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**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

Bue raiya

For my Mother and Father

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 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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Thank you all, Kasia

yiproferi

Po każdej wojnie
ktoś musi posprzątać
Jaki taki porządek
sam się przecież nie zrobi.

(...)

Ktoś czasem jeszcze
wykopie spod krzaka
przeżarte rdzą argumenty
i poprzenosi je na stos odpadków.

Ci, co wiedzieli
o co tutaj szło,
muszą ustąpić miejsca tym,
co wiedzą mało.
I mniej niż mało.
I wreszcie tyle co nic.

W trawie, która porosła
przyczyny i skutki,
musi ktoś sobie leżeć
z kłosem w zębach
i gapić się na chmury.

- Wisława Szymborska, *Koniec i początek*

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Abbreviations and Conventions

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd 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
BECOME ₁₋₃	inchoative ‘become’ markers (<i>-nai</i> , <i>-tai</i> , and <i>-dai</i>)
BENEF.CAUS	benefactive-causal
C	consonant
CA	common argument
CAV	cavity (classifier)
CAUS	causative
CERT	certainty
Cl:Comp	complement clause
CLF	classifier
CLF.REP	classifier-repeater
COLL	collective
COND ₁	conditional <i>-ia</i>
COND ₂	conditional <i>-na</i>
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 (in gloss)	event nominalizer
E	oblique core argument
EMPH	emphatic
ENDEAR	endearment term
F	feminine
FSH	far from speaker and hearer
FOC	focus
FUT	future
G	generic (classifier)
GEN	genitive
GR	group

HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IMMAT	immature
INCP	inceptive
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
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
REIT	reiterative
REM	remote
REP	reported
S	subject of intransitive verb
SAP	speech act participant
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SIMIL	similative
SMLF	semelfactive
SP	specific
Sp	Spanish
TERM	terminative
TEMP	temporal

TH	thematic
TOP	topical
UNCERT	uncertainty
V	vowel, verb
VENTV	ventive
VCS	verbless clause subject
VCC	verbless clause complement
x	peripheral argument
'	primary stress
,	secondary stress

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; parentheses 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).

In the text, verbs are given in a citation form, where the predicate marker (*-di/-ti*) is followed by the 3rd person pronominal subject marker *-e*. For instance, the verb 'write' is presented as *kue(te)* 'write', where *kue-* is a verbal root. Punctuation depend on the pauses in speaker's speech after the sentence is considered to have been completed. Clauses and sentences are not capitalized. When one word has several different meanings, the most appropriate one is given in the gloss. 'Headless' nominal modifiers that are used as heads of intransitive predicates are often shown in brackets to indicate non-verbal forms used intransitively, e.g. [*mare-ko*]-*d-e* (good.ATT-CLF.REP.DOG-LK-3) 'it's a good (dog)'.

The quotation marks placed around the term *Witoto* are done at the request of the Murui, Minika, Mika, and Nipode people. 'Witoto' subsumed these four separate groups. The term *Witotoan* refers to the language family (that consists of 'Witoto', Ocaina, and Nonuya).

Throughout the chapters, there are a few numbering gaps, as some examples were eliminated in the final stage of the revision process.

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]
/z/	[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 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 also live ‘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 and Patiño Rosselli (2000: 219)). Although the villages El Encanto, Tercera India, San Rafael, and San José in Colombia are the biggest settlements of the Murui, some clans also reside in La Chorrera (Igara-Paraná), Puerto Leguizamo (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 Map 1.1).¹

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 Mínika or Nípode (see §1.4). Murui, Míka, Mínika, and Nípode people recognize their common ancestry but

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, all maps, figures (including pictures), diagrams, and schemes are author’s own work. The maps were created by Adella Edwards.



Map 1.1 Approximate locations of the Murui, Mika, Minika, and Nipode groups in Colombia and Peru ('Witoto' indicates mixed villages); the location of the Murui speakers of the Cara-Paraná River is underlined

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 it is clearly one of four ‘Witoto’ dialects.

The ‘Witoto’ people form part of a ‘cultural complex’ known today as the *People of the Center* (Spanish *Gente del Centro*) (Echeverri, 1997). Eight ethnolinguistic groups belong to the *People of the Center*: the ‘Witoto’, Nonuya, Ocaina, Bora, Miraña, Muinane, Resígaro, and Andoke (§1.2). All these peoples have various cultural characteristics in common, 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 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 seventeen consonants. The consonantal phonemes include six stops (**p, b, t, d, k,* and *g*), five fricatives (*f, v, h, *s,* and *z*), two affricates (*ch* and *y*), three nasals (*n, ñ,* and *m*), and a flap (*r*). The voiceless labio-labial stop **p* is a marginally occurring phoneme in Murui (but still preserved in other dialects of ‘Witoto’); the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative **s*, which occurs in the speech of younger speakers, is a direct result of the Spanish influence on Murui. The vowel inventory is typical of other languages from northern South America. All the vowels – *i, e, a, o, u,* and *í* – have long counterparts that are restricted to the word-initial syllables only. The high central

unrounded vowel *i* 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.² Morphophonological processes in the language involve, among others: assimilation, voicing, vowel lengthening and shortening, 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, suffixing with some fusion. Murui has no prefixes, which distinguishes it from other Witotoan languages (Fagua Rincón & Seifart, 2010; Wojtylak, 2016d).³ 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. Semi-closed word classes are adverbs, time words, and number words. There are seven closed word classes; these are quantifiers and intensifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative content words, the connective *ie*, adpositions, and interjections. Murui word classes share numerous properties; for instance, many of the members of the open, semi-closed, 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 *iba(de)* ‘buy’; in (1.2) it is the noun *uzuma* ‘grandfather’; in (1.3) it is

² 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 Center* 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).

³ Witotoan languages differ in terms of the number of prefixes on the verb (Wojtylak, 2016d).

The classifiers are suffixes that can be defined as sets of morphemes used in various morphosyntactic contexts, including demonstratives, pronouns, and adjectives, as illustrated in (1.5):

- (1.5) **bi-ko**_{VCS} **kie-ie**_{VCC} **kie-ko**_{VCS} **mare-ko**_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:COVER 1sg-GEN 1sg-CLF:COVER good.ATT-CLF:COVER
 ‘This (house) is mine. My (house) is a 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. They have non-human referents only. In (1.6) *-dora* is ‘repeated’ from the Spanish form *computadora* for ‘computer’ on the pronoun *oo* ‘you (2sg)’:

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

Murui repeaters are similar to repeaters in other neighboring languages (Aikhenvald, 2000: 222). The main functions of Murui classifiers are derivation of nominal stems, formation of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, and nominalizations. They also function as a reference-tracking mechanism (Wojtylak, 2016a, 2018c). See Chapter 4 on Murui noun structure and classifiers.

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 always functions as a head. Murui possessive constructions show no marking on either the R or 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) [**Lusio**_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 1st and 2nd personal pronouns, e.g. *kie-ie* (1sg-GEN) ‘mine’, and the connective *ie* which occurs with 3rd person *Lusio ie* (Lucio CONN) ‘Lucio’s’. Murui lacks both a verb meaning ‘have’ as

well as the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. The expression 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 S/A subject, 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-nao 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; there is only one (future) tense marker. Example (1.10) shows numerous verbal categories expressed on the verb *joko(de)* ‘wash’. They include aspectual, directional, modal, and evidential marking.

(1.10) *joko-ri-zai-aka-ñe-iti-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, 2018b). Languages located to the north usually have more ‘elaborate’ systems of evidentials (Aikhenvald, 2018; Carlin, 2018; Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert, 2018). The Murui predicate structure as well as the expression of non-spatial (TAME) and spatial (andative and ventive) settings on the verb is discussed in Chapter 7.

Murui has one type of morphological valency-reducing mechanism – the passive, and two types of valency-increasing mechanisms – the causative and the double causative. Murui passive construction puts the underlying O argument into S function and places underlying A argument in a peripheral (oblique) function. Reflexive and reciprocal meanings are periphrastic expressions that involve ‘headless’ nominal modifiers and the possessed noun *abi* ‘body’. The reciprocal meanings are expressed with the bound form *koni-* ‘between’. A prototypical Murui causative derivation applies to an S argument and places it in a 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. Valency-changing mechanisms are discussed in Chapter 8.

Murui adjectives belong to the open word class, and share various properties with verbs and nouns. With verbs, they share a limited set of verbal affixes, such as the attributive markers, e.g. *jano-re-d-e* (small-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it) is small’. They can also take classifiers to form ‘headless’ nominal modifiers. As such, they take no verbal marking, e.g. *ebi-fue* (nice-CLF:STORY) ‘nice 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’). They have different morphosyntactic properties than those that belong to the open word class. The majority of Murui comparative constructions are monoclausal, where the PARAMETER of comparative construction (usually an adjective) is followed by the STANDARD and standard marker (S-MARK) of comparison. In (1.11), what is being compared is *naiñaiño* ‘she’. The STANDARD is what *naiñaiño* is compared against, *kue* ‘me’. The property that is compared (PARAMETER) is the adjective *jano-* ‘small’, that is further modified with the P-MARK *eo* ‘very’. The marker of the grammatical function of the STANDARD, the S-MARK, is *baaifemo* ‘over there, ahead of’.

- (1.11) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARK
 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 me (lit. she – very small (female), I on the over there side (i.e. ahead of me)).’

The semantics of the standard S-MARK distinguish superiority and inferiority. Murui also has a simulative 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-_{EPRED} kue-mona_{OBLIQUE}
 really canoe-SIMIL find-ATT-LK-3 1sg-ABL
 ‘As for me, it looks like a canoe.’

Murui adjectives, comparative constructions, expression of equality, and simulative marker are focused on in 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’. Example (1.13) shows the verb *fa(te)* ‘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 fa-ta-ñe-d-_{EPRED}
 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-_{EPRED}
 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 interjection *j#* ‘agrees’ with the verb’s polarity, and, depending on the context, can be translated as either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Negation is discussed in Chapter 10.

Murui distinguishes between content, polar, tag, alternative, and exclamative questions. All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic to

them (i.e. different intonation patterns, presence of a tag, and a special kind of morphological elisions). All interrogative content words are based on two free forms: *buu* ‘who’ and *nii* ‘which, where’. To express meanings like ‘what’, ‘where’, and ‘when’, *buu* and *nii* take classifiers, e.g. *ni-rui?* (Q₂-CLF:DAY) ‘when (lit. which day)?’. Question words can also function as indefinite words; their positive or negative reading depends on the polarity of the verb, as in (1.15a-b).

- (1.15) a. *buu-nao* *kio-di-kue*_{PRED}
 Q₁-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-1sg
 ‘I saw somebody.’
- b. *buu-nao* *kio-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED}
 Q₁-N.S/A.TOP see-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I saw nobody.’ or ‘I didn’t see anybody.’

Murui canonical and non-canonical imperatives are usually formally marked, 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 1st person (with hortative meanings). There is no jussive for 3rd 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.E.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 in main clauses and dependent clauses. There are no ‘true’ relative and complement clauses but relativization and complementation

strategies. Murui sentence and clause types are focused 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_{PRED} jmm...
 person already ANA.SP-CLF:G chew.coca-LK-3 INTERJ
 ‘One (lit. person) is already chewing it.’

du-a-no-na [kome kome-k_i]_s faka-d-e_{PRED}
 chew.coca-E.NMLZ-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, along with Murui genre types (narratives, conversations, and songs), focus and pause markers, and contact-induced language change is discussed in Chapter 13.

This grammar is based on Murui as spoken in Tercera India, Amazonas, Colombia, mainly by members of the *Ereiai* clan. The data was collected during fieldwork of 12 months between 2013 and 2016 (see §1.7).

1.2 The *People of the Center* cultural area

All the ‘Witoto’ groups (Murui, M_ika, M_inika, and N_ipode) form part of a larger cultural area known in Colombia and Peru as the *People of the Center*, 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 Andoke, speakers of a linguistic isolate (see

Diagram 1.1).⁴ All these groups traditionally inhabited the Caquetá-Putumayo region. The approximate locations of the groups belonging to the *People of the Center* cultural area, are illustrated on Map 1.1.

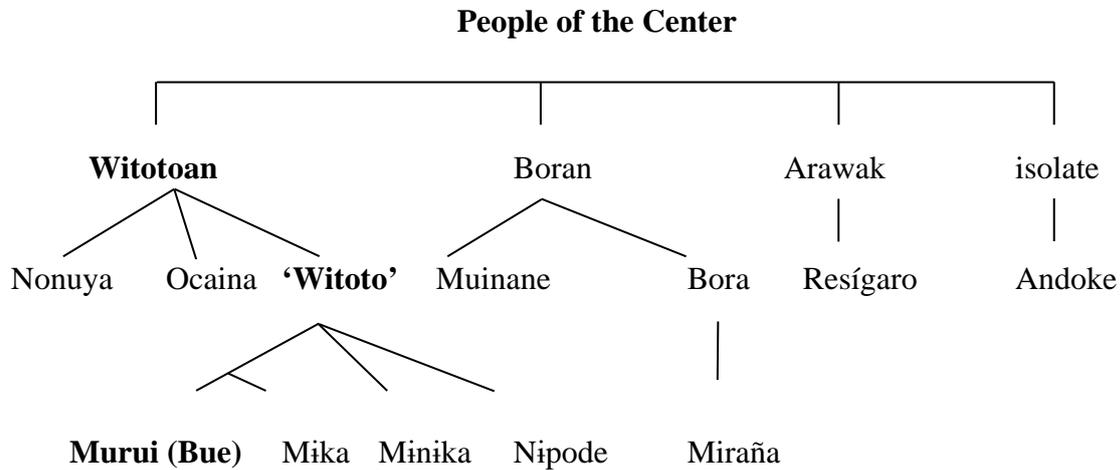


Diagram 1.1 Composition of the *People of the Center* cultural area

Geographically, the *People of the Center* 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.⁵ Traditionally, the *People of the Center* 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):

⁴ In the initial research (Echeverri, 1997), the Resígaro people were not included into the *People of the Center* cultural area (possibly because of its close ties with the Bora groups, see Seifart (2011). Later studies and research projects do include Resígaro within the *People of the Center* cultural area (Seifart et al., 2009: 19).

⁵ In Brazil, the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers are referred to as 'Japurá' and 'Içá' rivers respectively.

- i) to the north and north-east: Carib-speakers (the Carijona, the only Carib group in this part of the Amazon)⁶,
- ii) to the west: West Tucanoan groups⁷, Maijiki — known as ‘Orejon’, to the south-west: Siona⁸ and Sekoya⁹, and Koreguaje to the north-west,
- iii) to the south: the Peba (extinct) and Yagua people (of the Peba-Yagua language family), the Yuri people (linguistic isolate, extinct, possibly related to Ticuna¹⁰), as well as some Zaparoan groups further to the west (Arabela and the extinct Aushiri)¹¹,
- iv) to the east: East Tucanoan groups (Menimehe, extinct¹²; Tanimuca (known also as ‘Ofaina’), Yuhuna), and, further to the east, the Kueretu group (West Tucanoan) as well as the Bará, Tucano, and Makuna (East Tucanoan) to east and north-east. The Cabiari¹³ and Yucuna groups, located to the north-east (between the Caquetá and Upper

⁶ 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 call them) (Thiago Chacon p.c.).

⁷ Following the classification of the Tucanoan language family by Chacon (2014: 282).

⁸ 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).

⁹ 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.

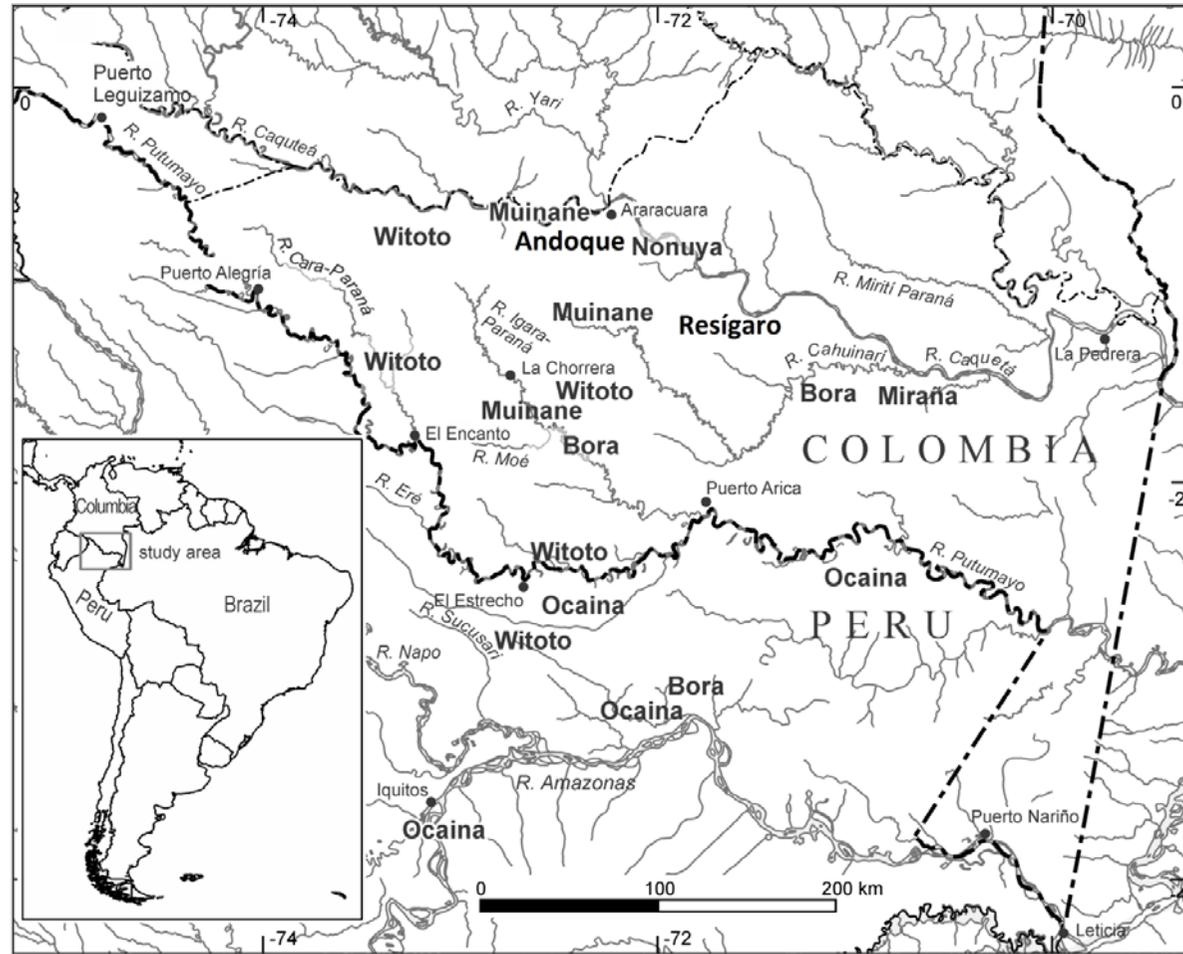
¹⁰ See also De Carvalho (2009); Goulard and Rodríguez Montes (2013); Rivet (1912).

¹¹ 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)’.

¹² Loukotka (1968: 181) lists Menimehe, together with ‘Tanimuca/Opaina’, ‘Yahuna/Jaúna’ and ‘Dätuana’, as languages of ‘the Yahuna group’.

¹³ Whiffen (1915: 58-59) refers to ‘Cabiari’ as ‘Akaroa’ (Loukotka 1968: 134).

Apaporis rivers), were the only Arawak-speaking group located in close proximity to the *People of the Center*.



Map 1.2 Approximate locations of the groups of the *People of the Center* cultural area

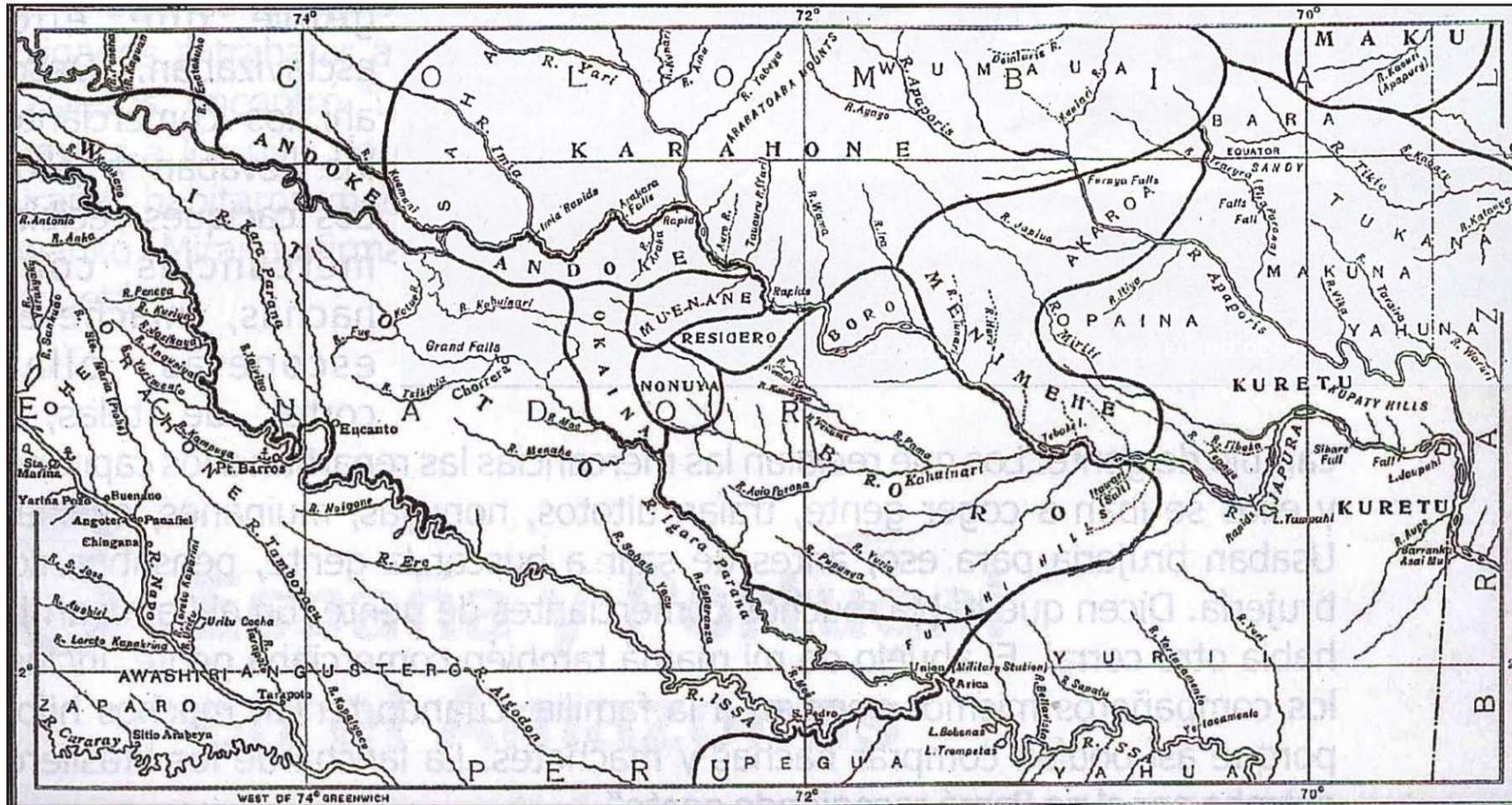
In the past, the area of the *People of the Center* might have been somewhat broader and encompasses some of the aforementioned ethnic groups, especially those which are extinct today. For instance, Whiffen (1915) mentions that the Menimehe (East Tucanoan) people were known as pottery traders in the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

The denomination '*People of the Center*' (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 (as told by the 'Witoto' people). According to the Murui origin myth, 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 Murui origin myth 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).



Figure 1.1 The location of the ‘Hole of Humanity’ on the Igarapé-Paraná river (marked with a hill), as drawn by Minka, Murui, and Bora speakers during an indigenous workshop (La Chorrera, September 2013)

The *People of the Center* cultural area consider themselves to be distinct from groups to the north, west, east, and south (Echeverri, 1997). The *People of the Center* share relative cultural homogeneity, including trade specifications, intermarriage, multilingualism and common 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).



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)

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 Center* 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 Center* must have been in contact with other ethnic groups outside the Caquetá-Putumayo 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 (*tipití*, 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 fibers attached to their upper arms.’¹⁴ The traditional dance ritual *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 dance rituals from other ethnolinguistic groups from the region.

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

¹⁴ In Murui, the terms *zaferede* and *zafia* mean ‘to flower’.

‘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 Center* 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 Center* and groups beyond the Caquetá-Putumayo region. Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1867b: 537) mentions that the Tariana (North Arawak from Vaupés) were in contact with the some Boran groups; see also Aikhenvald (forthcoming). Furthermore, von Martius gives two wordlists of languages spoken in the area, Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya and Miranha-Oira-Açu-Tapuya. His Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya (1867a: 277) does share some similarities with other Witotan languages but the exact affiliation is yet unknown. The Miranha-Oirá-Açu-Tapuya wordlist (von Martius, 1867a: 279), seems to be a

Boran language.¹⁵ Steward (1948: 750 in Eriksen 2011, 194) mentions socio-cultural 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’.¹⁶ 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

¹⁵ Miranha-Carapana-Tapuya (MCT) wordlist (von Martius, 1867a: 277) also shares some similarities with Witotoan languages, e.g. MCT *amühi* ‘arbor (tree)’ resembles the forms *amena* in ‘Witoto’ varieties and *anona* in Ocaina for ‘tree’; *kui* ‘ego (I)’ in MCT is somewhat similar to *kue* in ‘Witoto’ and *ke* in Ocaina for 1st person singular. The Miranha-Oira-Açu-Tapuya (MOAT) (von Martius, 1867a: 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’). Moreover, there is also another wordlist given by von Martius which he calls ‘Oregones’. It contains some ‘Witoto’ words, including *itoma* for ‘sun’ (*jitoma* in Murui, cf. *nuuna* in Ocaina), *erigno* for ‘woman’ (*riño* in Murui, *ringo* in Minika, cf. *maami* in Ocaina), *huco* for ‘tiger’ (*jiko* in Murui, cf. *jonhxo* in Ocaina), *noki* for ‘rain’ (*noki* in Murui, cf. *ñoon* in Ocaina), and *onokui* for ‘hand’ (*onokai* and *onoyi* in Murui, cf. *oonoon* in Ocaina) (von Martius, 1867a: 297). 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 frequently been called ‘Orejon’.

