilde{i}$.

Table 1.10: Non-inflecting dependent verb markers

suffix	stem	role of common argument:	
		in marked clause	in controlling clause
<i>-ma</i>	perfective or imperfective	NON-SUBJECT	SUBJECT
<i>-tatamana</i>	unmarked	SUBJECT	OBJECT

The use of switch-reference marking in discourse goes beyond reference tracking and into narrative structure, as different-subject clauses correlate with backgrounded information. Issues related to multiclausal constructions are discussed in Chapter 14, and narrative structure in Chapter 18.