¹⁶ It is important to note here that nowadays the Yurupari flutes are unknown among the Witotoan groups. To my knowledge, none of the existing ethnographies on ‘Witoto’ mention the use of sacred flutes, see e.g. Chávez, Young, Shanks, and Leach (1976). However, this does not mean that ‘Witoto’ shamans were not familiar with sacred flutes (Eriksen, 2011).

information about contact of the *People of the Center* 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 1900s, numerous indigenous groups lived in the upper Amazon region. The entire population of the *People of the Center* might have been as many as 46,000 (Fagua Rincón, 2015: 137; Whiffen, 1915) (see also Table 1.1).¹⁷ With the high demand for rubber, Amazonia turned into a forced labor camp. As the direct result of disease, forced labor, torture, murder, and displacements, by the end of the 1930s, the population of the *People of the Center* 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 Center* is about 10,200 people; see Table 1.1 on past and current estimates (Wojtylak, 2016d).¹⁸ For more on the *People of the Center* cultural area, see also (Echeverri, 1992, 2015a, 2015b; Gasché, 2009b, 2009c; Seifart, 2013; Seifart & Fagua Rincón, 2009; Seifart et al., 2009; Seifart & von Hildebrand, 2009).

¹⁷ Whiffen (1915: 59) adds: ‘(...) these figures must be taken as very approximate, and are probably overestimated in some cases (...)’.

¹⁸ See comparative data in Fagua Rincón (2015: 137) who gives 11,604 as an estimate of the population of the *People of the Center* and 4,634 as the current 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).

Table 1.1 Ethnic population and speakers of the *People of the Center*

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	Colombia
Arawak	Resígaro	1,000	37	2	Peru
isolate	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), hunting avoidance speech style (§1.3.8), song genres and festivals (§1.3.9), Murui signal drum communication (§1.3.10), and the practice 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’

These sections focus on Murui traditional way of life, based 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 Rangel, 1986, 1992; Urbina Rangel, Corredor de, López, & Román, 2000). Throughout the sections §1.3.2-1.3.9, I refer to Murui, Mika, Minika, and Nipode under one term, the ‘Witoto’ people, as culturally, they form a unified group, with similar customs and practices.

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 already mentioned in 1905 by Rocha (1905: 205); see also Petersen de Piñeros and Patiño Rosselli (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.¹⁹ 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

¹⁹ The current population of the Carijona people is less than 50, with possibly as many as 10 speakers on the Vaupés river (Robayo Romero, 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).

Carijona (see §1.3.9). In Carijona, the terms *witoto* and *karijona* both mean ‘human’.²⁰

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.). Over 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’),²¹ nowadays various ‘Witoto’ groups are appealing to the Colombian government to have their distinct identity recognized. The Murui people refuse to be called ‘Witoto’ (Lupinski & Wojtylak, 2017; OIMA, 2008).²² As the Murui elder, Lucio Agga Calderón, 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!’

²⁰ Lucia Carijona, a consultant of David Guerrero, 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 wordlist). 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.” See also Guerrero Beltrán (2016).

²¹ 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 Araracuara in 1990) (Echeverri, 1997: 49).

²² 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).

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’)²³ and ‘Children of Tobacco, Coca and Sweet Yuca’ (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 (1867a: 297), might have been one of the first to record ‘Witoto’ words. In his short wordlist of what he calls ‘Oregones’, he includes various lexical items that resemble a Witotoan language (possibly a dialect of ‘Witoto’). In his description from 1883, Crevaux (1883: 369) presents one of the first accounts of the existence of the ‘Witoto’ groups.²⁴ 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

²³ ‘Not only is the expression *riai* associated with the Carijona (Carib) but also, in the mythology, with 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).

²⁴ E. Minor and Minor (1980:69) state that the ‘Witoto’ people were mentioned in literature as early as 1695 but give no further reference.

‘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 Mika people sometime between 1913 and 1915.²⁵

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. 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 labor 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

²⁵ They were later excellently re-edited and translated into Spanish by Gabrielle Petersen de Piñeros (1994b, 1994c).

the Indians in exchange for the rubber they would collect. For the 'Witoto' people, 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 [2016], 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 of *Casa Arana* in 1913 and the eventual freedom of the Witoto. With this, the Rubber Boom came to an end. Meanwhile, Great Britain established new experimental rubber plantations in Asia (Malaya and Ceylon), and abandoned the exploits of the Amazon (Brockway, 1979).²⁶ For more on the tragic events during the 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 Center*. 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.²⁷ Regardless of how large the size of the ‘Witoto’ population was, the fact remains that by the end of the 1930s, their number had dramatically decreased to a few thousand, as a

²⁶ 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).

²⁷ 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. Tessmann (1930: 312) estimated the total size of the ‘Witoto’ population at approximately 20,000 at the beginning of the 20th century.

direct result of disease, forced labor, torture, deliberate murder, and displacement. Steward (1948) estimated that in the 1940s 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 1940s the ethnic population of the Murui, Mika, Minika and Nipode groups has increased, reaching nowadays about 6,000 people (see Table 1.1 in §1.2).

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).²⁸

1.3.3 *Social organization*

For the last two centuries, mainly due to 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

²⁸ Other ethnographic works concerning the *People of the Center* were published by Guyot (on Bora) (1969, 1972, 1975) and by Landaburu (on Andoke) (Landaburu & Echeverri, 1995; Landaburu & Pineda-Camacho, 1984).

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 Leguizamo, 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.

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 referred to as ‘*maloca*’).²⁹ 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 to 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’ (*jaieniki*) (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. *Jaieniki* consisted of people who had no relation of alliance with the masters and have come to live with them over the course of time. These could be for instance members from other disintegrated clans or

²⁹ There are two types of traditional communal roundhouses in the region: the rectangular longhouse and the conical roundhouse.

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, and riddles (Echeverri, 1997: 79).³⁰ 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 practice is still true today. For instance, nowadays, during important traditional dance rituals, 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

³⁰ 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).

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 also §1.3.4 on kinship terminology).

Traditionally, the division of labor 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 addition to being 'the wife, the mother, the cook, and the housekeeper', the woman was responsible for almost all agricultural labor. Typically, women cultivate yuca, cassava, and various types of fruit in so-called *iyi* (a jungle garden, called *chagra* in Spanish) (Briñez 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.³¹ 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, the '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

³¹ Whiffen (1915: 110) noted that the 'Witoto' and Ocaina groups 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.

(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 centers' 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 Center*, as well as to remote villages of other language groups.³²

1.3.4 *Marriage customs and kinship terminology*

Traditionally, the 'Witoto' were required to adhere to a number of rules when considering formal union of a couple. Wives joined from other affiliated clans by the rule of exogamy. When a man wedded a woman, the relatives of each of the spouses would become relatives of their descendants. This was the way of making diverse alliances among clans (Echeverri, 1997: 80). The 'Witoto' practiced polygamy, where the man would frequently marry his wife's sister (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 75).³³ 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 (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 80).³⁴ In order for a

³² The Murui elder Lucio Agga Calderón commented that it has been long forgotten where these paths were, and where they would lead to.

³³ The practice of polygamy disappeared long before 1975, as a result of efforts by missionaries present in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 75).

³⁴ E. 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.

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 had to present a sufficient reason for it (e.g. bad temper, disease, childlessness, negligence of the spouse) (Whiffen, 1915: 165).

Children always belonged to their father’s line, never to the mother’s. 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. 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 son’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 (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 81).

The terminology of the ‘Witoto’ kinship system, ranges over five genealogical levels. Relatives above generation G^{2+} and beneath G^{2-} (second ascending and descending

generations) are not differentiated, and become, therefore, non-traceable.³⁵ 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.

Interestingly, Witotoan languages share only a handful of kinship terms; even basic terms greatly differ from language to language (e.g. 'mother-in-law' in 'Witoto' is *jifaiño*, in Nonuya it is (possessor)-*jóvano*, in Ocaina *xoraahya*; in the terms for 'mother' in 'Witoto' is *ei/kei*, *juño* in Nonuya (also used in Mika), and *úúdsah* in Ocaina.³⁶

'Witoto' kinship terminology is relatively large, distinguishing between consanguineal and affinal ties. The majority of those terms form a special subclass of nouns, which includes a plural kin marker (see §5.1.4). Moreover, masculine terms have more

³⁵ The 'Witoto' kinship system might be classified as a variation of the Omaha kinship 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.

³⁶ This section is a modified version of Wojtylak (2012b).

vocative forms than their feminine counterparts; see also E. Minor and Minor (1980: 79). The Murui consanguineous and affinal relations are discussed in turn.³⁷

I. CONSANGUINEOUS RELATIONS – the second ascending generation (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 consanguineal nor affinal ties, but social ones). Generations above G^{2+} are not distinguished, and are 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, MMMB, MFMB, etc.)
uzuño ♂♀Kin G^{2+} 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

³⁷ 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 and - for descending), E spouse, C child, S^M male relatives, and S^F female relatives. The ‘etc.’ indicates that these terms apply to an infinite list of kin relationships.

(G¹⁺) consists of *moo* (occasionally *mooma*) ‘father’ and *ei* (or *eiño*) ‘mother’.³⁸ 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. These 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 verb *biya* meaning ‘coming’ and the masculine animate classifier (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*.³⁹ The terms *ii* ‘aunt (FZ, MZ)’ and *izo* ‘uncle (FB)’ cannot take animate classifiers *-ma* (CLF:DR.M) and *-ño* (CLF:DR.F).

- (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

³⁸ 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 *mookai* can be interpreted as ‘parents’ (*moo* is ‘father’) and it occasionally is used in Murui and Minika only during traditional dance rituals. Note however that the element *k-* in all Witotoan languages is related to 1st person singular marker, which suggest that *kei* might in fact have been an archaic form bearing the possessive prefix *k-*. The term *kei* would therefore mean ‘my mother’ (see §5.1 on possession).

³⁹ Traditionally, those terms were also used by Ego when a father would take his wife’s sister as his second wife (i.e. the bloodline would remain intact), but not when his second wife would come from outside Ego’s kin (E. Minor & Minor, 1980: 75). It is unclear if the ‘Witoto’ people practiced any types of levirate marriages.

great importance here. *Evuño* ‘sister’ is used by ♀Ego for all female relatives linked through her mother or father; *ïio* ‘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 his 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)
ïio ♀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 are *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.⁴⁰ 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 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*:

⁴⁰ The term *enaize* cannot occur with the ‘derivational’ masculine animate classifier *-ma* (**enaize-ma*).

- (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 male Ego only.

- (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.⁴¹

In G²⁻, *enaize* and *enaizeño* extend to cover all blood relatives of Ego, contrasting in just the sex of the kin that is referred to (female—male):

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

⁴¹ *Komoma* and *komoño* literally mean 'new (man)' and 'new (woman)', where *komo* 'new' is followed by a 'derivational' animte classifier. See also E. Minor and Minor (1980: 73).

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) for ‘my son’s son’ or *kue jiza uru-e jiza* (1sg daughter child-CLF:G daughter) for ‘my daughter’s daughter’).

II. AFFINAL RELATIONS – the affinal members of G^{2+} have the same terms as those of consanguineal relations, *uzuma* ‘grandfather’ and *uzuño* ‘grandmother’, as in (1.22) above.

For G^{1+} , 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)’.⁴² These affinal terms are used regardless of Ego’s sex.

- (1.32) *mookama* ♂♀ G^{1+} S^M (father’s and mother’s side: MZH, FZH)
eikaño ♂♀ G^{1+} S^F (father’s and mother’s side: FBW, MBW)

In G^0 , 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*.⁴³ All male spouses of ♂Ego’s female relatives are called *oima*; 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* ♂ G^0 (♂Ego’s wife)
ini ♀ G^0 (♀Ego’s husband)

- (1.34) *oiño* ♀Kin G^0 P⁺ S^F (BW, FBSW, FZSW, MZSW, MBSW)
oma ♀Kin G^0 P⁻ S^M (ZH, FBDH, FZDH, MZDH, MBDH)

⁴² Note that *mookama* contains the element *moo* ‘father’.

⁴³ Note that these terms cannot be followed by ‘derivational’ animate 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 are referred to differently, depending on Ego's sex. In G⁰, ♂Ego calls his wife's brother *oima*, and his wife's sister *ofaiño* (see (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 *jaieniño*⁴⁴; a husband of *oiño* is *rifema*.

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

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 Center* 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); Petersen de Piñeros (1994b, 1994c); 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

⁴⁴ The terms *jaieniño* and *jaienima* must be related to *jaieniki* 'orphans' (see §1.3.3).

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 1960s and 1980s, Bible translations have become widely available among the ‘Witoto’ people, see e.g. translations of *Genesis I* (B. Burtch, 1974) and the New Testament (B. Burtch, 2008). This section does not focus on the impact of Christianity on the ‘Witoto’ but rather, it broadly summarized what it is known about the traditional beliefs of the people.

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.⁴⁵ 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 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. In contrast, the ‘Bad Spirit’, *Taiife* (also called *Apuejana*), was always active. They must not be invoked because they were 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

⁴⁵ Referred to as *Usiyamoï* in Whiffen (1915: 220).

and children. Similarly to the taboo of addressing others by their names (§1.3.8), it was also forbidden to utter the true name of spirits or deities openly (Whiffen, 1915: 219-220).

In the belief of the 'Witoto', a man's soul was immortal and would exist for 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 roundhouse 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 'wise-man' (Spanish *sabedor*) 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). Even now, the healer's authority in the community is still considerable.

Even in the present day situation of 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 'Hole of Humanity' (Echeverri, 1997: 100) (see also §1.2). 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, and mixed with a certain type of salt) is still widely practiced by the Murui men (and some women). Coca (*jiibie*, known in Spanish as *mambe*) and tobacco (*diona*) are characteristic denotations of the 'Witoto' groups. According to Echeverri (1997: 121), tobacco is 'a symbol of a man's word and his discipline'. *Yera* cf. the bound noun root *ye-* and *raa*) means 'behavior' and 'thing' respectively.⁴⁶ The ritual of *mambe* (performed at a special place in the *maloca* known as *jiibibiri* 'coca courtyard') involves ingesting the green powder of processed coca with *yarumo* leafs, followed by the consumption of the *ambil*. Its consumption is recognized '(...) as a mediator that had first brought the people together with

⁴⁶ *Yetárafue* is understood as norms, relating to men's discipline and behavior (Echeverri & Candre, 2008: 288).

the jaguar' (Davis, 1996: 231).

Dance rituals (*rafue*) have always been central to the social structure of the 'Witoto' people. The traditional songs (*ruakĩ*) and sung narrations of the origin of lineages (*yoraĩ*) are pentatonic (based on a scale of five notes) (Wojtylak & Agga Arteagga, forthcoming) (see also §1.3.9 on 'Witoto' songs). Until the 1960s, traditional dance rituals used to take place often; nowadays, this is only a casual happening (Thiesen & Weber, 2012: 7). The dance rituals depended on the occasion, and used to be attended by neighboring clans (also non-Witoto groups). By nightfall, accompanied by the signal drum of the *manuagé*, hundreds used to gather to perform dances and sing songs to the rhythm of the beat of the *maguaré* (see §1.3.10 on signal drums).

With regards to adornment, some 'Witoto' groups traditionally covered their bodies with latex and then sprinkled them 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 neighboring tribes, body piercing was not typical among the 'Witoto'. 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 wet season (called simply 'rain'). The yearly cycle is tightly related to the

different phases of plant cultivation, as well as fishing and preparation of traditional dance rituals. According to the Murui, the cycle of the year has several dry seasons (each has a distinctive name) followed by periods of rain (AZICATCH, undated; Makuritofe & Castro, 2008):

A. DRY SEASON — dry season begins with *Tareko*, and is followed by *Jirada*; this is subsequently followed by a short period of rain that introduced the ‘real’ summer (Sp. *verano*), *Mona Gigia*, which is further followed by *Egirimona*. During the ‘summer’ *Tareko* period, one burns the remaining cultivated jungle gardens (Sp. *chagra*), 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, and prepares implements, 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. WET SEASON — wet season 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 seasons has certain characteristics. For instance, the cold rain period *Roziyimui* is described as the time of low temperatures, fog, wind, and dew, with no mosquitoes. Water levels are constant and rivers flow ‘slowly’. Animals are thought to ‘live in abstinence refraining from certain foods and activities’. According to AZICATCH (undated), the following periods constitute the ‘Witoto’ year cycle:

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 *igoí*
14. Summer period *jirada*
15. Summer period *tareko*
16. Rain period *uaiki*
17. Summer period *ukutoma* and *nekatoma* (related to the *ukuyi* and the green *umarí* fruit)
18. Rain period *nekaji*
19. Summer period *jaireimona*
20. Rain period *kineji*
21. Rain period *royizimui*

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.OVAL.SMALL) ‘green *umarí* fruit’; this is similar for *neka-ji* (green.umarí-CLF:SAP) ‘green *umarí* sap, liquid’ possibly associating the dry period of the green *umarí* fruit with water. The repeater *-toma* (for both *jítoma* ‘sun’ and the name of a famous ‘Witoto’ mythological hero *Jitoma*) derives names of a few periods (cf. *nekatoma* in (17) above for ‘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 shown in Figure 1.2 below.

It remains 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 (see §1.3.3 and §1.5), climate change adds to the shift in using 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.

Perhaps one of the most important taboos among the Murui was related to the process of reproduction. Pregnancy was regarded as a state in which the woman was 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 deformed in any way or with some striking abnormalities, or as twins, the mother would not allow her 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, but no game. The 'Witoto' food taboos were also associated with the cult of guardian spirits (imposed on, inherited, or chosen by a clan). 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. 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 also prohibited adultery, especially a woman who was in a state of taboo (Whiffen, 1915). The ‘Witoto’, 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 §1.3.5).

A man’s name, as much as his limbs, was identified with his soul. 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’. The ‘Witoto’ people had taboos for one’s name. When addressing one another, they used kinship terms (see §1.3.11 for details);⁴⁷ other terms included indirect forms such as nicknames (Echeverri, 1997: 124). Following Whiffen (1915, 153) ‘(...) if one of the

⁴⁷ 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’. I have never encountered those terms in the field. However, Whiffen further notes that 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. Cf. Thiesen and Weber (2012: 465-472) on Bora kinship terms.

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). The names of supernatural beings were taboo as well, and were never uttered in ordinary conversation. 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).

Similarly to other groups of the *People of the Center* cultural area, the ‘Witoto’ people practiced cannibalism. 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 ethnic group. Murui elders say that only certain Murui clans participated in anthropophagy. Cannibalism has not been practiced among the *People of the Center* area for about a century now (Seifart, 2005).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ According to Thiesen and Weber (2012: 3): ‘The Bora were alleged to be a warlike and cannibalistic people who often attacked neighboring 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.’

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 the Appendix), spears (*dukirada*), bows (*zikuira*), and arrows (*zikuirada*) appear in ‘Witoto’ legends, and only elders remember what they were like’ (D. 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 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 behavior. Others are based on mythical associations and appear to have ontological origins Echeverri (1997); Echeverri and Román-Jitdutjaaño (2013). Some examples are given in (1.36) below:

(1.36) BEHAVIORAL ASSOCIATIONS

ime (regular term for ‘agouti’) is substituted by the avoidance term *mizeyi* ‘maraca fruit’, given that the *maraca* fruit is favored by agouti rodents;

IMPRESSIONISTIC ASSOCIATIONS

janayari ‘jaguar’ is substituted by 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 by 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 by *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 a classifier-repeater of *ereño*.

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 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 the avoidance terms when interpreting dreams. See Wojtylak (2015a) for a detailed description of the Murui avoidance speech style.

1.3.9 Songs

In the past, dance rituals 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, see §1.3.10),
- *ruaki* (inauguration of a newly made *manguaré*),
- *ifonako* (dance to celebrate an end of a duel),
- *menizai* (dance of the *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, 2017) for details on Murui song genre.

Traditionally, a clan that would organize a festival and provide the cassava bread (called *airiji* in Murui, *taiñoji* in Minika) made from bitter manioc, the *jaigabi* drink (Sp. *cahuana*, a type of unfermented drink made of starch), fish, and fruit. The participants of the festivals would bring meat of e.g. tapir (*zuruma*, *jigadima*), monkey (*kuita*), peccary (*mero*), and sparrowhawk (*nuiki*), as well as live grubs, that would be exchanged upon arrival for cassava, cahuana, fish, and such.

All groups that belong to the *People of the Center* 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).

1.3.10 Murui drum communication

All the groups of the *People of the Center* share the practice of the *manguaré* instrument, a pair of hollowed-out wooden drums (see Figure 1.3 below). The *manguaré* was used for long distance communication, as well as during traditional dance rituals.

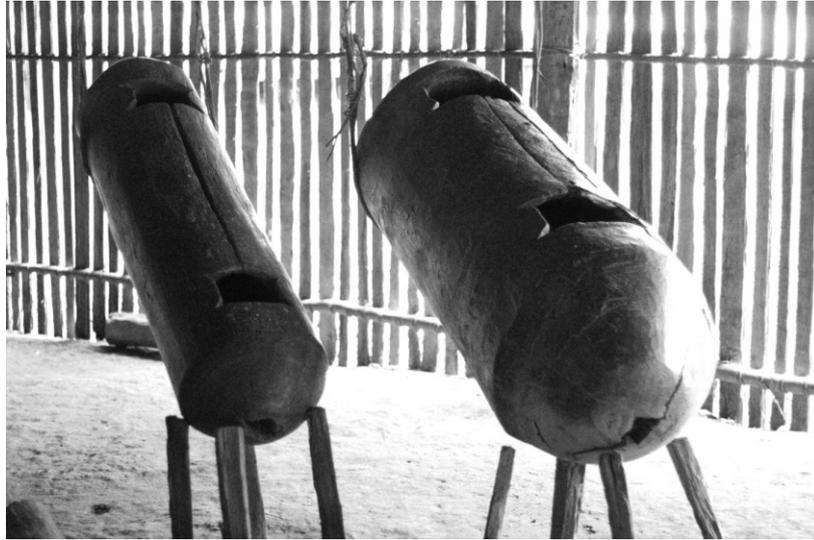


Figure 1.3 A pair of M̄ka wooden signal drums (San José, March 2016)

The small drum is considered to be male, and the big drum female. In the cosmology of the ‘Witoto’ people, the Father Creator possesses a *manguaré* instrument. Through songs and dance rituals, the instrument is also associated with words.

Traditionally, the Murui drums played an important role in social life. In addition to being the musical accompaniment during dance rituals, 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 dance ritual, 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 1920s and 1930s (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 Thiesen, 1969 #1655;Thiesen, 2006 #2325;Meyer, 2012 #1649;Seifart, 2018 #2795}. Murui drummed 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 Caquetá-Putumayo groups that spoke languages which had tones, and would use the pitch difference in humming (note that the *People of the Center* have been in contact for a long time and have shared traditional festivals together). For more details, see Wojtylak (forthcoming-b) on a description of Murui *manguaré*.

1.3.11 Naming

In the past, a child was named by the shaman and the members of the family eight days after they were 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 Murui people have official Spanish names. In addition, they also use numerous nicknames to refer to each other. Such nicknames are more preferred than official 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* ('grandfather') (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.⁴⁹ It involves reducing a number of syllables of a proper noun and their transposition. 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, mainly by Murui Elders. *Rafi* in (1.37) is an example of such an alternation:

(1.37) Fransiska > Fira > Rafi

1.4 Linguistic affiliation

Murui is a dialect or a linguistic variety of 'Witoto'. 'Witoto' belongs to the Witotoan language family, one of the small linguistic families in South America. Some scholars consider the Witotoan languages to be related to the neighboring 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

⁴⁹ This practice is different from secret name taboos given at birth, such as those among the Trio (Carib) in Suriname (Carlin, 2004), or taboos on the names of the dead among Panoan groups (Aikhenvald, 2012: 363; Fleck, 2013).

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 languages (Seifart & Echeverri, 2011). Currently, some 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, and Nonuya (see Diagram 1.2 below).

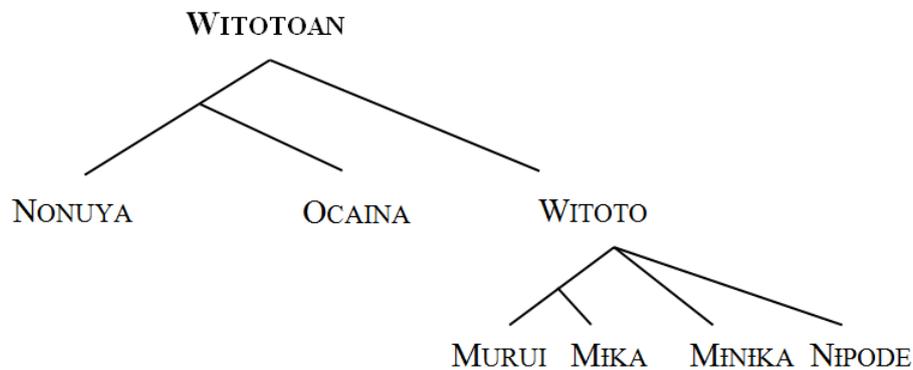


Diagram 1.2 The Witotoan language family

The label ‘Witoto’ is an abstract concept that encompasses four language varieties, Murui (also called Bue) [ISO639-3 huu], Mïka [no ISO code], Minïka [ISO639-3 hto], and Nïpode

[ISO639-3 hux].⁵⁰ All are mutually intelligible, but Murui and Mika share more similarities than Minika and Nipode.⁵¹ The names *nipode*, *minika*, *bue*, and *mika* are content words that refer to the expression ‘What is it?’. In the political sense, all varieties are considered by the ‘Witoto’ people to be separate languages.

Nonuya and Ocaina share many morphological structures as well as various lexical items, setting them apart from the dialects of ‘Witoto’. A brief analysis of cognate words suggests that Nonuya tends to ‘resemble’ more ‘Witoto’ forms, than Ocaina ones. These might be ‘archaic’ forms, suggestive of an older ‘Witoto’-Nonuya relation (Wojtylak, 2016d).⁵²

In the past, many languages were suggested to belong to the Witotoan (or the Bora-Witotoan) language family. These include, among others, †Aifue, Andoke (also spelled Andoque), †Andoquero, †Caimito, †Coeruna, †Fitia, †Goma, †Koihoma, †Nobenidze, Maijiki (known as ‘Orejón’), Resígaro, and †Tapuya (Kaufman, 1994; Loukotka, 1968; Mason, 1950; Ortiz, 1942; Tovar, 1961). It is extremely difficult to decide which languages

⁵⁰ 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 (1994a: 16) also mentions ‘Nivode’, ‘Binika’, ‘Mika doode’, ‘Mika reede’, ‘Mika reite’, and ‘Mika duaide’ dialects. In 2013, I encountered a small Binika community living close to La Chorrera, Amazonas, Colombia.

⁵¹ Petersen de Piñeros (1994a: 16) argues that the ‘Witoto’ languages could be ‘idiolects’. For S. A. Burch (1983), Minika and Mika 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 note 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.

⁵² They might also be a result of latter contact between the Nonuya and the Witoto, which would suggest an older Nonyta-Ocaina relation.

belong to the family, as many of them are nowadays extinct. Currently, while Andoke is considered to be a language isolate (Landaburu, 1976, 2000; Loukotka, 1968: 187), Maijiki, together with †Andoquero and †Koihoma, are classified as Tucanoan languages. Resígaro is a member of the Arawak family (David L Payne, 1985). A discussion of the ‘history’ of the Witotoan language family can be found in Echeverri (1992).

Many speculative classifications have been proposed for the genetic affiliation of the Witotoan languages in the past. Curiously, they range 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 consider the family as an independent linguistic group, sometimes including unrelated (and extinct) neighboring languages into the family, supported by works of, among others, Aikhenvald (2012); Loukotka (1968: 187); Tovar and Tovar (1984: 146); Wise (1999).⁵³

1.5 Sociolinguistic situation

According to the official records as of 2005, there are approximately 1,392,000 indigenous people (87 ethnic groups) that live in Colombia. This number represents less than 3% of the entire population of Colombia (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2007: 33). About one percent of these are indigenous groups living in the Amazon (Rojas Morales, 2007). The sociolinguistic situation of the languages spoken by the *People of the Center*, including Murui, in Colombia is quite different than those speakers who reside in Peru.⁵⁴

⁵³ Other works on genetic affiliation of Witotoan language can be found in Harrington (1944a).

⁵⁴ The sociolinguistic descriptions of the languages of the Caquetá-Putrumayo area can be found in Seifart (2002: 8-9) on Miraña, Thiesen and Weber (2012: 5-6) on Bora, Griffiths et al. (2001: 29-30) on Nipode.

The estimates of the entire ‘Witoto’ population vary from author to author. For instance, the Ethnologue classifies Murui 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). *M̄in̄ika* is considered to be a language spoken in Colombia by approximately 6,800 people (as of 2002); *N̄ipode* counts 1,130 speakers in Peru. There is no information on *M̄ika*. The official numbers of Ethnologue prove are not accurate. According to OIMA OIMA (2008: 42) as well as my fieldwork experience, there are approximately 2,800 Murui people living both in Colombia and Peru; and less than 2,000 know the language. The ethnic population of *M̄in̄ika*, partially based on AZICATCH (2008), can be estimated at about 2,400, with about 1,500 speakers. The population of the *M̄ika* people might be as high as 200 with less than 50 speakers. Echeverri, Petersen de Piñeros, Gasché, and Seifart (2009) note 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 *N̄ipode* 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 ‘Witoto’ people amounts to some 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.

Currently, the ‘Witoto’ groups are distributed mainly over three 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 ‘Witoto’ settlements are organized in the form of a *cabildo* (i.e. administrative local councils, see AZICATCH (2008); OIMA (2008: 42)). Only five *cabildos* have a population higher than

200 (among which are the Murui community, El Encanto, and the Minika settlement, La Chorrera, see §1.7.2). See the study of Andrade León (2014) on more details 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). 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 ‘Witoto’ as a language is recognized in the Colombian and Peruvian Constitutions.⁵⁵ According to the current law, in addition to its official recognition, ‘the Witoto language’ has also an official status in areas where it is predominantly spoken.⁵⁶ One might wonder, however, which one of the four ‘Witoto’ dialects is understood as ‘the Witoto language’ to be 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’.⁵⁷ In reality, it is Spanish that is preferred in educational contexts (Lewis et al., 2016). Although no official information is available about bilingual teaching programs used at indigenous schools, it is estimated that the great majority of those who speak ‘Witoto’ are literate in Spanish (95 percent are between 20 and 40 years old) but only about one percent of them can

⁵⁵ Article 7 of the Colombian Constitution (El Estado Colombiano, 1991) and Article 2 of the Peruvian Constitution (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

⁵⁶ Article 10 of the Colombian Constitution (El Estado Colombiano, 1991) and Article 48 of the Peruvian Constitution (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

⁵⁷ The Colombian Education Law 115 of 1994 (El Estado Colombiano, 1991) and the Law 28044 of July 29, 2003 in Peru (El Estado Peruano, 1993).

read and write in ‘Witoto’ (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 basic greetings and names for animals and artifacts.

The current sociolinguistic situation of the ‘Witoto’ is characterized by a 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. While in Colombia only a handful of ‘Witoto’ elders can still be considered to be monolingual (speakers with only some basic knowledge of Spanish), in Peru, all are 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 dance rituals that take place in the communal roundhouses.

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 Amazonian 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 parents (those who still have a good command of Murui), do not want to teach their children Murui. As a result, most of the young adults under 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 tongue 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 language anymore. In the last few decades, Spanish has become the language of everyday life.

A number of initiatives have been undertaken to restore the status of Murui and Minka in recent years. One such effort 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 (1867a: 297) (as mentioned in §1.2); followed by a wordlist from 1898 published together with some preliminary comments regarding the 'Witoto' grammar by an anonymous author (Anonymous, 1898). Although since that time, a fair number of wordlists have been compiled, the 'Witoto' grammar has been given limited attention.⁵⁸

The most extensive works on the phonology, morphology, and syntax of 'Witoto' are those done by an excellent Colombian linguist, Gabrielle Petersen de Piñeros. Perhaps the most known study is Petersen de Piñeros (1994a), which is a description of Minka, based on the texts gathered by the anthropologist Konrad Theodor Preuss at the beginning of the 20th century (1921, 1923). Petersen de Piñeros and Patiño Rosselli (2000) is a recent grammar sketch based on both Minka and Murui. For Nipode, Griffiths et al. (2001) is a limited

⁵⁸ For work done on other Witotoan languages (see Ocaina and Nonuya), e.g. Echeverri (2014); Fagua Rincón (2013); Romero Cruz (2015), and Wojtylak (2016d).

grammatical description of some 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.

The phonology of ‘Witoto’ was analyzed by several authors. E. Minor (1956) provides the first description of the sound system of Nipode. The sound system of Murui was briefly investigated by B. Burtch (1975a). For Minika, 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.

In addition to the aforementioned grammatical sketches, two morphosyntactic analyses of the clause structures of Murui and Mika were given in B. Burtch 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 Northwest Amazonian languages (which also include ‘Witoto’ classifiers) (Seifart, 2007; Seifart & Payne, 2007; Wojtylak, 2016a), as well as on Murui morphology and syntax (Wojtylak, 2014, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2018b, 2018c, forthcoming-a).

Since the first ‘Witoto’ wordlists, dated from the end of the 19th century (Anonymous, 1898: 297; von Martius, 1867a), more wordlists were compiled. The wordlist of Mika can be found in Preuss (1923). While Tessmann (1930: 311-329) offers two brief ‘Witoto’ wordlist of the clans Xura and Meresiene, in Koch-Grünberg (1910) we find a short wordlist collected by Hermann Schmidt (Schmidt, 1910). Additionally, a small comparative wordlist of all the ‘Witoto’ languages is offered in Loukotka (1968). Brief glossaries 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 Minika, three wordlist were collected by Nies (1976), N.

Pereira (1951), and E. Minor and Minor (1971b). For Murui, a sizable dictionary was published by S. A. Burtch (1983).

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 language course books. Based on *Minika*, E. Minor and Minor (1971a) published a first pedagogical grammar for second language learners (revised later by E. Minor and Minor in 1982). For Murui, Petersen de Piñeros in co-operation with a Murui speaker, Eudocio Becerra, 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 dissertation is an attempt to do so, not only to offer a solid basis for future generations of researchers studying the ‘Witoto’ language, but primarily for the Murui people and their descendants.

1.7 Basis for this study

Fieldwork methodology for this research focused 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 Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) (Dixon, 2010a, 2010b; Dixon, 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 in the Murui community of Tercera India (nine months in total) and among Murui speakers in the Minika community of La Chorrera (three months), Colombia (see §1.7.2). Based on the assembled material, a rich phonological and morphosyntactic database was created (over 700 pages of written text, analyzed and glossed, 1,200 pages of field notes, and approx. 20 hours of annotated recordings). The data, collected during two independent field periods (between 2013 and 2016), was assembled from recording narrative texts (that deal with the group’s everyday activities, mythology, past memories, etc.), spontaneous language production, and participant observation. Recordings were made on a high-quality Zoom H4n portable field recorders. The phonological data was transcribed and entered into Toolbox, a database generator which is especially designed for the construction of linguistic lexicons and morphosyntactic analyses.

This work was done primarily with eight main consultants: Lucio Agga Calderón (73 y.o. as of 2016, Murui Elder and Traditional Authority of the Tercera India community), Walter Anacletto Agga Arteagga (45 y.o., traditional healer of Tercera India), Alexis Agga Calderón (43 y.o., head of the *cabildo* Tercera India), Rubio Agga Calderón (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.), Elguer Jilberto Agga (33 y.o.), and Yudi Amparo Rombariyama Agga (24 y.o.). Additional consultants from the community were relied upon for verification: Aldo Agga Calderón (36 y.o.), Clementina Botyay de Agga (72 y.o.), Lucio Agga Botyay (25 y.o.), Luca Miguel Agga

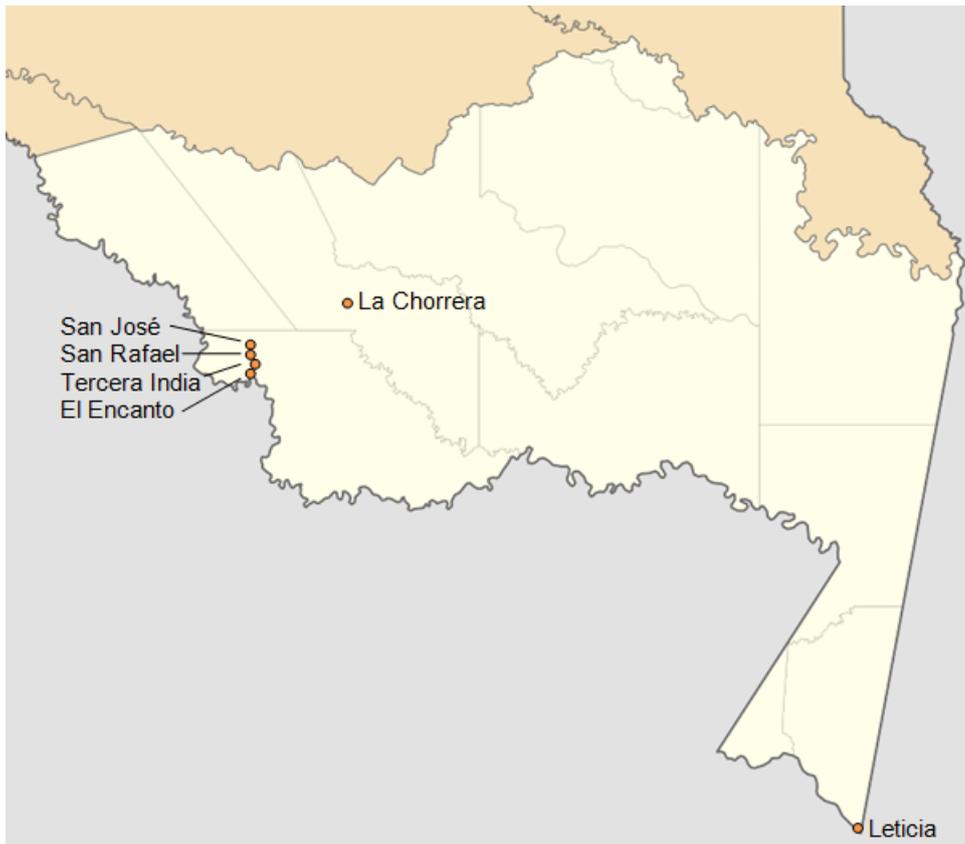
Arteagga (35 y.o.), Eulogio Agga Rojas (22 y.o.), Flor de Jesus Rojas Monayatofe (48 y.o.), Anastasia Agga Arte Agga (54 y.o.), Mesia Magalianes Ordoñez (53 y.o.), and Marcia Edilaine Hernandez (35 y.o.).

According to wishes of the community, a documentary film was made with the intention, as Lucio Agga Calderón put it, ‘(...) to show the world that the Murui people, exist’ (Lupinski & Wojtylak, 2017). The data gathered was eventually stored in the *Digital Archive of the Language and Culture Research Centre* (James Cook University, Australia).

1.7.2 Locations

Materials for this grammar were gathered in the village of Tercera India, Colombia.

Additional materials were also collected in the neighboring communities of the Cara-Paraná River in Colombia: El Encanto and San Jose, as well as among some Murui speakers in La Chorrera (Igara-Paraná River, Colombia) and Leticia (the capital of the Colombian Amazonas Department).



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

The village of Tercera India (coordinates $1^{\circ}44'51.6''\text{S}$ $73^{\circ}12'29.9''\text{W}$) is located about 80km to the south-west of La Chorrera (see Map 1.4), on the Cara-Paraná River, a tributary of the Putumayo River. It is located a few kilometres up from El Encanto, a town in the municipality of the same name in the Amazonas Department. The total population in the district is about 4,376 (as of 2005), spread out over an area of 12,686 km². El Encanto can be reached by air or by river, and has a small Colombian military base (established during the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict, 1932-1933). 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 and Francisca Agga Arteagga. Each of the families has

their own *maloca*. The elevation of the village is about 122m above sea level. The annual rainfall is similar to that of La Chorrera, with approximately 3,000 mm with temperature ranging between 25-26°C throughout the year.

La Chorrera (named after the Spanish word *chorros* for ‘big falls’) is a beautifully situated Minika settlement at the cascades of the Igara-Paraná River (a tributary of the Putumayo River). The village is located at coordinates 1°26′49″S 72°47′40″W in the municipality of the same name in the Amazonas Department. The total population of the La Chorrera municipality amounts to 3,704 people (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2010), with about 400 people in the village. In addition to the Murui, some Bora and Andoke inhabit this area as well. La Chorrera is reachable from Bogotá and Leticia by air and by boat (via the Putumayo and Igara-Paraná River). In the close proximity of the village, there is a small Colombian military base. The electricity in La Chorrera is supplied by a solar power plant and is available about five hours every day; the mobile coverage in the area is satisfactory. The distance from the Colombian capital Bogotá to the north is c. 700 km, and c. 430km from the department’s capital, the city of Leticia to the southeast. 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 ranges 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 1933. There is, however, evidence that Capuchins were present in the Putumayo and Caquetá area already in the 1890s (Davis, 1996; Echeverri, 1997). In the 1940s, the orphanage founded by Capuchin Father Estanislao de Les Cortes

became a boarding school, and it is now one of the oldest established boarding schools in this part of the Amazon Basin (Echeverri, 1997: 87).

The city of Leticia is located on the Amazon River. It is the southernmost city in Colombia and one of the major river ports on the Amazon River. Together with the Brazilian city of Tabatinga and the Peruvian community of Santa Rosa, Leticia form an urban area at the point where Colombia, Peru, and Brazil come together (so-called 'Leticia trapezium'). The port of Leticia was 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 in 1932-33 (Echeverri, undated; Woolsey, 1935). Today, Leticia, being the capital of Colombia's Amazonas Department, numbers about 46,000 inhabitants. A significant proportion of Leticia's population are indigenous groups who moved into the city for work (Steiman, 2002). The 'Witoto' of the *Kilometro 11* are one of many indigenous communities who today live close to the city of Leticia.

2 Phonology

Murui has a relatively small inventory of seventeen contrastive consonantal phonemes some of which have restricted phonotactics. The language also has three additional phones that are not contrastive and are the result of language-specific phonetic processes. Murui consonant inventory is similar to the two other linguistic varieties of the ‘Witoto’ – Mika and Minika.⁵⁹ Murui consonants and their distribution are discussed in §2.1.1. The vowel inventory of the language is based on a six vowel system that consists of, among other sounds, the high central vowel *i*. This trait seems to be typical for languages from this region of Northwest Amazonia, such as the Tucanoan languages (Aikhenvald, 2012: 109). 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 (see §2.2). A number of criteria for recognizing a phonological word and a phonological phrase are considered in §2.3. The main intonation patterns are falling, rising-falling, and rising. The intonation patterns and pitch are discussed in §2.4. The following section §2.5 focuses on phonological processes. This is followed by adaptation of loanwords in §2.6 and occurrence of unusual forms (onomatopoeic expressions, animal sounds, and interjections) in §2.7. Section §2.8 discusses Murui orthography. The last section §2.9 offers a brief discussion on nonverbal communication that includes deictic gestures.

⁵⁹ Nipode is somewhat different in that the language has the implosive sounds, [ɓ] and [ɗ], which are absent in other varieties of ‘Witoto’. Nipode and Minika have an additional velar nasal [ŋ], which is absent in Murui and Mika (Wojtylak, 2016d).

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.⁶⁰ 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 labio-labial, apico-dental, and dorso-velar stops ([*p]/[b], [t]/[d], [k]/[g]), with the voicing distinctions in all these series. The voiceless labio-labial [*p] is a marginally occurring sound that seems to have been lost from the language at an earlier stage. Murui fricatives consist of labio-dental, apico-dental, apico-alveolar, and glottal sounds ([f]/[β], [θ], [*s], [h]) with the voicing occurring only in the series of the labio-dental fricatives. The voiced labio-dental fricative [β] is a relatively rare occurring phoneme. The apico-alveolar fricative [*s] is not a native phoneme but nowadays it is commonly used by younger speakers of Murui. There are two affricates in the language: the voiceless and voiced lamino-palatals [tʃ] and [dʒ] (with [tʃ] being a less frequently occurring phoneme). Additionally, Murui differentiates between three nasals: a labio-labial [m], an apico-dental [n], and a lamino-palatal [ɲ]. There is only one rhotic liquid phoneme, a flap [ɾ].

There is a certain amount of asymmetry in the language: the marginal occurrence of the voiceless labio-labial stop *p* is being compensated for the frequently occurring voiceless

⁶⁰ Similarly, the syllable types of the Tucanoan languages spoken to the north are of the (C)V(V) form (Chacon, 2014: 279).

labio-dental fricative *f*. The phonological system of Murui consonantal (contrastive) phonemes is presented in Table 2.1.⁶¹

Table 2.1 Murui consonants

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

Marginally used phonemes are shown in parentheses
Spanish phonemes are indicated with an asterisk

It is worth mentioning at this point the existence of the following three approximants: the labio-labial [w], the lamino-palatal [y], and the dorso-velar [u]. They are not contrastive in the language as they are actual allophones, resulting from phonetic processes; they are therefore not included in Table 2.1.⁶² Nowadays, under the influence of Spanish, some innovative speakers have also adopted the apico-velar voiceless fricative [s] into the system (see further in 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 which illustrate the phonemic oppositions of Murui

⁶¹ This work follows the most widely used ‘Witoto’ orthography as presented in, among others, Petersen de Piñeros and Patiño Rosselli (2000), and Wojtylak (2012a) (see also §2.8).

⁶² The phoneme [w] has been incorporated into the orthographic system in the works of Petersen de Piñeros and Becerra (1997) and Petersen de Piñeros and Patiño Rosselli (2000). In the present work, the sound is written as [u], e.g. *kue* (1sg) ‘I’ (see §2.5.1). The phonemes [y] and [u] are written as [i] and [i̇] in all existing descriptions.

consonants. Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in Murui are shown in Table 2.2 at the end of this section.

A. STOPS – Murui has six stops, two labio-labial stops, voiced *b* and the marginally occurring *p*; two apico-dental stops, voiceless *t* and voiced *d*; and two dorso-velar stops, voiceless *k* and voiced *g*. With the exception of the phoneme *p*, there are no restrictions on the occurrence of the voiceless and voiced stops.

The voiced labio-labial stop *b* occurs in initial and medial positions in both nominal as well as in verbal roots, e.g. *bakita* ‘owl’, *kaburi* ‘tree type’, *dobeño* ‘basin (used for crushing unprocessed yuca)’, *bi(te)* ‘come’, *baai(de)* ‘die’, and *abaiki(te)* ‘spy’. It is also found in nominal and verbal affixes, such as the classifier *-bi* (CLF:THICK.LIQUID), and the verbal markers *-aibi* (ventive) and *-kabi* (habitual).

The voiceless apico-dental stop *t* is found in both nominal and verbal roots in initial and medial positions, e.g. *taife* ‘bad spirit’, *etoño* ‘piculet bird’, *jítoma* ‘sun’, *tai(te)* ‘break’, *feto(de)* ‘choose’. It can occur in any position in affixes, e.g. *-ta* (causative), *-tata* (double causative), *-ti* (an allomorph of the predicate marker *-di*), and *-tai* (a marker on adjectives meaning ‘become’).

The voiced apico-alveolar stop *d* occurs in initial positions in all kinds of roots, e.g. *dori-* ‘shoot’, *doi-* ‘jump’, *dio-na* (tobacco-CLF:TREE) ‘tobacco tree’, *gido-ni* (cricket-CLF:DR.GR) ‘cricket clan’; it is also found in affixes, such as *-do* (CLF:POINTED and an instrumental marker), *-da* (sequential completive), and *=di* (topical S/A subject marker).

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

such as the classifier *-ko* (CLF:COVER, CLF:SPHERICAL), and the verbal markers *-ka* (an allomorph of the passive *-ga*), *-kabi* (habitual), and *-kai* (rapid action, inceptive).

The voiced dorso-velar stop *g* is found in verbal and nominal roots in word-initial and medial positions, e.g. *guami* ‘monkey type’, *egiaño* ‘snake type’, *gui-ra-gi* (eat-CLF:NEUT-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER) ‘stomach (lit. oval-shaped eating thing)’, *gare(de)* ‘cut (hair)’, *gi~gi-d-e* (clean~RED-LK-3) ‘cleaning (and cleaning)’. In affixes, it is found in the initial position only, e.g. the classifier *-gai* (CLF:STRING) and *-ga* (an allomorph of the passive marker *-ka*).

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 open	[duui.de]	<i>duuide</i>	hold
k - g	[ki.dɔ]	<i>kido</i>	fruit type	[gi.dɔ.nɪ]	<i>Gidoni</i>	<i>Gidoni</i> clan
	[kɔ.da.de]	<i>kodade</i>	smoke	[gɔ.nɔ.nɔ.kai]	<i>gononokai</i>	sugarcane cob
	[ɸii.de]	<i>fiiide</i>	lie down	[ni.ga]	<i>niga</i>	(is) woven

The language has a handful of forms containing the voiceless labio-labial stop *p*. This is an extremely rare phoneme, encountered only in a few verbal roots, one suffix, and a number of loanwords: *pu(te)* ‘hit’, *pe(te)* ‘kick’, *uichupi(de)* ‘become grey-haired’, *jo-fo-chupi* (house-CLF:CAV-CLF:SMALL.HOUSE) ‘small house’, as well as *pataro* ‘trousers’ (from Spanish *pantalón*) and *epejo* ‘mirror’ (Sp. *espejo*).⁶³ Similarly to Murui, in Mika and Minika, 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 loanwords from Spanish (as still spoken by Murui

⁶³ All of these could be in fact borrowings from other languages. For instance, the verbal root *pu-* might be a loan from Spanish *puño* ‘punch’. The form *-chupi* is restricted to two words only (*jofochupi* ‘small house’ and *uichupi(de)* ‘become grey-haired’).

elders), the sound *p* is commonly changed to the voiced labio-labial stop *b* rather than *p*, e.g. *kobeda* ‘gun’ (Sp. *escopeta*) (see §2.6 on adaptation of loanwords). It has to be mentioned at this point, however, that in Nipode, whose consonantal inventory is different from Murui, Mīka, and Mīnika, *p* is not limited and is a commonly occurring phoneme. The voiceless labio-labial stop in Nipode regularly corresponds to the voiceless labio-dental fricative *f* in other varieties of ‘Witoto’, e.g. *jopo* ‘house’ in Nipode is pronounced as *jofo* in Murui, Mīka, and Mīnika.⁶⁴ For this reason, it is reasonable to argue for the voiceless labio-labial stop *p* as perhaps being an archaic form in Murui, Mīka, and Mīnika, rather than a borrowed phoneme.

B. FRICATIVES – Murui distinguishes between four fricatives, of which three are voiceless: labio-dental fricative *f* (realized as [ϕ]), apico-dental fricative *z* (realized as [θ]), or a picopalveolar [s] in the speech of young speakers, under the influence of Spanish), and the glottal fricative *j* (realized as [h]). The labio-dental fricative *v* [β] is the only voiced fricative; its occurrence is slightly limited.⁶⁵

The occurrence of the voiced labio-dental fricative *v* in the word-initial position is restricted and limited to three verbs: *vatarago* ‘bird type (Sp. *guacharaca*)’, *virudo(te)*, and

⁶⁴ Aschmann (1993) lists the phoneme *p* as archaic sound in Murui. In his dictionary of Murui, Burtch (1983) makes no entry for the letter *p*. The phoneme *p* is also not listed in Mīka texts collected by Preuss (1921, 1923) and recompleted later by Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994b, 1994c). The collection of Mīnika texts (Echeverri & Candre, 2008), does not include words that would contain *p*. The Nipode variety (Griffiths et al., 2001) has the most ‘divergent’ phonological inventory, with the phoneme *p* being *f* in other ‘Witoto’ varieties. This is illustrated by the following examples from Nipode: *nopi-ko* (stone-CLF:SPHERICAL) ‘stone’ and *kaima-pue* (happy-CLF:STORY) ‘happiness’ (cf. *nofiko* and *kaimafue* in Murui). In other Witotoan languages, while *p* does occur in Ocaina, it remains a marginally occurring phoneme in Nonuya.

⁶⁵ Some innovative speakers of Murui occasionally replace *v* → *f* in word initial positions.

viriri(de) ‘move’⁶⁶, and *viu(de)* ‘roll something up with a string’. In the word medial position, its occurrence is rare, e.g. *evu-ño* (sister-CLF:DR.F) ‘sister (for female ego)’ and *efuai* ‘leprosy’. With affixes, it occurs morpheme-initially on classifiers (e.g. the classifier *-vui* ‘day’, as in *navui* ‘evening’) and verbal markers (e.g. the remote habitual *-vui*). The voiceless labio-dental fricative *f* occurs in all possible positions within a word, e.g. *feei(te)* ‘forget’, *faifi(de)* ‘lose’, *faijifaiji makari(te)* ‘hopscotch (lit. keep walking by hopping)’, *fena-fe* (bark-CLF:SIDE) ‘side of tree bark’, *feei-fe* (below-CLF:SIDE) ‘there below, south’, *fuiiri-fe* (downstream-CLF:SIDE) ‘the downstream side’, *foo-fe-mo* (inside-CLF:SIDE-LOC) ‘less than (lit. on the inside)’, *jiñora-fo* (green.clay-CLF:CAV) ‘type of ceramics’, and *jifano-ra-kuai* (play.SMLF-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* (sister-CLF:DR.F) ‘sister (for female ego)’ and *aa-fe* (above-CLF:SIDE) ‘above’.

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* ‘woolly monkey’, *jiibi-e* (coca-CLF:G) ‘coca’, *jofo* ‘house’, *jide(de)* ‘paint’, *maiiji(de)* ‘work’, *ji~ji-kai(de)* ‘interrupt’, *ji(te)* ‘plant (yuca)’, *da-je* (alone-CLF:G) ‘alone, one’, *i-ji* (ANA.NSP-CLF:WATERY) ‘juice’, and *jai-* (an allomorph of the andative *-ai*).

The voiceless apico-dental fricative *z* occurs in both nominal and verbal roots as well as affixes. It is found either word-initially or medially in nominal and verbal roots, e.g. *zaada* ‘bird type’, *ziki* ‘corner’, *zeda* ‘long trap’, *izi-na* (dart.tree-CLF:TREE) ‘a dart tree’, *zori(de)* ‘have smell’, *kazi(de)* ‘wake up’, and *zi(de)* ‘escape (animals from a trap)’, as well as in

⁶⁶ The verbal roots *vir-* and *viru-* might be related. Note also that there is a Spanish form *virar* meaning ‘turn, rotate’.

affixes, such as *-ze* (similative), *-za* (classifier for ‘immature beings’), *-iza* (apprehensive), and *-zai* (an allomorph of the ventive marker *-ai*). Currently, there is a loan phoneme, the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative [s] which rapidly penetrates the Murui language under the influence of Spanish. Younger speakers of Murui frequently exchange the voiceless apico-dental fricative with what is ‘perceived’ as its Spanish equivalent: the phoneme [s], as in *gui-sa!* (eat-APPR) ‘be careful with eating (it)!’ and *raise* (well.SIMIL) ‘well’ instead of *guiza* and *raize*, 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>	bran
f - b	[ɛ.ɸa]	<i>efa</i>	parrot	[ɛ.bɛ]	<i>ebe</i>	oh! wow!
	[ɸuu.ɛ]	<i>fuue</i>	mouth, banks	[bu.ɛ]	<i>bue</i>	what
v - b	[ɸi.tɛ]	<i>fite</i>	blow	[bi.dʒa]	<i>biya</i>	arrival
	[i.βa.na]	<i>ivana</i>	snake type	[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 limited number of nominal and verbal roots where it is found in initial positions only, e.g. *cheme* ‘brain’ and *cherako* ‘(dental) caries’, *chuuno(te)* ‘harm (by sorcery)’, *churu(de)* ‘drop’. It has been attested in just one nominal marker, the classifier *-chupi*, as in *jo-fo-chupi* (house-CLF:CAV-CLF:SMALL.HOUSE),

and as a part of the verbal root *uichupi-* ‘become gray-haired’.⁶⁷ The voiceless lamino-palatal sound *ch* occurs in onomatopoeic-like expression *chiii* which is a general sound of a young bird crying for its mother (see §2.7.2) and in the mythical story of the *jimenaki* possum. It is used to ‘imitate’ its speech (according to the narration, the *jimenaki* did not speak ‘properly’). A number of such ‘mispronunciations’ is given in (2.1):⁶⁸

(2.1)	MURUI	POSSUM’S SPEECH			
	<i>aa-ma</i>	> <i>chaa-ma</i>	for	‘brother’	(brother-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-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’, *yiriyu(de)* ‘crumple’, *mokoyai* ‘mosquito type’, and *mai-yoki* ‘island’. In affixes, it occurs solely in initial positions, e.g. *-yi* ‘CLF:CLUSTER’, and *-ya* (an allomorph of the event nominalizer *-a*).

y - ch	[dʒɛ.rɛ.da]	<i>yereda</i>	tree type	[tʃɛ.mɛ.ki]	<i>chemeki</i>	brain
	[dʒɔ.tɛ]	<i>yote</i>	tell	[tʃɔ.tɛ]	<i>chote</i>	tell (possum’s speech)

⁶⁷ Whether the verbal root *uichupi-* ‘become grey-haired’ is related to *-chupi* for ‘small house’ is unclear. Synchronically, *uichupi-* is a lexical root. On nouns, the classifier *-chupi* is limited to *jofo* ‘house’ only (as in *jofochupi* for ‘small house’) and cannot be used in any other context. The verbal root *uichupi-* is not considered a ‘real Murui word’ by the speakers, but a playful way of referring to an older person.

⁶⁸ Other examples of such deviant speech styles where this phenomenon occurs can be found among the Takelma where certain words in the speech of grizzly bears are prefixed by voiceless lateral fricatives (Hymes, 1979).

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

There are no restrictions on the usage of the labio-labial nasal *m* and the apico-dental nasal *n* within roots, e.g. *mabi* ‘lizard type’, *macuri-na* ‘medicinal tree type (Sp. *palo de azucar*)’, *mei-kino* (ashamed-CLF:NEWS) ‘shame’, *mame-ki* (name-CLF:CLUSTER) ‘name’, *nemo-na* (umarí-CLF:TREE) ‘umarí tree’, *mena(de)* ‘be two (of something)’, *mena-mie* (two-CLF:PR.M) ‘two (men)’, *mame(de)* ‘name’; *noki* ‘rain’, *nofi* ‘tree squirrel’, *nuiki* ‘sparrowhawk’, *ananeko* ‘traditional roundhouse (Sp. *maloca*)’, *nonodoma* ‘worm/fish type’, *naidai(de)* ‘stand up’, *ni(te)* ‘weave’, *kano(de)* ‘help’. In affixes they occur in initial positions, e.g. *-ma* (‘derivational’ animate classifier for masculine referents), *-mo* (locative), *-maki* (3rd person pronominal subject marker); *-na* (non-topical S/A marker and CLF:TREE), *-ni* (CLF:DR.GR), *-no* (CLF:SP.PLACE), *-ni* (negative attributive), and *-mona* (ablative).

The lamino-palatal nasal *ñ* occurs in word-initial positions of nominal and verbal roots (e.g. *ñeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira palm tree’, *ñuiñogi* ‘rat type’, *ñai(te)* ‘talk’, *ñe(te)* ‘do’, *ñuiro(de)* ‘pack’, *ñee~ñe-d-e* (do~RED-LK-3) ‘doing (and doing)’, *ñe~ñe-d-e* (do~NEG-LK-3) ‘(he) didn’t do (it)’). It occurs in both the word-initial and word-final positions in affixes, such as in the ‘derivational’ and ‘pronominal’ classifiers, e.g. *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’ and *bi-ñaiño* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.F) ‘this (female)’. At the boundary of roots, /n/ becomes /ñ/ following /i/ (see §2.5.2), e.g. *-ñiai* (an allomorph of the collective *-iaï*), and *-ño* (which is an allomorph of the imperative and the semelfactive *-no*).

n - ñ	[nai.te]	<i>naite</i>	suck sugar cane	[nai.te]	<i>ñaite</i>	speak
	[ne.ka.θi]	<i>nekaz̩</i>	umarí fruit	[ne.k̩.r̩]	<i>ñekiro</i>	chambira fiber
	[hi.n̩]	<i>jino</i>	outside	[jaai.ɲe.n̩]	<i>jaaiñeno!</i>	don’t go!
	[ne.te]	<i>nete</i>	hang	[ne.te]	<i>ñete</i>	do
	[nui.ki]	<i>nuiki</i>	bird type	[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>	end point	[nui.ki]	<i>nuiki</i>	bird type
m - ñ	[mɛ.te]	<i>mete</i>	lick	[ɲɛ.te]	<i>ñete</i>	do
	[mo.to]	<i>moto</i>	middle	[ɲɔ.ta.kai]	<i>ñotakai</i>	tree type

E. FLAP – Murui has a frequently occurring flap *r* (realized as [ɾ]) which can occur primarily in initial positions in all nominal and verbal of roots, e.g. *reizaki* ‘brush’, *raitie* ‘grass’, *reigai* ‘firewood’, *ria-ño* (non.witoto-CLF:DR.F) ‘non-Witoto (female)’⁶⁹, *rii(de)* ‘arrive’, *ri(te)* ‘plant’, *ro(te)* ‘sing’ (cf. *roo~ro-(d-e)* (sing~RED-LK-3) ‘singing (and singing)’), *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’. The flap can also occur root-medially, e.g. *ra-roki* (thing-CLF:BUSH) ‘bush’, and *ñuiro(de)* ‘pack’. It can also occur in the initial position of an affix, e.g. *-re* (attributive marker), *-ri* (durative), *-birí* (CLF:SITE), *-ra* (CLF:THING), and *-rui* (CLF:DAY).

n - r	[ɾɔ.nɔ]	<i>rono!</i>	sing!	[nɔ.gɔ]	<i>nogo</i>	pot
	[ɾi.te]	<i>rite</i>	eat meat	[ni.nɛ]	<i>ñine</i>	where
	[ɾɔ.θi.dʒi]	<i>roziyi</i>	pineapple	[nɔ.φi.kɔ]	<i>Nofiko</i>	La Chorrera
	[ni.na]	<i>nina</i>	which 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:

⁶⁹ In fact, the form *riaño* ‘non-Witoto (female)’ (as well as *riama* ‘non-Witoto (male)’, and *riai* ‘non-Witotos’) are nominalizations (cf. the verbal root *ri-* ‘eat meat’). It is frequently translated as ‘enemy’ (especially in the context of the Carijona people, the traditional neighbors of the ‘Witoto’ people who were considered to be cannibal ‘meat-eaters’, see §1.2). Nowadays these terms also extend to refer to Colombians and foreigners.

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	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
(p)	-	(+)	-	(+)	-	-	(+)	(+)	-	-
b	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
d	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
g	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
f	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
z	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	+	-	-	+	-
*s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
j	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
v	limited	limited	(+)	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-
ch	limited	limited	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-
y	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	+	-
ñ	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	-	(+)	-	-
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	-	-

Marginally used phonemes are shown in parentheses; Spanish phonemes are indicated with an asterisk

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

2.1.2 Vowels

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

Table 2.3 Murui vowels

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
HIGH	i [i]	ii [i:]	ɨ [ɨ]	ɨɨ [ɨ:]	u [u]	uu [u:]
OPEN-MID	e [e]	ee [e:]			o [ɔ]	oo [ɔ:]
LOW			a [a]	aa [a:]		

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*. Only the high back vowel *u* and the mid-

open *o* are rounded, the rest are 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 (see also §2.2).

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 is that they trigger the predicate linker *-di* (rather than *-ti*), *rii(de)* ‘arrive’, cf. *e.bi(te)* ‘come’. Such long vowels could be considered to be two copies of the same vowel in succession. The current Murui orthography (see §2.8) follows the convention 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* ‘trunk of the *ibina* tree’, *jiza* ‘daughter’, *i-ya-no* (EXIST-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘place of living, existence’, *bi(te)* ‘come’, *faĩfi(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 the form of a tree’, *i-da* (ANA.NSP-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT) ‘long and straight objects (e.g. crutches)’. The high front short vowel *i* occurs also frequently in various types of verbal affixes, such as *-i* (future tense, emphatic), *-ia* (conditional), *-ni* (negative attributive), *-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)* ‘give birth’. It can also occur in functional words, such as *diga* ‘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’ and *=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* (money-CLF:LEAF) ‘money’, *uku-du* (star-CLF:HILL) ‘star’, *yunu(de)* ‘make an object by hand (e.g. a basket)’, *du(te)* ‘chew coca’, *-ru* (CLF:OVAL), *-yu* (CLF:BAG), and *-buku* (CLF:LONG.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’, *ne(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)* ‘get’, *moto* ‘center’. It also occurs in affixes and clitics, e.g. *-mo* (locative), *-no* (CLF:SP.PLACE), *-bero* (CLF:DOUGH), *-foro* (CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED), *-ño* (CLF:DR.F), *-kino* (CLF:NEWS), *-no* (semelfactive), *-o* (2nd person singular pronominal subject marker), and *-omiko* (2nd person plural pronominal subject marker).

The low central vowel *a* can be found word-initially, medially-, and finally-, e.g. *jaka* ‘always, never’, *kaka(de)* ‘hear, understand, warm coca vessel’, *-ka* (passive), *-na* (topical non-S/A subject marker, ablative, CLF:TREE), *=ta* (reported evidential), *-ma* (CLF:DR.M), *-da* (CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT), and *-nita* (CLF:ELONGATED).

B. LONG VOWELS – all Murui long vowels are limited to word-initial syllables only. All monosyllabic free roots always contain long vowels, e.g. *raa* ‘thing’, *moo* ‘father’, *oo* ‘you’, and *aa* ‘above’ (see also section §2.2 on syllable structure). Vowel lengthening occurs in reduplicated verbal roots (in first syllable only, as in *roo~ro-d-e* (sing~RED-LK-3) ‘singing (and singing)’; see §2.5.1 and §7.2.2.3), as well as it is used to express future tense, e.g. *ri-t-e* (plant-LK-3) ‘plant’ vs. *riit-e* (plant.FUT.LK-3) ‘will plant’ (see §2.5.1). Long vowels can also be used for emphasis, e.g. *kuue jaa riiti-kue* (1sg.EMPH now arrive.FUT.LK-1sg) ‘It’s me who will arrive now!’.⁷⁰

The vowel *ii* is the long counterpart of the short high central vowel *i*. It occurs in word-initial syllables 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 positions 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 syllables 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 open-mid back vowel *oo* is used in word-initial syllables, e.g. *boo(de)* ‘burn’ and *ooño* ‘frog type’. This is similar to the long low front vowel *aa*, as in *aama* ‘brother (ego masculine)’, *naa-ma* (owner-CLF:DR.M) ‘owner’, *aa-na* (above-ABL) ‘from above’.

The phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of short and long vowels in

⁷⁰ The difference between the readings of *rii(te)* ‘will plant’ (cf. *ri(te)* ‘plant (non-future tense)’) and *rii(te)* ‘will arrive’ (cf. *riide* ‘arrive (non-future tense)’) is contextual.

nominal/verbal roots, affixes and clitics according to their position in the word are given in

Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4 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>	weave	[nĩ.ga]	<i>nĩga</i>	how much?
	[bi.dʒa]	<i>biya</i>	arrival	[bĩ.gĩ]	<i>bĩgi</i>	sword (weapon)
i - u	[dʒi.tɛ]	<i>yite</i>	eat fruit	[dʒu.nu.dɛ]	<i>yunude</i>	contain (something)
	[ni.tɛ]	<i>nite</i>	weave	[nu.ku.ɔ]	<i>nukuo</i>	vine type
i - e	[i.bɛ]	<i>ibe</i>	leaf	[ɛ.bɛ]	<i>ebe</i>	interjection
	[ni.tɛ]	<i>nite</i>	weave	[nɛ.tɛ]	<i>nete</i>	hang
i - o	[ni.tɛ]	<i>nite</i>	weave	[no.gɔ]	<i>nogo</i>	crock pot
	[dʒi.tɛ]	<i>yite</i>	eat fruit	[dʒɔ.tɛ]	<i>yote</i>	tell
i - a	[i.na]	<i>ina</i>	tree	[a.na]	<i>ana</i>	below
i - u	[dĩ.ga]	<i>dĩga</i>	with	[du.tɛ]	<i>dute</i>	chew coca
i - e	[bĩ.gĩ]	<i>bĩgi</i>	sword (weapon)	[bɛ.nɔ]	<i>beno</i>	here
	[dĩ.ga]	<i>dĩga</i>	with	[dɛ.tɛ]	<i>dete</i>	cut open
i - o	[rĩ.ɲɔ]	<i>rĩño</i>	woman	[rɔ.tɛ]	<i>rote</i>	sing
	[hĩ.ka.dɛ]	<i>jikade</i>	request	[hɔ.kɔ.dɛ]	<i>jokode</i>	wash

i - a	[di.nɛ]	<i>dine</i>	(over) there	[da.ma]	<i>dama</i>	alone (male)
	[ɸi.nɔ.dɛ]	<i>fɪnode</i>	make	[ɸa.kai]	<i>fakai</i>	time
u - e	[du.tɛ]	<i>dute</i>	chew coca	[dɛ.tɛ]	<i>dete</i>	cut open
	[ho.rai]	<i>jorai</i>	lagoon	[hɛ.nɔ.dɛ]	<i>jenode</i>	search
u - ɔ	[u.rui.aɪ]	<i>uruiat</i>	children	[ɔ.rui.dɛ]	<i>oruide</i>	be full
	[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 fiber
e - a	[a.mɛ.na]	<i>amena</i>	wood, tree-like	[a.ma.na]	<i>amana</i>	dolphin

B) VOCALIC OPPOSITIONS OF LONG VOWELS:

ii - ɪi	[i:.tɛ]	<i>iite</i>	will exist, give	[ɪ:.dɛ]	<i>ɪide</i>	swim
	[ɸi:.dɛ]	<i>fɪide</i>	burst	[ɸɪ:.dɛ]	<i>fɪide</i>	rob, steal
ii - ee	[ɸi:.dɛ]	<i>fɪide</i>	burst	[ɸɛ:.dɛ]	<i>feede</i>	fly
ɪi - ee	[dʒɪ:.nɔ.tɛ]	<i>yɪnote</i>	pick up	[dʒɛ:.dɔ]	<i>yeedo</i>	bird type
	[hi:]	<i>jɪi</i>	yes	[hɛɛ]	<i>jee</i>	interjection
ɪi - aa	[hi:]	<i>jɪi</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>	lay	[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 - ɪi	[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 - ɪi	[ri.jɔ]	<i>rɪño</i>	woman	[ri:.jɔ]	<i>rɪño</i>	toad type
	[hi.tɛ]	<i>jite</i>	plant yuca	[hi:.dɛ]	<i>jɪide</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 yuca
e - ee	[ɸɛ.tɛ]	<i>fete</i>	poison water	[ɸɛ:.dɛ]	<i>feede</i>	fly
	[ɛ.kɪ]	<i>ekɪ</i>	angle	[ɛ:kɪ]	<i>ekɪ</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 the) 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. Section §2.1.3.3 discusses the *k-w-V(V)* and *g-w-V(V)* 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, see §2.5). Vowel sequences may involve long vowels. Table 2.5 illustrates Murui sequences followed by phonetic transcription in slow and normal/rapid speech.

Table 2.5 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>iarede</i> ‘short’	[i.a.rɛ.dɛ]	[i.ya.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.SMLF-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). They are predominantly of the falling (or descending) type that start with a vowel quality of higher prominence and end in a vowel with less prominence (see §2.1.3.3). The first element of the diphthong consists of short vowels *a*, *e*, *u* followed by *i* or *ɨ*. There are five diphthongs in Murui. They consist of:

- short vowels *a*, *e*, *u* followed by *i*:
 - *ai* as in *airijɨ* ‘cassava’, *abaiki* ‘totem’, *zai(te)* ‘dance’
 - *ei* as in *tei(de)* ‘cough’, *rei(te)* ‘say’
 - *ui* as in *nemui(de)* ‘defecate’, *fɨvui* ‘moon’

- short vowel *a*, *o* followed by *ɨ*:
 - *aɨ* as in *fai(te)* ‘throw away’
 - *oɨ* as in *omoi* ‘you (2pl)’

The second vowel is always the high vowel, either the front *i* or the central *ɨ* which fit into a division of vowels in Murui, that is, front vowels vs. everything else. Such diphthongs are treated as on par with short vowels. In addition to ‘true diphthongs’, Murui also has underlying vowel sequences which are phonetic diphthongs.⁷¹ In the present analysis, forms of Murui roots consist either of a short vowel or a long vowel. What Petersen de Piñeros and Patiño Rosselli (2000) considers ‘trimoraic diphthongs’, are here treated as vowel sequences (that are the result of two different vowels in succession). We distinguish, therefore:

⁷¹ In this work I adopt an alternative analysis of Murui diphthongs to the previous one, based on an odd/even moraic principle (Petersen de Piñeros, 1994a; Petersen de Piñeros & Becerra, 1997) that correlates with monomoraic, dimoraic, and trimoraic diphthongs.

- short vowel and diphthongs: *ri(te)* [ri.te] ‘eat meat’, *gui(te)* [gui.te] ‘eat’
- long vowel: *rii(de)* [ri:.de] ‘arrive’
- phonetic diphthong (underlying vowel sequences): *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 in with the language-internal phonological principles where allomorphs of certain stops are triggered by a short vowel/a diphthong or a long vowel (see also §2.5.2):

- roots consisting of a short vowel/a diphthong trigger *-t/-g*: *me(te)* [me.te] ‘lick’
ni(ga) [ni.ga] ‘(be) woven’
gui(te) [gui.te] ‘eat’

indicating that $V = V_{\text{diphthong}} > C_1$

- roots consisting of a long vowel trigger *-d/-k*: *ii(de)* [ii.de] ‘swim’
fii(ka) [fii.ka] ‘(be) robbed’

indicating that $V: > C_2$

The alternation between different variants of verbal allomorph is determined by a vowel sequence:

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

indicating that $V: + V > C_2$

This analysis is consistent with the phonological processes involving reduplication (§2.5.1), where the reduplicated syllable consists of a long vowel triggering C_2 (i.e. *-d/-k*), regardless of the initial weight of the verbal root, as illustrated in (2.2):

- (2.2) *ro(te)* [ro.te] ‘sing’ > *rooro(de)* [ro:.ro.de] ‘singing (and singing)’
boo(de) [bo:.de] ‘burn’ > *boobo(de)* [bo:.bo.de] ‘burning (and burning)’

Vowel lengthening marks also future tense (see §2.5.1 for verbal roots that end with the high front vowel *i*). 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 More 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 *guate* 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 *guate* 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 (long/short) or a diphthong (see §2.1.2-3). There are no CC clusters (see §2.6 on the treatment of loans that contain CC clusters). There are no restrictions on the onset of syllables, but the glottal stop can occur in the coda position only 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, shown in (2.4), 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>	[‘o:]	‘you (2sg)’
<i>too</i>	[‘tɔ:]	‘fish type’
<i>baai</i>	[‘ba:i]	‘over there, ahead’

DISYLLABIC WORDS

<i>bote</i>	[‘bɔ.te]	‘split’
<i>zaitē</i>	[‘θai.te]	‘dance’
<i>deide</i>	[‘de:i.dɛ] ⁷²	‘rain’

TRISYLLABIC WORDS

<i>uzuma</i>	[‘u.θu.ma]	‘grandfather’
<i>uudida</i>	[‘u:.di.da]	‘shank of the river’
<i>nemuiide</i>	[‘ne:.mui.dɛ]	‘defecate’
<i>uruiai</i>	[‘u.ru.yai]	‘children’

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’ < *iko* [‘i.kɔ] ‘one day’ + *aare* [‘aa.rɛ] ‘long, far away’.⁷³ A few affixes shift stress on morpheme boundaries, as in *jadie* [ha.‘di.ɛ] ‘that (close to the speaker)’

⁷² As discussed in §2.1.3.2.

⁷³ This was previously suggested by Petersen de Piñeros (1994a). In case of *ikare* ‘tomorrow’, nowadays the stress is frequently word-initial in the speech of young Murui.

< *jadĩ* [ˈha.dĩ] + *ie* [ˈi.ɛ] (connective). Another morpheme that shifts stress is the auditory demonstrative *aki-*, as in *akie* [a.ˈki.ɛ] ‘auditory’ < *aki* [a.ˈki] followed by the connective *ie* [i.ɛ]. Verbal affixes do shift stress; however in polysyllabic words, the secondary stress goes usually onto the syllable that contains the linker *-di/-ti*, as in (2.5a-b):

- (2.5) a. [ˈfa.re.bo.gĩ, di.ɔ.mɔĩ]
 fare-bogĩ-di-omɔĩ
 bulky-CLF:CYLINDRICAL-LK-2pl
 ‘You are bulky (lit. ball-like).’
- b. [ˈna.bai.ri.tĩ, ɲai. ɲo., di.kue]
 [nabai-ri-tĩ-aiño-di-kue]
 neighbor-DUR-LK-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg
 ‘I was the one who accompanied (them).’

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 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) that occur as the result of morpheme concatenation can operate only within one phonological word. With respect to consonant mutation, the allomorphic difference between the predicate linkers *-di/-ti* and *-ka/-ga* can only occur within one phonological word (see §2.5). Phonotactic restrictions can also be used to determine phonological words because certain 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: the classifier *-chupi* for ‘small house’). Other phonemes, such as *b*, cannot occur in initial positions of affixes on verbs, but they can do so on nouns (see Table 2.2 in §2.1.1 that illustrates phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants). Vowel lengthening is restricted to word-initial syllables 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. They 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. (2.6-7) present instances of a possessive noun phrases in both the slow and the normal/rapid speech registers. The normal/rapid 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

[ˈTadave ˌie ˌjo-fo]
Tadave CONN house-CLF:CAV
‘house of Tadave’

(2.7) SLOW SPEECH

[ˈTada,ve] [ˈie] [ˈjo-fo]
Tadave CONN house-CLF:CAV
‘house of Tadave’

2.4 Intonation and pitch

Generally, Murui is characterized by three basic types of intonation contour: A. FALLING, B. RISING-FALLING, and C. RISING. Generally, the falling intonation is used for declarative sentences. The rising-falling intonation is used for questions and commands (see §11.1-2).

The rising intonation is a special intonation contour type limited to certain situations, including calling from a distance.⁷⁴ The Murui intonation types are discussed in turn.

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 uie-ko-do jo-fo-mo_{LOC} ↗rii-↘d-e_{PRED}
 Kata face-CLF:SPHERICAL-INS house-CLF:CAV-LOC arrive-LK-3
 ‘Kata arrived first at the house.’

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 content word followed immediately by a fall similar to those 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):

⁷⁴ Murui has a special speech-register-like intonation for talking in the jungle at night. It involves a similar conversational and narration patterns but higher by at least half or double of the frequency of normal pitch. I was told that this is done to disguise people’s voices so that they would not be recognizable for evil spirits.

- (2.10) oos [nai-e naze]_s ʔʔibai-ʔka_{PREL}
 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). 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 ʔi-ma-na_o ʔkio-ʔd-e_{PREL} 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) jaki-nai-t-e_{PREL} nai-mies ʔuʔa?
 scared-BECOME₁-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M really
 ‘He got scared, didn’t he?’ (whispering in astonishment, disbelief)

B3. SHARPLY RISING-FALLING INTONATION – commands have a distinctive sharply rising-falling intonation. There are also other cues that frequently accompany commands, such as a stern eye gaze. (2.13) is a call of an elder to his grandson to come right now to him. In (2.14), an angry mother was forcing her child to sit down and eat his food.

- (2.13) bene_{LOC} ʔbiʔ-ño-kai!_{PREL}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Come here immediately!’ (a mild command)

- (2.14) ñiño! uri ʔʔraai!_{ʔʔPREL} ʔʔguiʔ-ño-kai!_{PREL}
 child.M.Sp calm sit eat-IMP-RAPID
 ‘Child! Sit down! Eat (this) immediately!’

C. RISING INTONATION – this is a special (non-canonical) kind of the intonation contour pattern in Murui. It is used when calling from a distance, or 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).⁷⁵ Calling from a distance can be considered a special speech register, 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 follows final elements of a clause, as in (2.15-16) (see also §2.5.2 for more details on vowel change used for calling from a 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.

(2.15) kai-mOO:RECIPIENT jano-re ʔinʌʔʔiɦi!PRED
 1pl-LOC small-ATT give.IMP.CALL
 ‘Give us a little!’ (cf. *kaimo janore ine!*)

(2.16) ʔjaai-ʌño-ʔʔkɦiɦi!PRED
 go-IMP-RAPID.CALL
 ‘Go immediately!’ (cf. *jaaiñokai!*)

Similar vowel centralization techniques have also been reported for other Amazonian languages spoken in the area, such as Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2003b).⁷⁶

2.5 General phonological processes

In this section, I discuss a number of the general phonological phenomena associated with articulatory processes in Murui which affect alternations of phonemes. They are divided into those involving vowels (§2.5.1) and consonants (§2.5.2). Murui phonological processes occur

⁷⁵ These 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 Míka or Nipode, which is suggestive of where the Murui ‘acquired’ some of their traditional songs from.

⁷⁶ Cross-linguistically, vowel centralization used for calling from a distance is not uncommon. For instance, ‘call-at-distance’ messages are shouted out among the Nungon speakers of Papua New Guinea (Sarvasy, 2014: 122-124, 669), and are marked by an alternation of the final vowel of an utterance.

on the boundaries between a root and a verbal suffix and between two verbal suffixes. Some phonological processes occur on the boundaries between roots, suffixes, and enclitics.

2.5.1 Involving vowels

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

A. VOWEL ASSIMILATION – it occurs on the root and suffix-suffix boundary regardless of the placement of the stress. There are two main processes: $o + V > uV$ and $e + a > ia$. 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) > *finoaibi(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:⁷⁷

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

This type of vowel alternation is nowadays being lost among younger speakers of the language. Frequently, young speakers do not apply any vowel assimilation, as illustrated in

⁷⁷ The reason why this phonological change does not apply to the desiderative *-aka* may be related to the fact that *-aka* is often preceded by the emphatic *i-*, as in *fino-i-aka-di-kue* (make-EMPH-DES-LK-1sg) ‘I really want to make (it)’ (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1).

(2.19). Murui elders occasionally correct such speech providing the ‘correct’ form, such as those in (2.18) above.⁷⁸

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

- $e + a > i$

(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 vowels of the linker *-di/-ti* can be

⁷⁸ This is best illustrated by the following story describing the self-evaluation of a speaker. Sandriela Agga (26 y.o.), a fluent speaker of Murui (raised monolingually, see §1.7), does not apply vowel assimilation in her speech. Her mother, Francisca Agga (74 y.o.) 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 an effort and speak like her mother (applying vowel assimilation) but because she felt she was making ‘mistakes’, she fairly quickly gave up. Such lack of the vowel assimilation rules is not related to dialectal differences among the Murui varieties.

optionally ‘elided’, when they are followed by *o* (i.e. the forms that involve the 2nd person pronominal subject markers only, see Table 7.1 §7.1).

- *-di/-ti + -o > -do/-to* (when normally *-di/-ti* (LK) + *-o* (2sg) > *-dio/-tio*)

This is illustrated in (2.22). Vowel loss is attested principally in the speech of young Murui (often with the linker *-di*, than with *-ti*); it occurs less frequently in the speech of older 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 2nd person pronominal subject markers is not frequent among Murui elders; in the speech of young speakers, it occurs often.⁷⁹ 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. The underlying forms are *-di-omoi* (-LK-2pl) and *di-o* (-LK-2sg).

(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>aiki!</i>	<i>kio-do?</i> _{PRED}
look	monkey.type	see-LK.2sg
‘Look! The <i>aiki</i> monkey! You see (it)?!’		

⁷⁹ When Murui elders reflected upon forms such as *kiodo*, some commented that in fact this is not the ‘proper’ way of speaking the language. Nevertheless, such forms are frequently used as a way of expressing addressee-oriented commands (see §11.1.4).

Vowel loss on suffix-suffix boundaries is also a salient feature of the 3rd person pronominal subject marker *-e* (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1 on the Murui verb structure).

- *-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*⁸⁰
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.SMLF-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 to root-suffix boundaries:

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

- | | | | |
|--------|---|---|-------------------------------|
| (2.26) | NON-FUTURE | | FUTURE |
| | <i>i-t-e</i> (exist-LK-3) ‘exist’ | > | <i>iite</i> ‘will be’ |
| | <i>bi-ti-kue</i> (come-LK-1sg) ‘I come’ | > | <i>biitikue</i> ‘I will come’ |
| | <i>me-t-e</i> (lick-LK-3) ‘lick’ | > | <i>meeite</i> ‘will lick’ |
| | <i>boo-d-e</i> (burn-LK-3) ‘burns’ | > | <i>booite</i> ‘will burn’ |

In Murui, the great majority of the monosyllabic and disyllabic verbal roots can be reduplicated.⁸¹ Reduplication in the language marks intensity (see §7.2.2.3). In Murui, reduplicants are suffixed directly to roots, as in (2.27). The reduplication is partial, as long vowels in reduplicated syllables are lost (as discussed in §2.3, phonological word in

⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ In Murui, reduplication applies to verbs only, and is one of the criteria to distinguish between word classes (see Chapter 3). A few verbs cannot be reduplicated if they are to retain their original meaning. An example of this is *baai(de)* ‘die’ and *baaibai(de)* ‘lose consciousness (e.g. during a sexual act)’ (see §7.2.2.3).

Murui can contain long vowels only in the word-initial syllables); only two syllables are reduplicated:

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

Reduplicated verbs always take 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-(d-e)* (cry~RED-LK-3) ‘crying (and crying)’.

D. VOWEL SHORTENING – long vowels of certain verbs that refer to state and position, e.g. *jooi(de)* ‘lie down’, *tuui(de)* ‘be open (e.g. rotten on the inside)’, *fiiide* ‘lie down (in a hammock)’, *boo(de)* ‘burn’, *raai(de)* ‘sit’, become shortened when followed by verbal markers, e.g. *bono(de)* ‘set fire’, *tuibe-d-e* (open.plain.object-LK-3) ‘open plain objects’, *rainada(te)* ‘sit down’. We observe the same process in monosyllabic nouns that contain long vowels and are followed by classifiers, e.g. *raa* ‘thing’ > *ra-be* (thing-CLF:LEAF) ‘a leaf’. This is not the case when monosyllabic nouns with long vowels are followed by case marking, e.g. *moo* ‘father’ > *moo-mo* (father-LOC) ‘to the father’.

E. VOWEL CENTRALIZATION AND CALLING FROM A DISTANCE TECHNIQUE – statements, questions, and commands can be shouted out and used for calling from a distance. As such, they not only receive a special rising intonation (see §2.4 on the rising intonation contour), but also involve lengthening and vowel change of the final syllable in the clause, as in (2.28). Words that end with the high open vowel *i* involve lengthening but no vowel change, as in (2.29) and (2.30):

(2.28) *i, u, e, o, a* > as in *iñedĩĩ!* (cf. *i-ñe-d-e* (exist-NEG-LK-3) ‘(there) is not!’)

(2.29) *i* > as in *nooizaibiii!* (cf. *nooi-zaibi!* (bathe-VENTV) ‘come to bathe!’)

(2.30) *mare-na* *omoĩs* *iiiĩ!*_{PRED}
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP 2pl exist.IMP.CALL
 ‘(You) all be well!’ (cf. *marena omoi ii*)

In addition to being used for calling from a distance, vowel centralization can also occur in other genre-specific contexts, as well as in various types of announcements, which are typically shouted out, and apply to clauses that are understood as important. Clauses used for calling from a distance are usually short, and often comprise just one single word, such as *biii!* ‘come’. Vowel centralization does not occur in everyday speech. An example of a call from a 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-kiĩ!*_{PRED} *yiki-aĩo* *roko-ye-ziĩ!*_{PRED}
 come-IMP-RAPID.CALL fish-PL cook-FUT.E.NMLZ-CALL
 ‘Come immediately! To cook fish!’

(2.32) is an announcement during a traditional dance ritual ‘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 further illustrated in (2.33-34):

(2.32) *biya-mas* *bi-yiĩ!*_{PRED}
 mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M come-FUT.E.NMLZ.CALL
 ‘The grandfather will come!’ (cf. *biyama biyi!*)

(2.33) *dio-kaĩs* *atĩĩ!*_{PRED}
 tobacco-CLF:STEM bring.IMP.CALL
 ‘Bring a cigarette!’ (cf. *diokai ati!*)

(2.34) *gui-ye_s* *i-tiĩ!*_{PRED}
 eat-FUT.E.NMLZ exist-LK.3.CALL
 ‘There is food!’ (cf. *guiye ite!*)

The high central vowel *i* can either i) follow the final element of a clause, as in (2.32-34) above, ii) be preceded by an insertion of the apico-dental voiceless fricative *-z*, as in (2.35), or

iii) replace word-final vowels sometimes triggering alternations of preceding vowels, as in (2.36-37). The duration of a call can last up to several seconds. The phoneme *i* is treated here as a prototypical vowel because it holds the syllable nuclear position.

(2.35) Katariniⁱⁱⁱ! uzu-^{ño}s bi-ya-zⁱⁱⁱ!^{PRED}
 Katarina.CALL grandparent-CLF:DR.F come-E.NMLZ-CALL
 ‘Katarina! The grandmother has come!’ (shouting in the distance) (cf. *Katarina!*
uzuño biya in a normal speech)

(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-omuⁱⁱⁱ!^{PRED}
 exist-LK-2pl.CALL
 ‘How are you (lit. Are you?)’ (cf. *itiomoi*)

Although the conditions under which one or the other technique is used seem to depend on the speaker. For instance, note that in (2.35), *Katarina* becomes *Katariniⁱⁱⁱ*, but *biya* is altered, and becomes *biyazⁱⁱⁱ*. The 1st person pronominal subject marker *-kue* always changes into *-kuiii*, as in (2.38). The high central vowel *i* is never used in such contexts.

(2.38) *jai jaaidikuiii!* (cf. *jai jaaidikue* ‘I go already’ or ‘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 involves a kind of dissimilation processes in verbal roots whereby the passive markers *-ka/-ga* and predicative linkers *-di/-ti* become voiced (*k>g*) and devoiced (*d>t*), and have the forms of the allomorphs *-ti* and *-ga*. This consonant mutation is influenced by the shape of

the root (as discussed in §2.1.3), and does not correlate with stress assignment in the language. There is a tendency in Murui for verbal roots to be disyllabic. Monosyllabic roots are much less frequent. As shown in §2.1.3, vowel roots that contain a short vowel/diphthong trigger different consonants, as in *me(te)* ‘lick’, *do(te)* ‘clean (around the house)’, and *gui(ga)* ‘be eaten’. A form of the future tense marker is always *-it(i)*, in (2.39):

- (2.39) *gui-(t-e)* (eat-LK-3) ‘ate, eat’ > *guui(te)* ‘will eat’
jaai-(d-e) (go-LK-3) ‘went, go’ > *jaai(te)* ‘will go’

This is in addition to the affixation of the future tense marker *i-* (see §7.2.1), as in (2.40):⁸²

- (2.40) *maka-(d-e)* (walk-LK-3) ‘walked, walk’ > *makai(te)* ‘will walk’

A few verbal markers trigger consonant mutations (see §7.2) such as the semelfactive *-no*:

- (2.41) *eti-(d-e)* (light-LK-3) ‘light (an object)’ > *etiño(te)* ‘light once, briefly’ (**etiñode*)

Another phonological process involves palatalized consonants, where *n* is palatalized preceded by the high front vowel *i*. This is shown in (2.42a), with the imperative *-no* having a form *-ño*, cf. (2.24b).

- (2.42) a. *gui-(t-e)* (eat-LK-3) ‘eat’ > *guiño!* ‘eat!’
duui-(d-e) (finish-LK-3) ‘finish’ > *duuiño!* ‘finish!’
 b. *jai-(t-e)* (paddle-LK-3) ‘paddle’ > *jaiño!* ‘paddle!’

In a similar manner, the form of remote habitual *-vui* becomes *-zoi* when following the high front vowel, e.g.: *jaai-(d-e)* (go-LK-3) ‘go’ > *jaai-zoi-(d-e)* (go-REM.HAB-LK-3) ‘used to go’.

⁸² The future tense morpheme *-ite* was previously analyzed as *-i* followed by the linker *-ti* Petersen de Piñeros (1994a).

B. CONSONANT INSERTION – it applies to identical vowels (low central vowels) on root and suffix-suffix boundaries. This is illustrated in (2.43) where the glottal voiceless fricative *j* occurs between low central vowels:

- (2.43) *maka(de)* ‘walk’ > *makaja* ‘walking’ (nominalization)
gua(te) ‘pound’ > *guaja* ‘pounding’ (nominalization)
ini(de) ‘sleep’ > *initaja* ‘making (one go) to sleep’ (nominalization)
aïma(de) ‘fish’ > *aïmajai(de)* ‘go to fish’ (directional marker)
kaka(de) ‘hear’ > *kakajaiibi(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’. Another type of consonant mutation involves the insertion of *z* in the root and suffix-suffix position following the high front vowel *i*, as in (2.44):

- (2.44) *ini(de)* ‘sleep’ > *iniazai(de)* ‘go to sleep’ (andative *-ai*)
nooi(de) ‘bathe’ > *nooizai(de)* ‘go to bathe’ (andative *-ai*)
gui(te) ‘eat’ > *guizaiibi(de)* ‘come to eat’ (ventive *-aiibi*)

The exception to this are nominalized verbs, which take *-ya*, e.g. *jaai-ya* (go-E.NMLZ) ‘going’ and *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] intervocalically on root-root boundary of reduplicated monosyllabic verbal roots. The voiceless glottal sound is an automatic way of creating a juncture between two identical vowels. This process applies only to a handful of verbs. This is illustrated in (2.45), marked with an apostrophe:

- (2.45) *ee(de)* ‘cry’ > *ee'e(de)* ‘crying (and crying)’
o(te) ‘get’ > *oo'ote* ‘getting (and getting)’

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 is treated as a type of glottal reinforcement.

2.6 Borrowings and adaptation of loanwords

This section discusses Spanish loanwords into Murui and their adaptation (§2.6.1), as well as identified and potential loanwords from other languages spoken in the neighboring areas, mainly between the Caquetá and Putumayo River basins (§2.6.2). See also §13.5 on contact-induced language change under the influence of Spanish.

2.6.1 Spanish loanwords 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’ (Sp. *semana*), *komputadora* ‘computer’ (Sp. *computadora*), *tieda* ‘store’ (Sp. *tienda*), *perikura* ‘film’ (Sp. *pelicula*), *foto* ‘photo’ (Sp. *foto*), *padrino* ‘godfather’ (Sp. *padrino*), and other notions, such as names of the months and the days of the week. For a few such culturally motivated borrowed concepts, Murui uses its own resources. This is the case for instance with ‘money’ for which *uku-be* (money-CLF:LEAF) is used rather than the colloquial *plata* in Spanish.⁸³ 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’ (Sp. *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

⁸³ In this work *uku-be* is glossed as ‘(money-CLF:LEAF)’ although its ‘true’ glossing should rather read ‘(psychoactive.plant-CLF:LEAF)’ (cf. *uku-du* (star-CLF:HILL) ‘star’). The Murui use a native form for *plata* ‘money’ as a way of making it secret for the outsiders. 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 behavior of men that were given money with ‘becoming mad’.

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 loanwords 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 of syllables in polysyllabic words. In (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)	<i>es-co-pe-ta</i> (VC-CV-CV-CV) ‘gun’	>	<i>ko-be-da</i> (CV-CV-CV)
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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 /ɾ/. This occurs also in *terefono* ‘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=mei Europa-mo_{LOC} jaaiti-kue_{PRED}
 CONN=so Europa-LOC go.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘After that I will go back to Europe.’

(2.49) ie [bai-e aros-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 practice to employ Spanish conjunctions in the everyday speech, as well as words such as *sí* (Sp. for ‘yes’) and *no* (Sp. ‘no’), as in (2.50), and clause linkers, such as *pero* (Sp. ‘but’), as in (2.51):

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

S: no! da-je_o ñee graba-jai-di-maki_{PRED}
 no.Sp one-CLF:G FILLER record.Sp-ANDTV-LK-3pl
 ‘No! They only... went to record it.’

(2.51) jai kue_{OBLIQUE} yo-ga_{PRED} 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).’

Code-switching is very common among younger speakers. In (2.52), the Spanish phrase *sinko de la mañana* has not been re-analyzed, either morphologically or phonologically:

(2.52) kue_s sinko de la mañana kazita-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg five.in.the.morning.Sp wake.up-LK-1sg
 ‘I woke up at five in the morning.’

2.6.2 Cognate forms shared with neighboring languages

There are a number of shared cognates in Murui that are also found in other neighboring languages, such as Tucanoan, Quechuan, and Boran. These might be indicative of areal

contact (cf. §1.2). They often refer to meanings associated mainly with trade, substance, cultural change, economy, fauna, and flora. I discuss here a few of these shared cognates.⁸⁴

A. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH TUCANOAN LANGUAGES – these are *oogo-* for ‘banana’ (cf. *ohô* in Tucano). Other possible borrowings from Tucanoan languages include *-yari* (from *janayari* ‘jaguar’) (cf. *yaî* in Tucano), *ini* for ‘husband’ (*imi* in Tucano for ‘man, male’), *ono-* for ‘hand’ (*omo-* in Tucano), *die* for ‘blood’ (*diî* in Tucano), *mame-* for ‘name’ (*mãñi* in Coreguaje and Siona).

B. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH KICHWA⁸⁵ VARIETIES OF ECUADOR AND COLOMBIA – these include *atava* which is *ata-llba* in Kichwa for ‘rooster’.⁸⁶ Another possible loanword is *rakuiya* for ‘white men’ (*virakucha* in Kichwa (Robuchon, 1907: 156); this loanword also occurs in Carijona spoken to the north).⁸⁷

⁸⁴ See also Amazonian ‘wanderwörter’ (Haynie, Bower, Epps, Hill, & McConvell, 2014).

⁸⁵ ‘Kichwa’ or Quechua II B of 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.

⁸⁶ 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 loanwords 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’. Thus, 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’ (Willem Adelaar, p.c.).

⁸⁷ The word *virakucha* is also used in Carijona, a neighboring Carib language spoken to the north (David Felipe Guerrero-Beltrán, p.c.).

C. MURUI WORDS SHARED WITH OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE AREA – they include *amana* for ‘dolphin’ (*amána* in Bora, *hamaánú* in Resígaro), *beja-* ‘maize’ (*βeéká* in Bora, *bea* in Tucano), *jiibi-* ‘coca’ (*íipií* in Bora, *xíibi-* in Muinane, *hí?píe* in Andoke, *xipie* in Coreguaje, *húibi?é* in Resígaro). The Murui verbs *kazi-* ‘wake up’ and *kaaje-* ‘be alive’ might be related to *ka:whi* ‘wake up’ in Tariana (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.

2.7.1 Onomatopoeic expressions

In many languages in the world onomatopoeic expressions show unusual phonological features (Dixon, 2010b: 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), related to the sound ↓yⁱ!↓yⁱ made by tapirs,
- *jiiko(de)* – to make the *jiíi* sound (expressing content during dance rituals),
- *mu(te)* – to make the *jmm* sound (expressing happiness or sickness),
- *kuíta* – a name of a monkey that makes the *kuicho?! kuicho?!* or *kui! kui!* sound,
- *kueko* – a name of a bird that makes the ‘*kueko! kueko!*’ sound,
- *ueño* – a name of a frog that makes the ‘*wé? wé?!*’ sound,
- *joforai* – a name of a bird which makes the *joo foo!* sound.

2.7.2 Animal sounds

The Murui enjoy imitating animal sounds, such as *chiii! chiii!*, which is a general sound of a young bird crying for its mother (see also *kueko! kueko!* and *joo! joo!* in §2.7.1 above).

Imitations of animal sounds have numerous unusual phonological characteristics that include nasalization, creaky voice, glottal stop insertion, triplication, and the pulmonic ingressive airstream:

- *mãõ!* – a sound made by a jaguar cub,
- *j^{uu}! j^{uu}!* – a sound a jaguar makes when calling after each other,
- *ĩχⁱ! ĩχⁱ!* – a sound made by a hunting jaguar,
- *q^{ap}! q^{ap}! q^{ap}!* – a scream of a macaw bird,
- *bu^{u?}! bu^{u?}!* – a call of the *nofaiño* frog announcing rain,
- *o^{ap}! o^{ap}!* – calls of a medium-sized frog called *oõño* in the rainy season,
- *ju^{u?}! ju^{u?}!* – calls of a medium-sized frog called *jodaki*,
- *ẽẽẽ!* – a sound made by an angry jaguar,
- *↓yⁱ! ↓yⁱ!* – a sound made by a tapir,
- *zĩⁱ! zĩⁱ!* – sounds made by a transformed evil spirit snake,
- *keⁱ keⁱ keⁱ keⁱ* – squealing of a pig,
- *neĩ neĩ neĩ* – whine of a circling mosquito,
- *to ro ko ko ko ko!* – a call of a small nocturnal frog,
- *jo! fo!* – a call of the bird called *joforai*.

Murui has an interesting animal speech style called ‘possum’ speech style where the lamino-palatal voiceless affricate *ch* can be inserted prevocally or the phoneme *ch* can replace any consonant (§2.1.2). The narrations contain many language adaptations, such as *chaama*

instead of *aama* for ‘brother’ or *chui(te)* instead of *zui(te)* for ‘release’. The sound a 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 to revenge 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 sounds. These are:

- *ʔmm* – used to express understanding or recognition,
- *↓ih* – used to express a sign of agreement and back channeling, as well as surprise (it is primarily used by older speakers of Murui),
- *ooʔ* – used to respond to someone’s calling,
- *jii!* or *jiii!* – used to express contentment during traditional dance rituals in the *maloca*,
- *jmm!* or *jmmm!* – used to express happiness or indicate feeling sick,
- *jee!* – used to express impatience or dissatisfaction,
- *ebe!* – used to express surprise,
- *aa!/aaj!* – used to express understanding,
- *aa!* – used to express disappointment or sadness.

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 were the missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics – Eugene Minor 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 (1994a) (slightly modified in her later works). That spelling is relatively consistent with the alphabet which was adopted in a meeting of bilingual school teachers in Araracuara in 1990 (see Echeverri 1997: 49), and has been used in many recent publications in Murui and in other ‘Witoto’ varieties.

The Murui orthography is fairly phonemic, similarly to that of Spanish on which it was originally based. It includes for instance the use of the graphemes *z* for [θ], *j* for [h], and *y* for [dʒ] (see the list of orthographic conventions in the introductory part). This spelling is followed here as introducing new symbols would create confusion among the Murui people who are familiar with the existing spelling conventions. For a more detailed outline of spelling conventions employed over the years in Murui, see Wojtylak (2012a). Some notes on the standardization of ‘Witoto’ orthography can also be found in E. Minor and Minor (1976: 67) and Echeverri (1997).

2.9 Nonverbal communication and deictic gestures

A number of deictic gestures which are used by the Murui speakers include index finger-, head- and lip-pointing. While speakers produce these gestures in alternation, lip-pointing is the most commonly used pointing strategy. There is a tendency for some gestures to be used

in specific contexts.⁸⁸

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

Lip-pointing is widely used among the Murui people of all ages. This deictic action involves both lips and face. It is characterized by protruding lips to ‘point’ to, or at, the referent, accompanied by raising the head and chin, and orienting one’s gaze towards the referent, and, occasionally, by an eyebrow-raise (Enfield, 2001: 186). Among the Murui, deictic gestures are also used when counting (see §3.2.3 for details).

⁸⁸ It is unclear for how Murui deictic gestures have been influenced, or are an effect of lip-pointing in Colombian and Peruvian Spanish. Lip pointing has also been reported for the neighboring Tariana as well as for other groups from the Vaupés region (Aikhenvald, 2003b: 17). An overview on the uses of lip-pointing in Spanish in South America is given in Ortega-Santos (2016: 114-116).

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 (discussed in §3.1). Adverbs, time words, and number words belong to semi-closed word classes (§3.2). The closed word classes are: quantifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, connectives, adpositions, and interjections (§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. 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, see §8.1) and increasing processes (causative and double causative, §8.2). 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, semi-closed, and closed word classes.

3.1.1 Nouns

Prototypical Murui nouns are heads of NPs that function as arguments of a predicate; they can also function as heads of intransitive predicates. 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, see §5.2), and case (topical S/A, non-S/A markers, locative, ablative, instrumental, benefactive-causal, and privative, see Chapter 6).⁸⁹ 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) oogo-do-niai-do
 banana-CLF:POINTED-COLL-INS
 ‘by/with the bananas’

Depending on the type of noun, classifiers may or may not be obligatory. The category of number is always optional. Case marking is obligatory (but see §6.2 on differential case marking).

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 disyllabic, often accompanied by a classifier. Nouns occurring with classifiers can consist of:

- A. BOUND NOUN ROOTS obligatorily followed by classifiers, such as *ri-ño*⁹⁰ (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’,

⁸⁹ Murui, similarly 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).

⁹⁰ The word *riño* originates in the verbal root *ri(te)* ‘eat meat’ (cf. in the Murui mythology, the word *riai*, with the plural marker *-ai*, refers to carnivorous beings and the non-Witotos).

B. FREE NOUN ROOTS that can take classifiers, such as *maika-bi* (yuca-CLF:STEM.TUBER) ‘stem of yuca *maika*’.

Some free nouns, such as *nokae* ‘canoe’, cannot be further specified for classifiers. The structure of a Murui noun is outlined in Scheme 3.1. Depending on the semantics of the noun, all the structural positions may or may not be filled simultaneously (see discussion below).

Scheme 3.1 The structure of a Murui noun

	0. Pronouns (in possessive function)
Root	1. Root
Suffixes	2. Classifier (up to three positions) (see §4.2)
	3. Number system (see §5.2)
	- plural marker <i>-ai</i>
	- kinship plural marker <i>-tiaï</i>
	- collective marker <i>-niaï</i>
	4. Case system (see §6.2)
	- topical non-S/A <i>-na</i>
	- locative <i>-mo</i>
	- ablative <i>-(mo)na</i>
	- instrumental <i>-do</i>
	- benefactive-causa <i>-ri</i>
	- privative <i>-nino</i>
Enclitic	- topical S/A = <i>dï</i>

The root in position 1 can be preceded by pronouns (to refer to the possessor, see §3.3.2 and §5.1) which can occur as phonologically independent words in normal and slow speech, or proclitics in rapid speech, e.g. *kue jiko* [ˈkue ˈhiko] or *kue=jiko* [ˈkweˌhiko] for ‘my dog’ (see §2.3). The root can be followed by classifiers in position 2. Usually there is just one classifier for nouns for human referents. Such nouns take gender-sensitive animate classifiers *-ma* (masculine) and *-ño* (feminine), as in *evu-ño* (sister-CLF:DR.F) ‘sister’. On nouns with inanimate referents, up to three classifier positions can be filled simultaneously, as e.g. *ñeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira palm tree’, *ifo-gi-tiraï* (head-CLF:OVAL-CLF:FUR) ‘head hair’. Generally, nouns do not allow variable ordering of suffixes, but in a few cases re-

ordering of classifiers results in a meaning difference (see §4.4).

Murui has optional number marking system on the noun (slot 3). Singular is formally unmarked, plural, kinship plural, and collective are formally and functionally marked. All three non-singular numbers have the same origin (see §5.2). Frequently, if the non-singular referents of the noun are highly animate, or its non-singularity is important in 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 (3.2a-c). (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’:⁹¹

- (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 *uzumatiai* and *uzuñotiai* are ungrammatical, cf. (3.2c).

The system of case marking (topical non-S/A, locative, ablative, instrumental, benefactive-causal, and privative) in slot 4 consists mainly of suffixes and cannot be filled simultaneously.⁹² The topical S/A marker *=di* is an enclitic that occasionally occurs as an independent phonological word in its own right (see §6.2.1.1 and §13.4).

⁹¹ This is also shown by the dual masculine pronouns that are functionally unmarked in Murui, see §3.3.2.

⁹² At some earlier stage, two syntactic functions marked on the noun might have been possible (the ablative *-mona* may have developed from the locative *-mo* followed by the non-S/A marker *-na*; see §6.2.2.2).

Murui ‘headless’ nominal modifiers can have many members of other word classes (open, semi-closed, and closed) as their base. Such formations can occur within an NP as well. This is illustrated in (3.3) where the ‘headless’ nominal modifier *daje* ‘one’ modifies the head noun *ananeko* ‘maloca (traditional roundhouse)’:

- (3.3) [da-je anane-ko]_{NP}
 one-CLF:G maloca-CLF:COVER
 ‘one *maloca*’

In discourse, such NPs with the overtly stated heads are not common. Instead, ‘headless’ nominal modifiers are ‘directly’ accompanied by classifiers, and the head noun is not stated. An example of a classifier used on an adjective is presented in (3.4), which is a functional equivalent of (3.3) above. ‘Headless’ nominal modifiers used in such a way share syntactic functions and grammatical categories with prototypical nouns (classifiers, number, and 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 subject marker *-na*.

- (3.4) da-ko
 one-CLF:COVER
 ‘one (*maloca*)’

- (3.5) nai-gi-na_o i-ñe?_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER-N.S/A.TOP exist-NEG
 ‘Isn’t that (egg) (here)?’

Murui classifiers have a variety of functions in the language; they frequently occur on verbs as various types of nominalizers (see §3.1.4). This is illustrated in (3.6):

- (3.6) [jiibi-e_o du-ti-mie-na]_o uiño-t-e_{PRED}
 coca-CLF:G chew.coca-LK-CLF.PR.M-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘(He) knows a coca chewer (lit. one who chews coca powder).’

In (3.6), the verbal root *du* ‘chew coca’ is nominalized by means of the masculine animate classifier *-mie*, and is further case-marked with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*.

In Murui, agreement is indicative of the distinction between an NP and a clause. Within an NP (modifier followed by noun), modifiers do not agree with the head noun. Modifying elements are always marked with the generic classifier, as illustrated in (3.3) above. Classifiers occur obligatorily as agreement markers only in equative clauses. Examples (3.7-8) below are juxtapositions of two nominal forms, and, therefore, full sentences:

(3.7) *ñeki-navcs* *aare-navcc*
chambira-CLF:TREE *long-CLF:TREE*
 ‘The *chambira* tree is tall (lit. *chambira* tree - long (tree)).’

(3.8) *Katarina_{vcs}* *ri-ñovcc*
Katarina *woman-CLF:DR.F*
 ‘Katarina is a woman (lit. Katarina - woman).’

Semantically, the vast majority of the nouns have concrete meaning referring to animals, objects, plants, food, and the like. On morphological grounds, Murui nouns are divided into A. NOUNS WITH HUMAN REFERENTS and B. NOUNS WITH NON-HUMAN REFERENTS. They are discussed in turn:

A. NOUNS WITH HUMAN REFERENTS – most nouns with human referents take animate classifiers that distinguish natural gender (masculine *-ma* and feminine *-ño*) but not all. Generally, gender of nouns with human referents depends on the referent’s sex, but certain inanimate beings can be assigned to natural gender by other mechanisms, such as mythological associations (Wojtylak, 2015a). All types of nouns with human referents can be possessed (see §5.1.4 on ‘possessibility’ of nouns). Kinship nouns have special vocative

forms, as 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 – these are nouns with human referents that are obligatorily marked with animate classifiers. They distinguish between singular (formally unmarked), plural *-ai*, and collective *-niai* numbers. These are nouns such as *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’ and *iii-ma* (man-CLF:DR.M) for ‘man’. For instance, *riñuái* (woman-CLF:DR.F.PL) is marked for plural; *ri-ño-niai* (woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL) is marked for collective.

A2. ANIMATE NOUNS WITH NO ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS – these are nouns, which do not take animate classifiers. This is a residual 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-iaí* (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-CLF:DR.F), *biya-ma* (mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M). For a few of these nouns, the masculine form is functionally unmarked while the feminine is always marked with the derivational animate classifier *-ño*, as in *enaize* ‘grandson’ (cf. *enaizeño* for ‘granddaughter’), *jifai* ‘father-in-law’ (cf. *jifaiño* 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!’ (the usual form is 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’),⁹³ others cannot, such as *uzu* ‘grandparent’ (**kue uzu* intended as ‘my grandparent’ is considered ungrammatical among the traditional speakers of Murui but occasionally used among the younger speakers.⁹⁴ Kinship nouns have a special type of kinship plural form *-tiaï*, as in *ei-tiaï* (mother-KIN.PL) ‘mothers (of one’s group)’, *biya-tiaï* (mothers.brother-KIN.PL) ‘mother’s brothers (of one’s group)’, *moo-tiaï* (father-KIN.PL) ‘fathers (of one’s group)’. Note that the kinship plural occurs in the slot of ‘derivational’ animate classifiers only (that is, forms such as **moo-ma-tiaï* (father-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL) are ungrammatical). Kinship nouns can also have plural forms when they refer to referents outside one’s group, such as *uzu-ñuaï* (grandparent-CLF:DR.F.PL) ‘grandmothers (generally)’, and occasionally, also can be marked with the collective *-niaï*, as such *evu-ño-niaï* (sister-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘sisters (referring to individuals as a group, not belonging to one’s group)’.⁹⁵

⁹³ The forms for ‘mother’ *ei* and ‘father’ *moo* are unusual in that they are commonly used with ‘derivational’ animate classifiers (§4.2.2.2), unlike other kinship terms. In other varieties of ‘Witoto’, such as Mika, the forms *eiño* and *mooma* are more frequently used among the speakers.

⁹⁴ The fact that it is occasionally used among younger speakers of Murui is an example of language change.

⁹⁵ 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-ñuaï* (mother-CLF:DR.F-COLL) is much more frequent in the speech of 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*⁹⁶

(wasp-CLF:DR.M) ‘wasp (from a mythological story)’, *jikodo-ma* (CLF:DR.M) ‘wasp type’.⁹⁷

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 §4.2.2). For instance, *ue-ño* (frog.type-CLF:DR.F) ‘frog (type)’ is marked with the

feminine animate classifier *-ño* (that is associated with small, harmless animals); so are the

majority of insects. Nouns with non-human referents that include animate beings can be

possessed; conventionally, however, it rarely occurs (see §5.1.4). A few inanimate nouns can

also take animate classifiers. There are nouns which refer to sex-related tasks, such as *dobe-*

ño (crush-CLF:DR.F) ‘basin (to crush unprocessed yuca, 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 yoe-ma* (1sg metal-CLF:DR.M) ‘my machete’.

⁹⁶ *Unema* can also occur with the classifier *-ki*, as in *unekí* meaning ‘common wasp’, which does not refer to a mythological being.

⁹⁷ Called *zuru-ma* (tapir-CLF:DR.M) in Minika.

B2. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT CAN BE POSSESSED – these are inanimate nouns that occur with physical property classifiers of all types and characterize referents for, among others, their shape and size, dimensionality, form, consistency, and interiority (see §4.2.2.1 for details). They distinguish singular, plural, and collective numbers. Some examples include *jo-fo* (house-CLF:CAV), ‘house’, *jaiga-bi* (cahuana.drink-CLF:THICK.SUBS) ‘cahuana (thick drink)’, *jigui-da* (stick-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT) ‘stick’. This class contains also inanimate nouns that refer to body parts (which are obligatorily combined with physical property classifiers, see §4.2.2.1), such *jebe-gi* (abdomen-CLF:OVAL) ‘stomach’, *kome-ki* (heart-CLF:ROUND) ‘heart’, *moi-fo* (rear-CLF:CAV) ‘vagina’.⁹⁸ 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 *peceri* (from Spanish *peque-peque* ‘outboard motor’ followed with the element *-ri*, which has a function of a classifier) and *riteri* (phonologically adapted from Spanish *linterna*) for ‘flash light’.⁹⁹

B3. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT CANNOT BE POSSESSED – this class of nouns refers to ‘objects’ which cannot be possessed or owned. These include nature phenomena, evil spirits, some plants, some species of animals, and the like, e.g. *mona* ‘sky’, *aifi* ‘wind’, *noki* ‘rain’. For cultural reasons, some also occur only in a singular form, and cannot take either plural or collective numbers, e.g. as *fivui* ‘moon’, *jitoma* ‘sun’, and *moo jafai-ki* (father breath-CLF:INHER) ‘Father’s Creator’s spirit’ (see §5.1.4).

⁹⁸ Certain types of nouns that refer to body parts have inherently non-singular readings, such as *uizi* ‘eyes’.

⁹⁹ 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 take various types of classifiers, e.g. *Korejì Buuiñaiño* (that contains the classifier *-jì* for cassava-like forms).¹⁰⁰ Other names include (for males) *Nimaira Buuinaima* (cf. *nimairama* ‘wise man’), *Kaziya Buuinaima* (cf. the nominalized verb *kazi(de)* ‘wake up’), and (for females) *Komiki Buuiñaiño* (cf. the classifier *-ki* for round objects), *Jitomagiño* (cf. *jitoma* ‘sun’). Place names, such as the name of a small river *Jibuida* close to San José (cf. the classifier *-da* for stick-like forms;), *Akokidu* (cf. the classifier *-du* for hill-like forms, a place where the mythological hero *Jitoma* ‘resides’), and *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. They occur only in a singular form.¹⁰¹

3.1.2 Verbs

In Murui, numerous grammatical categories are expressed directly on verbs. Thus, 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 no copula verb.

¹⁰⁰ *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 (cf. the verb *buui(de)* ‘sink’).

¹⁰¹ Personal names and place names do not appear to occur in vocative forms (similarly to kinship nouns).

Some Murui ambitransitives 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’, and usually refer to an effect an activity has on an object. The O NP argument, if present, often carries the topical non-S/A marking *-na* to indicate complete involvement of an object.¹⁰³ Murui ambitransitive verbs differ from strictly intransitive verbs in that they are easily passivizable, e.g. *nokaeo fino-di-kue*_{PRED} (canoe make-LK-1sg) ‘I made a canoe’ becomes (*nokae*)_S (*kue*)_{OBLIQUE} *fino-ka*_{PRED} (canoe 1sg make-PASS) ‘(a canoe) made (by me)’.

C. STRICTLY TRANSITIVE VERBS – a small class of passivizable verbs that obligatorily occur in transitive clauses. They include the verb *yofue(te)* ‘teach’, *eka(de)* ‘feed’, *akata(te)* ‘show’, and *i(te)* ‘give’.¹⁰⁴ Often, they are used as S=A ambitransitives. An example of the verb *i(te)* ‘give’ is shown in (3.11). The O NP arguments are *diokaina* ‘cigarette’ and *kuemo* ‘to me’.

(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!’

Murui verbs have a rich system of grammatical categories available to them (see §7.2).

Verbal morphology is mostly aspectual, with only one tense marker (for future tense). The category of aspect has three different slots available on the verb structure (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1). There is one (reported) evidential and two epistemic suffixes (they occupy the same slot). Murui has no serial verb constructions; there are two directional markers (the ventive

¹⁰³ Its use depends on discourse-pragmatic status of the nominal, and is conditioned by topicality, specificity of referents, and complete involvement (see §6.2.1.4 on differential object marking).

¹⁰⁴ The verb *i(te)* ‘give’ is homophonous with the verb *i(te)* ‘exist’.

and the andative markers which have forms similar to those of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘come’ (see §7.3).

3.1.3 Adjectives

There are two adjective types in Murui; they are morphologically different from one another and belong to the open (‘derived adjectives’) and closed (‘underived adjectives’) word classes (Murui adjectives are discussed in detail in §9.1). This section discusses the former type.

Underived adjectives form a small set and are the focus of §9.1.1.

In terms of their structural possibilities, Murui ‘derived’ adjectives share grammatical categories with verbs and nouns. They have also a number of features on their own: a) they have a restricted set of verbal affixes 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 as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers that are used as arguments in verbless clauses (these are ‘noun-like adjectives’), as in (3.16) below. The head is the adjectival root *jea-* ‘dirty’ 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 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’.¹⁰⁵ In both cases (3.15) and (3.16), the ‘headless’ nominal modifiers *naino* ‘that

¹⁰⁵ The ‘temporal’ vs. ‘timeless’ distinction might also be referred to as ‘time-stable’ vs. ‘non-time-stable reference’ (see §9.2).

(place)’ and *jeaki* ‘dirty (fruit)’ are referential, and are understood from the immediate context. Adjectives, as well as verbs, occur frequently in comparative constructions (§9.2).

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

(3.16) *bi-ki*_{NP:VCS} *eo* *jea-ki*_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:ROUND very dirty-CLF:ROUND
 ‘This fruit is very dirty (lit. this fruit - very dirty (fruit)).’

The structure of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers that are formed with adjectives (such structures are referred to as ‘noun-like adjectives’) is less complex than the structure of those adjectives that function as heads of intransitive predicates (so-called ‘verb-like adjectives’). Note that the structure of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with adjectives also applies to nouns (cf. Scheme 3.1 in §3.1.1) as well as to all ‘headless’ nominal modifiers based on roots from other word classes (see §3.3.1-3.3.6). The difference is the marking of the kinship plural marker *-tiaĩ*, that is reserved for kinship nouns only and cannot occur on ‘headless’ nominal modifiers (see §5.2.1). The structure of a Murui ‘headless’ nominal modifier with adjectives is illustrated in Scheme 3.2.

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

	0. Pronouns (in possessive function)
Root	1. Root
Suffixes	2. Classifier (up to three positions) (see §4.2)
	3. Number system (see §5.2)
	- plural marker <i>-ai</i>
	- kinship plural marker <i>-tiaĩ</i>
	- collective marker <i>-niaĩ</i>
	4. Case (see §6.2)
	- topical non-S/A <i>-na</i>
	- locative <i>-mo</i>
	- ablative <i>-(mo)na</i>
	- instrumental <i>-do</i>
	- benefactive-causal <i>-ri</i>
	- privative <i>-nino</i>
Enclitic	- topical S/A <i>=di</i>

Adjectives that function as heads of intransitive predicates take verbal suffixes (but not all suffixes that are available for verbs can occur with ‘verb-like’ adjectives). Scheme 3.3 below illustrates the structure of a Murui verb-like adjective (cf. Scheme 7.1 in §7.1).

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

Root	1. Root
Suffixes	2. ‘Become’ markers (see §9.1.2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inchoative BECOME₁ <i>-nai</i> ‘become to have a feature X’ - inchoative BECOME₂ <i>-tai</i> ‘make become to have a feature X’ - inchoative BECOME₃ <i>-dai</i> ‘make have a feature X’
	3. Aspect (see §7.2.2 and §9.1.2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - manner <i>-rui</i> ‘(feel like) having a feature X’ - customay <i>-fi</i>
	4. Attributive (see §7.2.2 and §9.1.2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - positive <i>-re</i> - negative <i>-ni</i>
	5. Miscellaneous (§9.1.2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HALF ‘a little bit’ <i>-oi</i>
	6. Negation <i>-ñe</i> (following <i>-re</i> in slot 4 in the speech of young speakers) (§10.2)
	7. Privative <i>-no</i> (following 6) (see §10.2.5)
	8. Tense (§7.2.1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - future <i>-i</i>
	9. Predicate linkers, nominalizers, and clause linking (§7.1 and §12.3) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - linker <i>-di/-ti</i>
	10. Conditional <i>-ia</i>
	11. Pronominal subject, classifier (§7.1)
	Enclitic

3.1.4 Word-class-changing and non-word-class-changing derivations

Deverbal and deadjectival nominalizations can be used as word-class-changing derivations.

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, 2018c). The latter type involves a word class-changing derivation, but frequently it is not

word class-changing (see Wojtylak (2016a) for details). The main types of nominalizations in Murui are:

A. Nominalizations that do not involve classifiers:

- agentive S/A nominalizations with the agentive *-rai*,
- event nominalizations with the markers *-a/-ya/-ja/-na*, and

B. Nominalizations that involve classifiers of the following structures:

- verbal roots and classifiers,
- verbal and adjectival roots and the neutral classifier *-ra*,
- ‘linkers’ and classifiers.

Murui nominalization types, those that involve classifiers and those that do not, are discussed in turn:

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-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 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 *fuue* ‘mouth’, marked with the locative *-mo*, and is an argument of the nominalized verb *fai(te)* ‘throw’:

- (3.18) *nai-mie*_{VCS} [*fuue-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.NMLZ) ‘(action of) taking care’ or *manua* (heal.E.NMLZ) ‘healing’, and those which are future oriented (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 (and 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 going (and going)’,
- d) unless they take classifiers, they cannot be pluralized,
- e) event nominalizations show verbal argument structure.

This is illustrated in (3.19), where the clause *jiaie duiko manua* ‘healing other sicknesses’ is nominalized (see §2.5.1 on vowel assimilation) and, as such, it functions as the object of the ambitransitive verb *uiño(te)* ‘know’. It further takes the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*.

- (3.19) *jiai-mie*_A [*jiai-e* *duiko manua-na*]_{NP:O} *uiño-t*-*e*_{PRED}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Another (man) knows how to heal (lit. the 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 talking’, *izi-rui-ya-fue* (admire-MANNER-E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY) ‘(story) about love (lit. admiring)’, *fino-yi-kino* (do-FUT.E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS) ‘(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 pronominal subject (S/A) suffixes,
- c) they can be marked for case, as in (3.19) above. Syntactically, they 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 for 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, that is, the mission on which the evil elder Jobai has 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.CTS-CLF:G grandparent-CLF:DR.M Jobai Q1-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 joone-ñe-d-_{EPRED} ie bi-_{EA} ñee koko_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 lay.TH-NEG-LK-3 CONN this.CTS-CLF:G FILLER 1du.m
 zuri~zuri-na_{PRED}
 bird.sing.bad~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘The grandfather Jobai did not put anything (into our bag)! This is what the bird is announcing (and 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 §12.3). An example of an adverbial clause of time is given in (3.21), where the nominalized verb *iya* ‘existing, living’ functions as adverbial modification. (3.22) shows a future event nominalization used as a purposive construction that encodes the goal/purpose of an event.

- (3.21) [kues Nofiko-mo_{LOC} i-ya fakai] eo kies bi-aka-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg La.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:JUNGLE.GARDEN-LK-1sg 1sg thing plant-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘I scraped (the jungle garden) to sow 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-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) who takes care (of something/somebody)’ and *ebi-re-di-ñaiño* (nice-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) who is nice’, but can also function as non-word class-changing derivations, such as those that involve nouns, e.g. *jo-fo-ñaiño* (house-CLF:CAV-CLF:PR.F) ‘house-wife (lit. house (female))’, *aiyo-ko* (big-CLF.REP:DOG) ‘big (dog)’, *bi-foro* (this.CTS-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘this (palm leaf)’.

B1. NOMINALIZATIONS INVOLVING VERBAL ROOTS AND CLASSIFIERS – they apply to 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) ‘yuca basin’, *mame-ki* (name-CLF:INHER) ‘name’.

B2. NOMINALIZATIONS INVOLVING VERBAL AND ADJECTIVAL ROOTS AND THE NEUTRAL CLASSIFIER *-ra* – these are verbs and adjectives nominalized by means of the neutral classifier *-ra* ‘thing’ (cf. *raa* ‘thing’) for non-human referents (see §4.2.2.5), in the O-Instrument function. 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 classifiers 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) in (3.23-24), and animate classifiers, as in (3.25):

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

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

(3.25) *yofue-yi-ñaiño*
teach-FUT.E.EVENT-CLF:PR.F
‘(female) who will be taught’

b) nominalizations where verbal and adjectival roots are followed by either the linker *-di/-ti* or the passive marker *-ka/-ga*, and classifiers. Compare the meanings of the following examples (3.26-27):

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

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

Nominalizations involving the linker *-di/-ti* are involve all types of adjectives and of verbs. Many occur with some optional verbal and adjectival suffixes (such as the semelfactive *-no*, attributive *-re*, durative *-ri*, causative *-ta*, negative *-ñe*, and directional markers), as in (3.28-29) below:

(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-EMPH-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 retain their arguments. The sentence in (3.30) illustrates the nominalization *jiibi-e du-ti-mie* ‘(male) who chews coca’, where the nominalized verb *du-‘chew’* retains its argument *jiibi-e* ‘coca’:

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

Nominalizations that contain the passive markers *-ka/-ga* can involve ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbal roots. They can also take a variety of verbal markers, as in (3.31):

- (3.31) [nai-ñaiño]_{vcs} [kue jika-no-ga-ñaiño]_{vcc}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F 1sg request-SMLF-PASS-CLF:PR.F
 ‘She is my girlfriend (lit. she - my (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 *nieze?* ‘how’, rather than *bue?* ‘what’ or *nie?* ‘which’ (see §3.3.4). Murui distinguishes between adverbs of manner and place. The types and properties of Murui adverbs are summarized in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Types and properties of Murui adverbs

PROPERTIES	TYPE	WORD CLASS		ORIGIN			USED AS HEADS OF INTRANSITIVE PREDICATE	OTHER MARKING
		OPEN	CLOSED	VERBAL	ADJECTIVAL	ADVERBIAL		
A. ADVERBS OF MANNER	A1	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	no
	A2	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	-na
	A3	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	-na
	A4	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	(-na)
	A5	no	yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	no	no
	A6	no	yes	unknown	unknown	unknown	no	-ze
	A7	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
B. ADVERBS OF PLACE	B1	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
	B2	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	formatives

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 positive attributive *-re*, modifies the verb *eruai(de)* ‘look’:

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

A2. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF ADJECTIVAL ORIGIN (OPEN WORD CLASS) MARKED WITH *-re* – a small group of adjectives, which have the positive attributive *-re* as a part of the root (rather than a separate 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 joruai-d-e_{PREP}
 1sg dog good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP seem-LK-3
 ‘My dog seems well (lit. good).’

A3. CLOSED CLASS OF MANNER ADVERBS OF ADJECTIVAL ORIGIN (CLOSED WORD CLASS), UNMARKED – there is a small group of underived 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)’. 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_{PREP}
 very a.lot exist-LK-3
 ‘There is a lot (of it!)’

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

Interestingly, when they take the generic classifier *-e* obligatorily followed by the topical non-S/A subject marker *-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_{PREP}
 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 in (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} ri-tai-ya-no_{SEQ}
 walk-CUST-ATT-LK-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*.¹⁰⁶ Compare *jarire* ‘quickly’ in (3.37) with *jarikina* in (3.38). There appears 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-LK-1sg
 ‘I want to make my dog grow 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 positive attributive *-re*, e.g. *raire* ‘fast’, and cannot take case marking. In (3.39), *raire* is modified with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’:

¹⁰⁶ The unproductive *-ki* might have been a classifier at some earlier stage. It is homophonous with the classifier *-ki* for ‘round’, ‘cluster’, and ‘inherent’ (§4.2.2.1). The topical non-S/A marker *-na* is multifunctional and is used on various types of arguments (§6.2.1).

- (3.39) [bi-e uru-e]_s eo raire kazi-d-e_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G child-CLF:G very fast.ATT wake.up-LK-3
 ‘This child wakes up very fast.’

A6. CLOSED CLASS OF ADVERBS CONTAINING *-ze* – two manner adverbs that contain the simulative suffix *-ze* (§9.2.6). These are: *raize* ‘well, correctly’, as 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 (it) well! (lit. You will tell (it) well!)’

The suffix *-ze* is productive with nouns, and it has the equative-like meanings that refer to size (see §9.2.6). 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). Such adverbs can be further accompanied by predicate markers, and function as heads of intransitive predicates. 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.’

A7. CLOSED CLASS OF UNDERIVED ADVERBS – a few manner adverbs, such as *feeko* ‘slowly’ in (3.43), *makai* ‘enough’, and *mai* ‘let’s’, are underived forms. They cannot take case marking. In (3.44) *mai*, with hortative meaning, modifies the verb ‘go’ (see also §11.1.2):¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ 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, 2003b: 78). In Murui, *mai* is different from the enclitic *mei* ‘so, later’ (see §12.3.1 and §13.4), although both might be related.

(3.43) [bi-e nokae]_O feeko_O fino~fino-di-ku_{EPRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G canoe slowly make~RED-LK-1sg
 ‘I am making (and making) this canoe slowly.’

(3.44) yo-ga-kai=za_{PREP} mai jaai!_{PREP}
 tell-PASS-1pl=UNCERT LET go
 ‘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*¹⁰⁸ ‘outside’, *jerei* ‘inside’.

B2. ADVERBS THAT CONTAIN FORMATIVE ELEMENTS – these are three adverbs, *afai* ‘upriver’, *ari* ‘uphill (upper part of land)’, *fuiiri* ‘downriver’, *ana* ‘down, below’. Interestingly, *ari*, *afai*, and *ana*¹⁰⁹ 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 *fuiiri* ‘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)’; some can also be followed by the unproductive *-ne* followed by classifiers and repeaters, e.g.

¹⁰⁸ Synchronically, *jino* is fully lexicalized but contains what might have been the classifier ‘specific place’ *-no*.

¹⁰⁹ The adverb *ana* ‘down, below’ contains the element *aa*, cf. *aa-na* (up-ABL) ‘from above’.

ari-ne-ziki (uphill-LOC:NSP-CLF.REP:JUNGLE) ‘(jungle located) uphill’. 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 and number words.¹¹⁰ A few time words contain the formative *-jiza* (-LITTLE) with emphatic readings.¹¹¹

Murui time words can be divided into a number of semantic classes (following Dixon 2012:20), such as DURATION (*dayu* ‘for a moment’), FREQUENCY (e.g. *jaka* ‘always, never’), SPECIFIC TIME SPAN (*aiyi* ‘a brief moment ago’, *naiyi* ‘later’, *jae* ‘in the past’, *jitiramo* ‘in the morning, at dusk’, *naiio(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), as *jae/jaie*¹¹² ‘(in the past’, or the classifier *-fe* meaning ‘side’, as in *jaife* ‘in the past (lit. on the side of the past)’. Time words also contain forms that occur with the positive attributive *-re*, as in *ikare* ‘tomorrow’, *nare* ‘yesterday’, *aare* ‘long (time)’. A few can take the topical non-S/A subject

¹¹⁰ Cf. the element *ja-* in *jadi-* meaning ‘near (close to the hearer)’ and *na-* (a special form of the anaphoric specific demonstrative *nai-* (§3.3.3), and the number word *da-* ‘one, alone’ (§3.2.3).

¹¹¹ 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’. See T1.55 in the Appendix.

¹¹² *Jaie* (glossed as PAST) is a variant of *jae* ‘(in the) past’, see e.g. T1.12, T1.15, and T3.26 in the Appendix.

-*na*, such as *naio* ‘night’ and *naiona* ‘at night’.¹¹³ 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!’

The suffix -*kaño* forms the words ‘once’ (*dakaño*, cf. *da-* ‘one’) and ‘twice’ (*menakaño*, cf. *mena* ‘two’) from number words.¹¹⁴ Nominal modifiers can take classifiers and have temporal meanings, such as *bi-rui* (this.CTS-CLF:DAY) ‘today’, *jiai-mona* (other-CLF:SEASON) ‘next year’ (see §4.2). Unlike other time words, nouns referring to time take nominal morphology, as in *bi-rui-ai* (this.CTS-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 no longer used.

3.2.3 Number words

Murui has a small set of number words. There is also considerable variation in the forms from ‘five’ onwards, with each clan counting somewhat differently. I discuss here number

¹¹³ 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 non-S/A subject marker -*na*. This is similar in Tucano, a language spoken by the Murui neighbors 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, 2003b).

¹¹⁴ Depending on the speaker, the word ‘one time’ is either pronounced as *dakaiño* or *dakaño* (see example (7.13) in §7.2.1.1). 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*. *Nano* can take the focus marker -*ka*, as in *nano-ka*.

words as used by the *Ereiaí* clanolect (Cara-Paraná). Nowadays, the usage of Murui number words in the everyday speech is correlated with age and knowledge of the speakers.

The Murui count using their fingers and toes.¹¹⁵ 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* (center-CLF:STICK) or *aare-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 continued 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 counting. Number words of each system have mixed word class membership. In terms of their morphological composition, we can identify three distinctive ‘counting’ strategies:

A. BASIC NUMBER WORDS ‘ONE’ AND ‘TWO’ – the forms *da-* ‘one’ and *mena* ‘two’ are the simplest underived and unanalyzable words expressing numeral meanings. Nowadays, their primary function is to indicate an exact quantity, but *da-* can also mean ‘alone’ and *mena* ‘unit, set of two things, pair’. Synchronically, these forms do not seem to belong to the same word class. At least in Murui, there is evidence for *da-* and *mena* having somewhat different

¹¹⁵ 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(te)* can have multiple meanings, one of which is ‘count’.

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 aa-ma-ni]_{NP:O} jai kue-ti-_{OPRED}
 one-CLF:LEAF brother-CLF:DR.M-PRIV already write-LK-2sg
 ‘You have already written three pages.’

(3.52) [da-mie aa-ma-ni]_{NP:O} diga maiji-di-ka_{IPRED}
 one-CLF:PR.M brother-CLF:DR.M-PRIV WITH work-LK-1PL
 ‘We work with three men.’

The term ‘four’ is *naga aamaga* ‘four’ where *aama* ‘brother’ is suffixed by the agreeing quantifier suffix *-ga* (classifier-like morpheme meaning ‘all’, ‘each’, or ‘every’, see §4.3.1); *aama* ‘brother’ is modified by *naga*. The term ‘four’ roughly translates as ‘all brothers (lit. all of each brothers)’.¹¹⁶ An 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 aa-ma-ga jiko]_{NP:S} i-t-_{EPRED}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT dog exist-LK-3
 ‘There are four (lit. all of each brothers) dogs in the house.’

The fraternal number word ‘four’ can occur with classifiers and repeaters. Compare examples (3.54-55) below:

(3.54) [kue ai]_s [naga aa-ma-ga oogodo]_{NP:O} ati-d-_{EPRED}
 1sg wife EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT banana bring-LK-3
 ‘My wife has brought four bananas.’

¹¹⁶ 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 the Appendix).

- (3.55) uzu-ños [naga aa-ma-ga-godo]_{NP:O}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-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 nouns meaning ‘hand’ and ‘foot’. For instance, the number word *dabekuiro* ‘five’ translates as ‘one (hand’s) leaf peel’; ‘ten’ is interpreted as ‘all (hands’) leaf peels’:¹¹⁷

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

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’ literally

¹¹⁷ 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’. 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’.

translates as ‘one hand’s leaf peel over two’ where ‘two’ is the basic number word *mena*, as in example (3.58):

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

- 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 over three’). Additionally, the ‘base’ number words are followed by *emodo-mo* (over-LOC) that translates as ‘over,’ as in (3.59):

- (3.59) [da-be-kuiro emodo-mo [naga aa-ma-ga]]_{NP}
 one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL over-LOC EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT
 ‘nine (lit. one leaf peel 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 aiyue-na i-t-e* (very already big.CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3) ‘it is already very much’, or *jaka uizi 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)’.¹¹⁸ Some elders say that there is

¹¹⁸ 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, 2003b: 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.

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 counting might suggest that the Murui numeral system may have been ‘developed’ fairly recently.¹¹⁹

3.3 Closed word classes

Given their functional and derivational possibilities, we can recognize ten closed word classes for Murui (see also Table 3.5 in §3.4). The closed word classes can be divided into those that can head intransitive predicates, and those that do not. Those that can function as heads are:

1. QUANTIFIERS AND INTENSIFIERS – a small class of quantifiers that function as heads of intransitive predicates when followed by classifiers (except for *nana* ‘all’). The intensifier *eo* is unusual in that it cannot occur with either verbal or nominal morphology.
2. PRONOUNS – a closed class that distinguish between singular, dual, and plural number.
3. DEMONSTRATIVES – bound forms forming a system of nominal demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives.

¹¹⁹ Possibly at 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.

4. INTERROGATIVES – bound forms *bu-* ‘who’ and *ni-* ‘which’; as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, they function as heads of intransitive predicates.

Those that cannot function as heads of intransitive predicates are:

5. THE CONNECTIVE *ie* – the connective *ie* has a fixed position within a clause (unless *ie* occurs in an argument position).
6. ADPOSITIONS – a small class of postpositions that head adpositional noun phrases; some can occur in the pre-head positions.
7. INTERJECTIONS – a number of conventionalized emotional exclamations and discourse markers.

3.3.1 *Quantifiers and intensifiers*

Murui quantifiers and intensifiers form two separate sets of markers. These are discussed in turn:

A. QUANTIFIERS – the forms of quantifiers include *nana* ‘all’, *naga* ‘each, every’, *aiyo* ‘a lot’, *jeenino* ‘little’, 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).¹²⁰ The quantifiers *nana* ‘all’ and *naga* ‘each, every’ can head an intransitive predicate only if it takes a classifier. *Nana* can occur as an argument, as in (3.60),

¹²⁰ 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 peel)’ (see §3.2.3).

and 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 jino_{LOC} o-ga_{PRED}
 really ALL outside get-PASS
 ‘(One) takes everything outside (out of the house)’

(3.61) ua [komini nana]_S ua ka_{MA}-re i-t-_{CPRED}
 really people.CLF:DR.GR ALL really happy-ATT exist-LK-3
 ‘Really, all the people are happy.’

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

Unlike *nana* ‘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 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-_{CPRED}
 EACH person RECIP-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP admire-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘Each person loves one another.’

(3.64) okaina-na_O jaka ka_{IA} naga-rui ri-ti-ka_{IPRED}
 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=_{ZAPRED}
 search-LK-1PL=UNCERT
 ‘And nowadays we really search (for work) from every angle (in all ways 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!’.

B. 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifier (with an adjectival root), as in (3.70).

- (3.66) *eo uiño-ti-OPRED*
 very know-LK-2sg
 ‘You know very much!’
- (3.67) *eo rozi-nai-ya jira ‘uzu!’ rei-t-CPRED*
 very cold-BECOME₁-E.NMLZ REASON grandfather.VOC say-LK-3
 ‘Because of (his body) getting 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-EMPH
 ‘Be careful! One has to bathe here very slowly!’
- (3.69) *ie jaka eo mare jo-fo-m_{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-t_{NP:VCC}*
 1sg son very good.ATT-CLF.REP:SON
 ‘My son is very good, handsome (lit. my son - very good (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 (1st, 2nd, and 3rd). In addition, Murui differentiates between masculine and feminine gender for the 3rd person singular, and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person dual.

There is no exclusive vs. inclusive distinction, unlike in other neighboring languages, such as

the neighboring Bora (Boran). In pronouns, the masculine gender is the functionally unmarked form in the dual (cf. §3.1.1 showing masculine animate classifiers as the functionally unmarked gender). There are no gender distinctions in plural number. The 3rd person pronouns are bound forms (originally, ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers) that are formed with demonstratives (§3.3.3). Murui pronouns are presented in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 Murui pronouns

	SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE	
1	kue		koko	kaiñai	kai
2	oo		omiko	omiñoi	omoi
3	-mie	-ñaiño	-aimaiai	-aiñuai	-maki

The 2nd person singular *oo* can be followed by a special ‘attention’ suffix *-re*.¹²¹ The most common bases for 3rd 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 3rd person pronouns, e.g. *bi-aimaiai* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.M.PL) ‘they (two males) (lit. those, close to speaker, two males)’.

Etymologically, the 3rd person dual masculine and feminine are cases of double marking (cf. the plural marker *-ai*, see §5.2).¹²² Interestingly, the 3rd 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 monophthongized, the forms are *dai-maiai* ‘(only) they two (males or a male and a female)’ and *dai-ñuai* ‘(only) they two (females)’. In the everyday speech, the 3rd person

¹²¹ *Oo-re* (2sg-ATTENTION) frequently precedes the noun *moo* ‘father’. *Oore* (*moo*) has honorific readings (see examples T4.2, T4.11, and T4.15 in the Appendix).

¹²² Occasionally speakers omit the first instance of the plural marker *-ai*. In such cases, the 3rd person dual masculine and feminine have forms *-maiai* and *-ñuai*.

singular feminine form *-ñaiño* can also be used as free forms *ñaiño* and *naiño*.¹²³ The phonological reduction can occur also with the 3rd person masculine dual. In rapid speech *-aimaiai* is sometimes pronounced as *-aimie* (see example (7.33) in §7.2.2.2).¹²⁴

Independent pronouns and verbal cross-referencing suffixes share the same forms for all persons. Unless animacy, gender, and number are important in the context, the 3rd person is always cross-referenced with the pronominal subject marker *-e* (cf. Table 7.1 in §7.1). This 3rd person cross-referencing suffix, used for low animate and inanimate referents, has the form of the generic classifier *-e*. This indicates that the person system is based on the opposition 1st and 2nd person (which are pronouns) vs. 3rd person (which are in fact noun-like forms which contain classifiers as derivational devices). That the 3rd person forms are different morphologically from the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns is shown by their morphosyntactic behavior:

A. The 1st and 2nd person (which are SAP) and 3rd person (non-SAP) do not form one paradigm. The 1st and the 2nd person pronouns can be suffixed with the 3rd person bound forms (that is, the 3rd person pronoun forms behave in the same manner as other classifiers), but not the other way around. For instance, the 1st person plural *kai* can take the 3rd person plural *-maki*, as in *kai-maki* (1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN) ‘us (our people, group)’. *Kaimaki* can also be

¹²³ *Ñaiño* and *naiño* are glossed as CLF:PR.F. Note that the ‘derivational’ animate classifiers *-ño* and *-ma* can occur as free forms *ño* and *mii* (CLF:DR.F and CLF:DR.M) as endearment forms for the family members of the same sex as ego. Interestingly, the form *mii* undergoes vowel centralization here, a process which is very common elsewhere in the language, e.g. distance calls and in songs (see §2.5.1).

¹²⁴ This is also the case for the 2nd feminine dual pronoun that, in rapid speech, is pronounced as *kañai*. The final element *-i* might be an older way of speaking. For instance, while in Murui the 1st person masculine dual is *koko*; in Minika it has the form *kokoï*.

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)’.

B. Unlike the 3rd person pronouns, the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns can take the genitive marker *-ie* (see §5.1.1.2).

C. Unlike 1st and 2nd person pronouns, the 3rd person dual forms *-aimaiai* (masculine) and *-aiñuui* (feminine), are complex forms that include the plural *-ai* and ‘derivational’ animate classifiers. As shown above for dual pronouns, the masculine gender is functionally unmarked in Murui. This is similar for the 3rd person marker *-maki* that contains the masculine animate 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 3rd person dual forms are unusual in that they can take the (verbal) emphatic plural *-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-PP-LK-3) for ‘(they) 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’.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ *Kome* ‘person’ might be cognate with *komo* ‘recent, new’ (as in ‘new person’).

- (3.71) bi-rui-do_{INS} kome_S jai iyi-mo_{LOC} jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED} [riai
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS 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.’

The use of pronouns in possessive NPs is discussed in §5.1. Murui reflexive is based on the nominal modifiers *da-ma* (one-CLF:DR.M) ‘(male) alone’, *da-ño* (one-CLF:DR.F) ‘(female) alone’, and *da-ni* (one-CLF:DR.GR) ‘(group of humans) 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’.¹²⁶ 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, as in (3.63) (see also §8.3.2 for details).¹²⁷

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

¹²⁶ This ambiguity is frequently resolved by specifying what part of the body is being washed; see also Petersen de Piñeros (1998).

¹²⁷ In fact, *koni* is a type of a locative adposition (see §3.3.6), e.g. *Letisia=koni* (Leticia=LOCAL₁) ‘in Leticia’, that might be related to the word *konirue* ‘youngster, fellow’ (cf. *-rue* for CLF:THINGS). Occasionally, Murui speakers interpret the reciprocal *koni(-ma/-ño/-ni)* as a locational preposition in Spanish *entre* ‘between’ (see §8.3.2).

demonstratives are bound forms that occur with classifiers (as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers; within an NP they take the generic classifier *-e*). Adverbial demonstratives are free forms that share their base forms with nominal demonstratives. Murui nominal and adverbial demonstratives are discussed in turn.

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* can be used as a textual anaphora, cf. §3.3.5). The Murui nominal demonstratives are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 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’.¹²⁸

The nominal ‘visible’ demonstratives are frequently accompanied with gestures, eye gaze, or lip-pointing (see §2.9 on nonverbal communication and deictic gestures). Some examples are given in (3.72-74) below. In (3.72-73) the nominal demonstratives *bi-* ‘this (close to speaker)’ and *jadi-* ‘this (close to hearer)’ occur with the generic classifier *-e*, and they function as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers within an NP. (3.74) illustrates the ‘headless’ nominal modifier *bai-bi* (that.FSH-CLF:SUB) ‘that (far away from speaker and hearer) (*cahuana* drink)’, 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.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M forest-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:BUSHY Kata-LOC give.IMP
 yi-aka-ye-na_{Pur}
 eat.fruit-DES-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Give this 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)

¹²⁸ This possibly includes the postposition *diga* ‘with’ (see §3.3.6).

The proximal visible demonstrative *jadi-* can have semantic extensions, and is not accompanied by gestures.¹²⁹ In (3.75) below, Rubio, a son of Lucio, had asked his father to lend him money. He finishes his plea with:

- (3.75) moo... jadi-kin_{NP:O} jika-no-ti-ku_{PREL}
 father this.CTH-CLF:NEWS request-SMLF-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-kino eki-mo]_{NP:LOC} jiai-kino_S i-ñe?_{PREL}
 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-* is occasionally accompanied with a head tilt gesture. An example is presented in (3.77). It comes from a conversation in a jungle garden, 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 generic classifier *-e*, modifies the noun *ziyi* ‘bird’ within an NP. In addition, the nominalized *ñaiia* ‘speaking’ is a complementation strategy where it functions as a core argument O (marked with the core case marker *-na*) of the verb *kaka(de)* ‘hear, understand’.

¹²⁹ Diachronically, the proximal visible demonstrative *jadi-* might have been a complex form, consisting of *ja-* and the topical S/A subject marker *=di*, that became fused with the demonstrative root. 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, heard from some unspecified place e.g. in a story’. Note that **jadi=dine* is ungrammatical.

- (3.77) [[aki-e ziyi]_{NP:O} ñai-a-na]_{Cl:Comp} kaka-di-o?_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G bird.type speak-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 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 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-kue_{PRED}
 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:E} izoi-d-e_{PRED}
 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 unspecific 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 discourse (see also §13.2 on bridging functions of the connective *ie*, that is formed with the unspecific anaphoric *i-* and the generic classifier *-e*). Neither *i-* nor *nai-* have a spatial reference.¹³⁰

An example of the unspecific anaphoric demonstrative is given in (3.80), which is a

¹³⁰ Although all nominal demonstrative forms contain the element /i/ (*bi-*, *jadi-*, *bai-*, *aki-*), there is at least some indication of some relation between the specific anaphoric *nai-* and the unspecific *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. *fuue* 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’). In ritual discourse the anaphoric *naa* can occur as a free form.

- (3.83) *ie* *muido-na* *nai-e=di*_{NP:S} *aa*
 CONN FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:G=S/A.TOP above
*ame-gi-mo*_{LOC} *kaka-d-e*_{PRED}
 wood-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER-LOC hear-LK-3
 ‘In the end it [the frog] heard the world from above the tree branch.’

B. ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES – a small closed word class of adverbial demonstratives, these can have underived forms as well as lexicalized forms that contain affixes, which synchronically are not productive.

B1. UNDERIVED ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES – these are monosyllabic *bii* ‘here’ and *baa* ‘there’. Murui nominal demonstrative bound forms *bi-* ‘this’ and *bai-* ‘that’ discussed in A above share their forms with *bii* and *baa*. 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 discourse (see §13.4).

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=di_{NP:A} [kai uai-na]_{NP:O} ebi-rui-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 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-e_{PRED}
 already HERE.LOC:NSP really heart-CLF: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 pointing at his heart)
- (3.85) aai! jadi da-ño jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 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 people.CLF:DR.GR=S/A.TOP THERE
 i-mie]_{NP:O} kueno-ka=za_{PRED}
 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) aare kue jooi-aka-ia_{PRED} baai baa kue ua [riai
 long 1sg lie-DES-COND1 THERE ATTENTION 1sg really non.Witoto.PL
 maiyo-mo]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue-na_{PRED} jaai-di-kue_{PRED} [jaii 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-no_O yo-t-e_{PRED} ana aki ie=di_A
 just empty-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_{PRED} [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)’:

and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers), as illustrated in (3.93). This is the same form as the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* elsewhere (which is subject to DOM, see §6.2.1.5):¹³²

- (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 Interrogative content words

Murui distinguishes between content, polar, tag, and alternative questions. All of these have some phonological and morphological properties characteristic of them, such as different intonation patterns (see §11.2). This section focuses on interrogative content words.

Murui interrogative content words fill an argument slot in content questions. There are two free interrogative forms: *buu* ‘who?’ and *nii* ‘which?’. With classifiers (that occur on ‘headless’ 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 content words are summarized in Table 3.4.

¹³² In the neighboring Kotiria (East Tucanoan) the O marker *-re* also has ablative meanings (Stenzel, 2013).

Table 3.4 Murui interrogative content 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. to do what)?’
<i>nii</i> (Q ₂)	free	<i>nii</i>	‘which?’
	as modifier	with a classifier <i>ni-e</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:G) <i>ni-mie</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:PR.M) <i>ni-rui</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:DAY) <i>ni-rui</i> (Q ₂ -CLF.REP:HOURL) <i>ni-no</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:SP.PLACE) etc. with a classifier and the similative <i>-ze</i> , as in <i>ni-e-ze</i> (Q ₂ -CLF:G-SIMIL) with the classifier-like <i>-ga</i> and <i>-ne</i> : <i>ni-ga</i> (Q ₂ -QUANT) <i>ni-ne</i> (Q ₂ -LOC:NSP)	‘which (one)?’ ‘which (male)?’ ‘which (day)?’ for ‘when’ ‘which (hour)?’ for ‘when’ ‘which (specific place)?’ ‘how (lit. in which way)?’ ‘how much, how many?’ (lit. which quantity)?’ ‘where (lit. which (unspecified) location)?’

A. INTERROGATIVE CONTENT WORD *buu* – the reference of *buu* is inherently human.¹³³

Examples (3.94-96) are verbless clauses with a human referent, where *buu* is used as an argument. (3.97) is an example of the interrogative form *buu* functioning as head of an intransitive predicate:

¹³³ According to the Murui origin myth, the question word *bue* ‘what’ was the first word uttered by the first ancestor Muruima. It is also used as an autonym, to refer to the Murui language (§1.3.1).

- (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_A jadi-e-ze oo-na_O rai-t-e!_{PRED}
 Q1=REP this.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).

- (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).’

(3.100) illustrates a possessive construction where *buu*, followed by the connective *ie*, functions as a possessor (cf. possessive constructions for 3rd person referents in §5.1):

- (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 content 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.CTH-CLF:NEWS learn-LK-2sg
 ‘From whom did you learn these news?’

- (3.102) mai kue-m_{00:ADDRESSEE} yo-n_{0PRED} bu-e-ri bi-ñe-di-omoi?_{PRED}
 LET 1sg-LOC tell-IMP Q₁-CLF:G-BENEF.CAUS come-NEG-LK-2pl
 ‘Fine, 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’ animate classifiers *-ma* and *-ño*, see §4.2.2.2), as in (3.103):

- (3.103) pero i-kin₀₀ yo-t-e_{PRED} 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-e₀ ikare ñe-iti-o?_{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:G tomorrow.ATT do-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘What will you do tomorrow?’

- (3.105) bu-rue₀ 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 word (see §13.4). This is illustrated in (3.106):

- (3.106) buu-mie...s eo rii-re aizi-d-e..._{PRED}
 Q₁-CLF:PR.M very strong-ATT run-LK-3
 ‘He (what is his name?) runs very quickly...’

Another interrogative content word based off *buu* is *bueñe(ye)* ‘why (lit. to do what)’.

Bueñe(ye) is in fact a semi-grammaticalized expression, with *bue* ‘what (thing)’, followed by the verbal root *ñe-* ‘do’ and (occasionally, the future nominalizer *-ye*). It seem to be on its

way to become an interrogative content word in its own right. 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} OOBLIQUE fa-ga?_{PRED}
 WHY this.CTS-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 also shows certain associations between interrogative and indefinite words:

INTERROGATIVE CONTENT 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 content 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 1sg know-FUT.E.NMLZ-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.’

‘Headless’ 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-FUT.E.NMLZ-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=S/A.TOP El.Encanto-LOC ANA.NSP-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 CONTENT WORD *nii* – the interrogative content word *nii* has a distributive reading, and, in a free form, is best translated as ‘which?’, as in (3.114) and, occasionally, can be interpreted as ‘where?’:¹³⁴

- (3.114) *nii* oo_S yo-ga?_{PRED}
 Q2 2sg tell-PASS
 ‘Which (one), did you say?’

‘Headless’ 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)?’. 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) *ni-no-mo*_{NP:ABL} *kaka-di*-_O_{PRED} *nai-naiño*_A [Rata
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL hear-LK-2sg ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F Rata
diga] *jifanua?*_{PRED}
 WITH play.SMLF.E.NMLZ
 ‘Where (lit. which place) did you hear that she played with Rata?’

¹³⁴ Among the Murui, it is customary to ask *nii?* ‘which, where?’ upon receiving a gift, as a marker of downgrading the imposition on the person who offers the gift. In such cases, *nii* does not take a classifier (that would refer back to the physical property of the object that is given).

- (3.116) *nì-rui-do*_{NP:INS} [dane abido] *kai_s gairi-dì-kai?*_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:DAY-INS ONCE AGAIN 1pl gather-LK-1pl
 ‘When (lit. which day) will we gather once more?’

The interrogative *nìi* frequently occurs with the general quantifier suffix *-ga*, as in *nì-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) *nì-ga raifi-d-e?*_{PRED} *nì-ga peso?*
 Q2-QUANT have.value-LK-3 Q2-QUANT peso.Sp
 ‘How much does it cost?’

- (3.118) *nì-ga-ñaiño?*_{NP}
 Q2-QUANT-CLF:PR.F
 ‘How many (of females)?’

When accompanied by the generic classifier *-e* for ‘which (thing)’, *nìi* can also take the similative *-ze*, as in (3.119). As such, it can be further used predicatively, as in (3.120). This is unlike the interrogative content word *buu* (*bue*) which cannot occur with the similative *-ze*.

- (3.119) *nì-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?’

- (3.120) *nì-do-ze-d-e?*_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:POINTED-SIMIL-LK-3
 ‘Of which (seed) size is it?’

The interrogative content words containing *nìi* might have indefinite meanings, as in (3.121). Interrogative forms with *nìi*, 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 *nìi-ka* is similar to that of *buu-ka* elsewhere.

- (3.121) *nì-no_o i-ñe-d-e*_{PRED} [*kai i-ya-no*]_E *izoì-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 like our place of living).’

(3.122) L: kue-ka_S jaie=koni rao-ti-kue_{PRED}
 1sg-FOC PAST=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.HAB-E.NMLZ
 ‘Really... (No matter) 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 also §13.2.3).¹³⁵ 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-ze* (CONN-SIMIL) ‘this way’ as well as with Murui adpositions (see §3.3.6). Unlike other nominal forms, the connective has a special property: it occur with the emphatic *-za*, as in *ie-za* (CONN-EMPH) ‘(so) that’ and the reported *=ta*, as in *ie=ta* (CONN=REP) ‘so (as said)’. 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-m_{ONP:LOC} rii-d-_{EPRED} moo-tia_S
 eat-LK-1sg CONN-LOC arrive-LK-3 father-KIN.PL
 ‘I ate, at 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 §12.3.1).

¹³⁵ The connective *ie* originates in the anaphoric *i-* and the generic classifier *-e*. Synchronically, *ie* behaves as a word class in its own right, differently from other demonstratives (see also §3.3.5 and §13.2.3).

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 THE FORMATIVE *di-* – there are the postpositions free forms *diga* ‘with, together with’ (cf. *niga* ‘how much’ in §3.3.4, and *naga* ‘each, every’ in §3.3.1) and *dine* (cf. the unproductive suffix with locative semantics *-ne*, see §4.3.2), which often occur as enclitics. An example of post-head *dine* are given in (7.148) in §7.3, and (11.9) in §11.1.1. *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-EMPH hear.TH
 ‘(They) have to come back from there, do you hear (me)?!’

The postposition *diga* ‘with, together with’ was shown in (3.52) and (3.115). 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 are 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 *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 emphatic adposition, the locative *koni* (or *oni*), 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 bound marker *koni-* (cf. §3.3.2) in (3.130):

- (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 be.calm-LK-1sg
 ‘And so, with their word alone, I sit still (lit. I am calm) next to you.’
- (3.130) dakaiño [ñeni-ño [yai-ño diga]]_S
 ONE.TIME armadillo-CLF:DR.F chucha-CLF:DR.F WITH
 koni-ma-mo rii-d-e_{PRED}
 RECIP-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*, *-do*, and the similitive *-ze*, such as *jira(di)*, *jira(ri)* ‘because’, *muidona* ‘for reason’ (see example T2.14 in the Appendix), *fakai(na)* and *fakai(ze)* ‘at time/moment that’ (see example T3.29), *emodo(mo)* ‘over, above, on top of’, *eki(na)* ‘at the side’, *ruika(na)* ‘(at the other) side (commonly, of the river)’, *mamedo* ‘in the name of’, and all types of standard markers (S-MARKS) in comparative constructions (see §9.2). The Murui postpositions are based on nouns (with exception of S-MARKS that are based on adverbs and adverbial demonstratives). An example of the postposition *muidona* ‘for reason’ (followed by the marker *-na*) is given in (3.131) (see also (12.93-95) in §12.3.1):

- (3.131) [[kue jito] muido-na] rii-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg son FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP 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 *jii*¹³⁶ ‘yes, no’, *jmm* ‘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 interjection is *oo* that is used to respond to someone’s call. The sound ↓*ih*, used to express a sign of agreement and back channeling, 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 calls, and the interjection *nee* 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 §13.4 on the attention getting *baa*.

Murui interjections stand outside the grammatical, phonological, or lexical system of the language. Not only can any morphological processes apply to them, they also involve sounds that generally do not occur in the language, such as the pulmonic ingressive airflow used for ↓*ih*.

3.4 Summary

The morphosyntactic characteristics of nouns, verbs, and adjectives are compared with those of the closed classes in Table 3.5 below.¹³⁷ If a member of a word class has to be derived in

¹³⁶ Possibly the verb *jiiika(de)* ‘request’ and *jikano(te)* ‘ask’, as well as *jiai* ‘too, as well’ (followed by the plural marker *-ai*) might be related to *jii* ‘yes, no’.

¹³⁷ Semi-closed classes are not included in Table 3.5 (§3.4) as they are morphologically varied. Adverbs, members of the semi-closed word class mostly are of adjectival origin, and function as modifiers of a verb.

order to occur in a certain function, it is marked with an asterisk. In Murui, a member of the majority of word classes 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 is limited, with adjectives showing the greatest number of possibilities. Nouns are prototypical heads of an NP; open and closed word classes have to have certain derivational processes applied to them to 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).

Table 3.5 Comparison of Murui open and closed word classes

Functions	Open word classes			Semi-closed classes			Closed word classes							
	Noun (§3.1.1)	Verb (§3.1.2)	Adj (§3.1.3)	Adv (§3.2.1)	Time words (§3.2.2)	Number words (§3.2.3)	Quantifiers and Intensifiers (§3.3.1)		Pronoun (§3.3.2)	Dem (§3.3.3)	Inter (§3.3.4)	Conn (§3.3.5)	Adp (§3.3.6)	Interj (§3.3.7)
							Quantifiers	Intensifier						
Head intransitive predicate	yes	yes	yes	some	no	yes	*	no	yes	*	yes	no	no	no
Head transitive predicate	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
Verbal morphology	no	yes	some	some	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
Head of NP	yes	*	yes	no	no	*	*	no	*	yes	yes	no	-	no
Modifier to noun in NP	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
Modifier to verb	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no

4 Noun structure and classifiers

4.1 Noun structure

The Murui noun phrase (NP) can be defined as a grammatical constituent that functions as an argument 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 an NP follows the modifier, as illustrated in (4.1-2). Within an NP, adjectives always follow the head noun, as illustrated in (5.8) in §5.2.2.

(4.1) [bi-e jikO_{HEAD}]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog
 ‘this dog’

(4.2) [atava ri-ñiO_{HEAD}]_{NP}
 chicken woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘female chicken’

More complex NPs and NP heads include so-called ‘HEADLESS’ NOMINAL MODIFIERS, which are formed from other word classes by means of classifiers (suffixes); noun head is not stated. This is illustrated with the classifier-repeater *-ko* for ‘dog’ (from *jiko* ‘dog’) in (4.3-4). These also include possessive constructions (see §5.1.1.3) and nominalizations (see §3.1.4).

(4.3) kue-k_{NP}
 1sg-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘my (dog)’

(4.4) jea-re-di-k_{NP}
 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:¹³⁸

- (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, locative, instrumental, ablative, benefactive-causal, and privative, see Chapter 6 on grammatical relations).

The structure of a Murui noun illustrating noun slots is given in Scheme 3.1 in §3.1.1.

‘Headless’ nominal modifiers are formed with 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 §9.1 on NPs with adjectival roots).

- (4.5) *mare-ñaiñuái-na*_{NP:O} *uiño-to?*_{PRED}
 good.ATT-CLF:PR.F.PL-N.S/A.TOP know-LK.2sg
 ‘Do you know (those) beautiful (females)?’

Within an NP that contains a modifier followed by a noun, modifiers usually do not agree with the head noun (but see also (5.105) in §5.2.2); modifying elements are always marked with the generic classifier *-e*, regardless of the number or animacy of the noun, as illustrated with the demonstrative *bai-* ‘that’ in (4.6) below:

¹³⁸ There are a number of dependencies between noun classes, number, and classifier types in their co-occurrence (see §4.2.2.3 and §5.2).

- (4.6) [bai-e jaiga-bi]_{NP}
 that.FSH-CLF:G cahuana-CLF:SUB
 ‘that *cahuana* (drink)’

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)).’

Within an NP, adpositions are always postposed to the head noun (see also §3.3.6). This is illustrated in (4.8-9), with the locational *dine* ‘at’ and the comitative *diga* ‘with’:

- (4.8) Rubio_S [Lusio dine]_{LOC} i-ñe?_{PRED}
 Rubio Lucio AT.LOC:NSP exist-NEG
 ‘Rubio isn’t at Lucio’s?’
- (4.9) Clementina_S [Lusio diga]_{COMITATIVE} jaai-ya_{PRED}
 Clementina Lucio WITH go-E.NMLZ
 ‘Clementina went with Lucio.’

Within a possessive NP, a dependent noun (Possessor R) precedes the head noun (Possessed D) (see §5.1). This is illustrated in (4.10), where the head noun is *jofo* ‘house’:

- (4.10) [Fransiska_R jo-fo_D]_{POSSESSIVE.NP}
 Francisca house-CLF:CAV
 ‘house of Francisca’

Alternatively, the R element can be followed by the connective *ie*, as in [*Fransiska ie*]_D ‘Francisca’s’ (see §5.1.1.1). 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]_{VCS} 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) [[Lusio 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 §4.2 focuses on the multiple classifier system. 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. A brief summary is given in §4.6.

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), the neutral classifier *-ra* (§4.2.2.5), and classifiers-repeaters (§4.2.2.6-7).

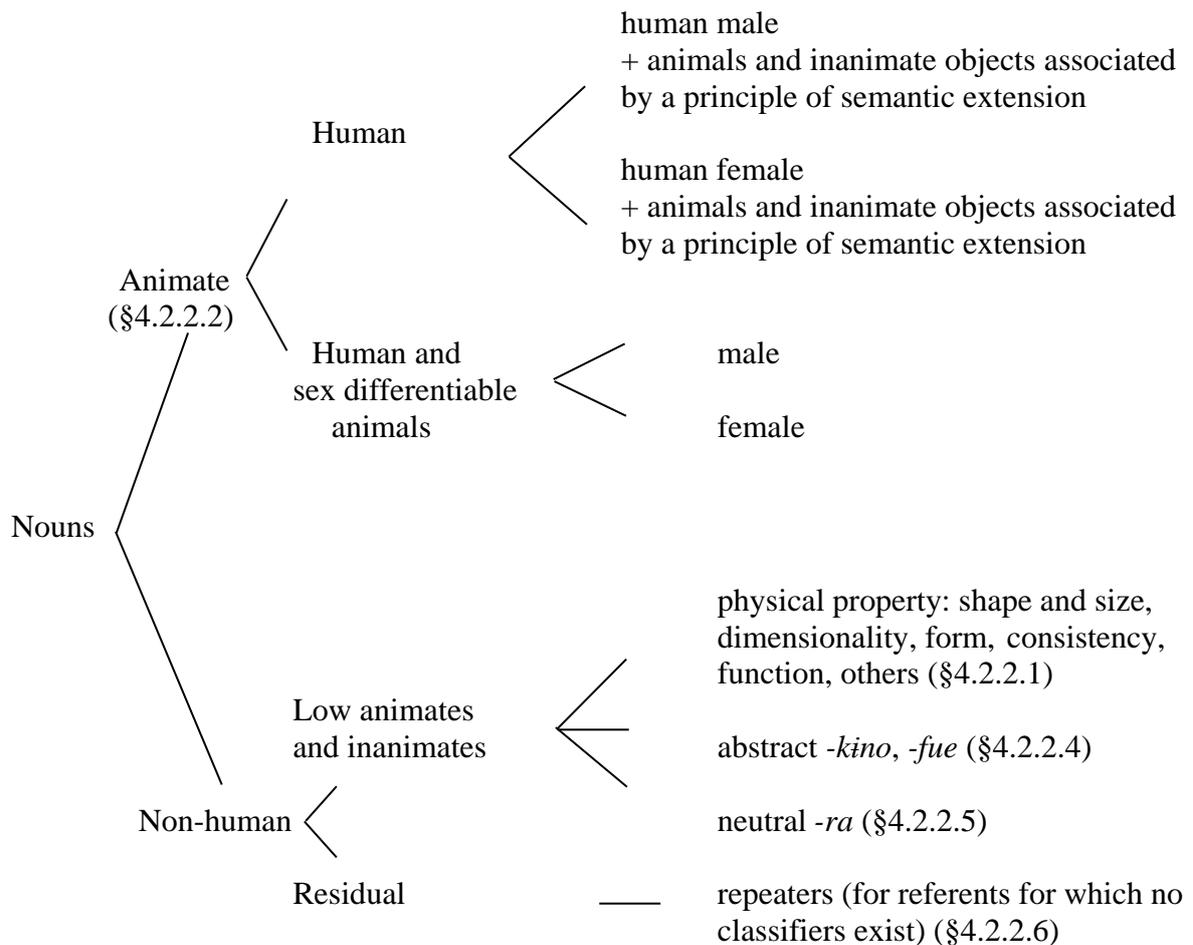
4.2.1 General overview

One of the most salient characteristics of the nominal morphology of Murui is a large multiple classifier system that consists of more than 110 classifiers used in a variety of morphosyntactic contexts. The system is semi-open due to the occurrence of repeaters (i.e. 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) and sex differentiable animals (male-female), and other human referents (such as collective groups 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, with the neutral classifier *-ra* which has unspecified referent semantics. Repeaters are the residual category in that they are a way of referring to nouns for which no classifier is available (Aikhenvald, 2000: 335; Zubin & Shimojo, 1993: 491). They occur in the classifier slot but do not classify nouns, and 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 NOUN ROOTS can optionally occur with classifiers, e.g. *cheme* ‘brain (general)’, *cheme-kī* (brain-CLF:CLUSTER) ‘brain (specified for form)’,
- B. BOUND NOUN ROOTS, e.g. *de-* followed by the classifier *-fo* for ‘cavity’: *de-fo*

(nose-CLF:CAV) means ‘nose’,¹³⁹

C. VERBS (roots) (as nominalizers), e.g. *to-ti-mani* (flow-LK-CLF:BIG.RIVER) ‘(river that) flows’,

D. ADJECTIVES (roots), e.g. *mare-na* (good.ATT-CLF:TREE) ‘good (tree)’,

E. NUMBER WORDS (roots), e.g. *da-na* (one-CLF:TREE) ‘one (tree)’,

F. PRONOUNS (1st and 2nd person in possessive function), e.g. *kue-do* (1sg-CLF:POINTED) ‘my (seed)’,

G. DEMONSTRATIVES (roots), e.g. *bi-foro* (this.CTS-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘this (feather-shaped leaf)’, *i-no* (ANA.NSP-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘any (specific place)’,

H. INTERROGATIVE CONTENT WORDS (roots), e.g. *ni-bani* (Q₂-CLF:PLANK) ‘which (plank)?’,

I. QUANTIFIERS, e.g. *naga-bi* (EACH-CLF:SUB) ‘each (thick drink)’.

The classifiers differ in how obligatory they are in those different environments. Animate classifiers stand apart from classifiers of other types. Table 4.1 at the end of this section offers a summary of the occurrence of classifiers in various morphosyntactic environments. Classifiers can have up to three structural positions in the nominal structure (see §3.1.1), as shown in (4.14) below:

- (4.14) *da-be-kuiro-kai*
 one-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PEEL-CLF:STEM
 ‘five (stem-like forms, e.g. cigarettes)’

¹³⁹ Some bound roots, such as *de-*, only occur in certain combinations. This is the case of *jo-* for ‘house’, as in *jo-fo* (house-CLF:CAV), and *ri-* for ‘woman’, as in *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F). Other bound forms are less restricted, e.g. *jiibi-* ‘coca’ in (4.103) in this chapter.

Murui nouns with non-human referents can be used as repeaters, e.g. *jiko*_{VCS} *aiyo-ko*_{VCC} (dog big-CLF.REP:DOG) ‘dog is big (lit. dog - big (dog))’, *nokae*_{VCS} *jano-kae*_{VCC} (canoe small-CLF.REP:CANOE) ‘canoe is small (lit. canoe - small (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.Sp) ‘one week’, *bi-mana* (this.CTS-CLF.REP:WEEK.Sp) ‘this (week)’ (see §4.2.2.6-7). A repeater is never longer than two syllables.

In discourse classifiers have anaphoric functions, and partially mark agreement (see §4.1). There is no agreement within an NP, and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers are marked with the generic classifier *-e*, regardless of their semantics or number distinctions. This is illustrated in (4.15-18). In (4.15) the demonstrative *bie* ‘this’ modifies a noun with an animate referent; in (4.16) the demonstrative *bie* ‘this’ modifies a noun that has an animate referent marked with the collective *-niai*; in (4.17) *daje* ‘one’ modifies a noun with an inanimate referent; in the last example (4.18) *baie* ‘that’ modifies a noun with an inanimate referent followed with the plural number *-iai*:

(4.15) [bi-e ïï-ma]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘this man’

(4.16) [bi-e ïï-ma-niai]_{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’

4.2.2 *Classifiers*

The multiple classifier system of Murui has a number of classifier types. Considering 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 (discussed in §4.2.2.1),
- ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS – based on inherent sex-distinction male vs. female distinction for humans and sex differentiable animals (§4.2.2.2-3),
- ABSTRACT CLASSIFIERS – denoting abstract concepts (§4.2.2.4),
- THE NEUTRAL CLASSIFIER *-ra* – for unspecified referents (§4.2.2.5),
- REPEATERS – partially repeated non-human nouns used for referents for which no classifiers exist (§4.2.2.6).

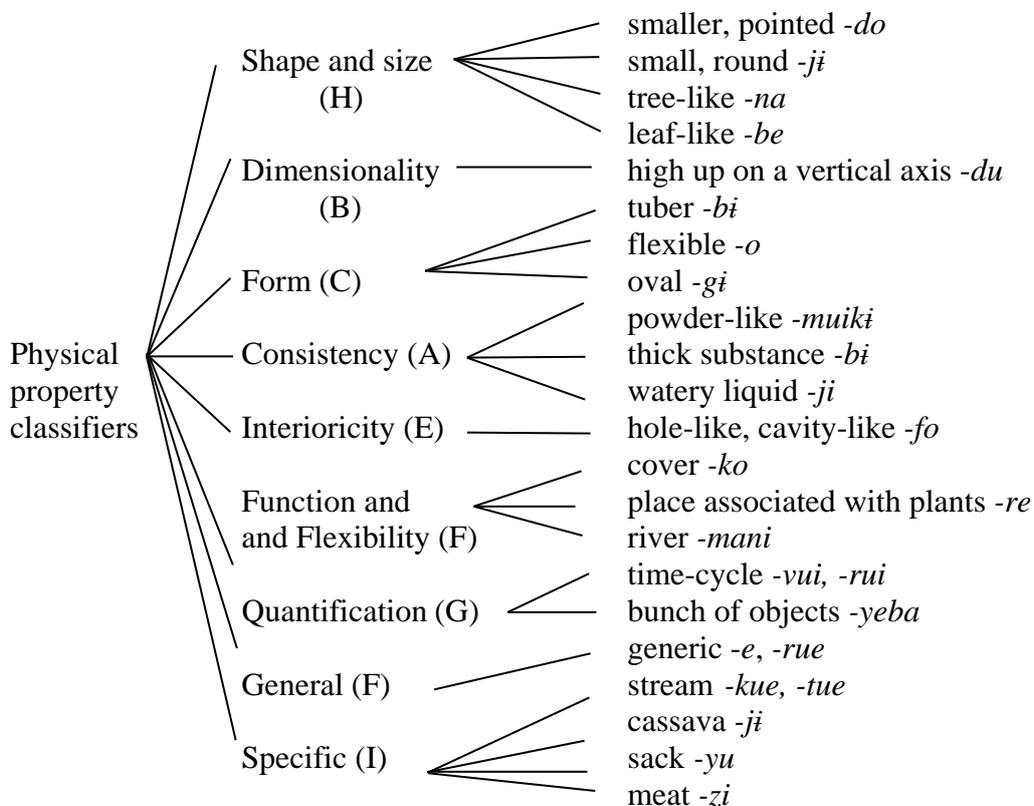
Physical property classifiers form the biggest classifier set in the language. The list of established classifiers consists of at least 100 physical property classifiers. Those classifiers denote primarily physical properties of inanimate objects, such as shape, form, dimensionality, consistency, etc. Murui also has 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 classifiers designate abstract concepts, such as ‘love’. The neutral classifier *-ra* refers to unspecified objects, e.g. *ana jaai-ra* (below go-CLF:NEUT) for ‘ladder (lit. thing

to go down)’. The last type of classifiers involves repeaters, which do not classify nouns but ‘only’ occur in the classifier slot. They have non-human referents, and 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

In agreement with typology of semantic features recurrent in classifier system outlined in Aikhenvald (2000: 272-274) and Aikhenvald (2017b), physical property classifiers characterize referents for their shape and size, dimensionality, form, consistency, interioricity, functional properties, and other physical property-related meanings. The semantics of Murui physical property classifiers are given in Diagram 4.2.

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 yuca *maika-ji*’, or a ‘thick substance’, as in *jaiga-bi* (*cahuana.drink-CLF:SUBS*) ‘*cahuana* (drink)’. Some classifiers are also semantically related and are polysemous, e.g. the classifier *-ko* stands for round things, as in *nofi-ko* (*stone-CLF:SPHERICAL*) ‘rock’, but can also have a meaning of a ‘cover’ and ‘container’, as in *juye-ko* (*totumo.fruit-CLF:COVER*) ‘pot (bowl made out of *totumo* fruit or gourd)’, and *taai-ko* (*empty-CLF:COVER*) ‘empty house’.¹⁴⁰ Semantics of a few classifiers seem to go beyond this. Murui classifiers seem to have a certain amount of semantic abstraction related to their physical properties. For instance, the classifier *-ji* for ‘cassava’ (in the Diagram 4.1 under ‘specific’) could be in fact subsumed under *-ji* ‘tube-shape’.¹⁴¹

On morphological grounds, physical property classifiers can be divided according to their forms, and can be either mono or disyllabic. While semantics of monosyllabic forms are more general in nature, the meanings of 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; the number of di-syllabic classifiers is estimated at 45-50. Murui classifiers are listed in Tables 4.2-3. Cf. Diagram 4.2.

(The organization of the tables is as follows:

- i) classifiers have been divided into semantic fields,
- ii) fields are referred to with letters in alphabetical order across two tables;
- iii) missing fields indicate that a certain semantic field does not occur for that classifier type.)

¹⁴⁰ The meanings ‘cover’ and ‘container’ may be related.

¹⁴¹ Murui cassava is preserved in forms of cassava rolls.

Table 4.2 Forms and meanings of established monosyllabic classifiers in Murui

FORM AND GLOSS	MEANING	EXAMPLES
A. CONSISTENCY		
- <i>bi</i> (CLF:SUBS)	thick substance, jelly-like	<i>jaigabi</i> ‘cahuana (thick drink)’; <i>yerabi</i> ‘liquid tobacco when it is thick in consistency’; <i>rozibi</i> ‘cahuana drink made of pineapples’; <i>nekabi</i> ‘cahuana drink made of <i>nekazi</i> (umarí fruit type)’; <i>nemobi</i> ‘cahuana made of <i>nemozi</i> (umarí fruit 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’
B. DIMENSIONALITY		
- <i>du</i> (CLF:HILL)	high up on a vertical axis	<i>idu</i> ‘height, hill, peak, mountain’; <i>ukudu</i> ‘stars’
C. 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> ‘leaf of <i>maraca</i> (fruit type)’; <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 yuca <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, abdomen (from <i>jebe</i> ‘abdomen)’; <i>ifogi</i> ‘head’; <i>jigi</i> ‘egg’; <i>jifikogi</i> ‘ <i>caimo</i> (fruit type) pit’; <i>unegi</i> ‘beehive’
- <i>ji</i> (CLF:TUBER)	specific form of roots with a tuber shape	<i>juiyiji</i> ‘yuca tuber’; <i>jakaiji</i> ‘yam tuber type (Sp. <i>ñame</i>)’; <i>kioji</i> ‘yam tuber (Sp. <i>ñame</i>)’; <i>refiji</i> ‘yam tuber type (Sp. <i>batata</i>)’
- <i>o</i> (CLF:FLEX)	long, flexible, form of rope, string, cord	<i>unao</i> ‘vine type (<i>Malpighiaceae Banisteriopsis</i>)’; <i>jaiio</i> ‘snake’; <i>nuiio</i> ‘anaconda’; <i>zuruo</i> ‘jungle snake’

D. FUNCTION AND FLEXIBILITY

- <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> 'yuca squeezer'
- <i>ki</i> (CLF:INHER)	referring to some inherent feature	<i>mameki</i> 'name', <i>jafaiki</i> 'breath', <i>mairiki</i> 'strength', <i>iniaki</i> 'dream'
- <i>kue</i> (CLF:BIG.STREAM)	big streams (also for rivers)	<i>Uiyokue</i> 'Cara-Paraná' (river, a tributary to Putumayo); <i>Minekue</i> (river name); <i>Bozikue</i> (river name)
- <i>ko</i> (CLF:COVER)	objects that cover	<i>ananeko</i> 'traditional roundhouse (Sp. <i>maloca</i>)'; <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 <i>chambira</i> 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 chili (Sp. <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-Paraná (river)'

E. INTERIORICITY

- <i>ba</i> (CLF:WIDE.CAV)	cavity form, wide, underground	<i>iba</i> 'wide hole in the ground'
- <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> 'bee hive'

F. GENERIC

- <i>e</i> (CLF:G)	unspecified for shape, form, size, generic (can further be combined with plural 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'
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G. QUANTIFICATION

- <i>ki</i> (CLF:CLUSTER)	cluster-like	<i>uruki</i> 'children', <i>onoki</i> 'hand (with all the fingers)', <i>jiyaki</i> 'base (of a plant)'
- <i>ruí</i> (CLF:DAY)	time cycle of one day	<i>yerarui</i> 'day when <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco) is sent out to invite to a dance ritual'; <i>moo irui</i> 'day of the Lord' (from Sp. <i>el día del padre</i>)
- <i>vui</i> (CLF:CYCLE)	time cycle of a month	<i>fivui</i> 'moon'; <i>navui</i> 'past month'
- <i>mona</i> (CLF:SEASON)	time cycle of a season, a year	<i>fiemona</i> 'summer'; <i>jiaimona</i> 'next year'

-rie (CLF:FEW)	some, a few objects	<i>dakinorie</i> ‘a few stories’; <i>damierie</i> ‘a few men’; <i>dajerie</i> ‘a few (of something)’
-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’

H. 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 <i>maloca</i> ’; <i>beyado</i> ‘corn cob, ear of maize’; <i>zikorado</i> ‘penis’
-do (CLF:SMALL.BUNCH)	small, roundish plant, usually small young 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 fiber’
-gai (CLF:BASKET)	basket-shaped, woven	<i>kirigai</i> ‘basket’; <i>jiibigai</i> ‘special basket used to carry coca’; <i>ñekigai</i> ‘special basket made from leaves of <i>chambira</i> palm’
-go (CLF:SKIN.SACK)	leather sack and skin-like forms	<i>jebego</i> ‘guts, intestine’ (cf. <i>jebe</i> ‘abdomen’)
-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 chili (Sp. <i>ají</i>)’; <i>konyiji</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 sugar 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>jagaiki</i> ‘fruit of <i>jagairai</i> ’; <i>jimeki</i> ‘fruit of peach palm (Sp. <i>chontaduro</i>)’; <i>komeki</i> ‘heart’
-ko (CLF:SPHERICAL)	inanimate spherical roundish objects, subsumes ‘round containers’	<i>guirako</i> ‘plate (lit. round thing to eat off)’; <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>jagaiki</i> fruit (Sp. <i>castaño silvestre</i>)’
-rai (CLF:STUD)	stud, pole-like shape	<i>goguirai</i> ‘supporting pole, stud of a <i>maloca</i> ’; <i>toirai</i> ‘ <i>toiroki</i> pole, cane’

-ru (CLF:OVAL)	big container of any shape or a bag	<i>jiibiru</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> bird (<i>Psarocolius</i>) that looks like a sack’; <i>bozayu</i> ‘big sack (cf. <i>bolsa</i> Sp.)’; <i>jebeyu</i> ‘stomach (cf. <i>jebe</i> ‘abdomen)’; <i>komaiyu</i> ‘ <i>komaiji</i> fruit in a bag’
-zi (CLF:OVAL.SMALL)	small, short, pointed (usually fruits)	<i>nekazi</i> ‘green <i>umarí</i> fruit’; <i>nemozi</i> ‘black <i>umarí</i> ’, <i>razi</i> ‘a piece of a stick, a stick which has been cut’

I. 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 -foro 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> ‘machete’; <i>jata</i> ‘metal axe’
-ya (CLF:CRAFT)	referring to a craft (e.g. boat, plane)	<i>raya</i> ‘boat’, <i>yoeya</i> ‘boat made of iron, metal’; <i>feeya</i> ‘airplane’; <i>Kataya</i> ‘boat, plane which is called <i>Kata</i> ’
-ye (CLF:RIVER)	river	<i>iyē</i> ‘river’; <i>mareye</i> ‘good, nice river’
-zi (CLF:MEAT)	raw meat	<i>merozzi</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
A. CONSISTENCY		
<i>-bero</i> (CLF:DOUGH)	dough consistency, small in size, squashed, smashed	<i>juiyibero</i> ‘mass of yuca’; <i>enibero</i> ‘mass of land’; <i>yerabero</i> ‘mass of <i>yera</i> (liquid tobacco)’
C. FORM		
<i>-bani</i> (CLF:PLANK)	long, plain, plank-shaped, wider	<i>biiirabani</i> ‘bench (lit. plank to lie down)’, <i>kuerabani</i> ‘desk (lit. plank to write)’; <i>tigiabani</i> ‘steps/planks used for cutting’ (cf. <i>tigi(de)</i> ‘cut oval forms’); <i>kodabani</i> ‘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	<i>omabeko</i> ‘flatter tail, not completely round in form’; <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>-kuiro</i> (CLF:PEEL)	peel, skin, rind	<i>onokuiro</i> ‘gloves (lit. hand’s skin)’; <i>oogokuiro</i> ‘banana peel’; <i>eyi 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)’
D. FUNCTION AND FLEXIBILITY		
<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 the Amazon River)
D. GENERIC		

- <i>rue</i> (CLF:THINGS)	unspecified for shape, form, size; generic, non-singular (can take plural number marking)	<i>Mika rarue</i> ‘things of the Mika people’, <i>enirue</i> ‘grounds, lands’, <i>dirue</i> ‘blood’
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G. QUANTIFICATION

- <i>yeba</i> (CLF:BUNCH)	bouquet of, bunch of, closely placed	<i>dioyeba</i> ‘bouquet of tobacco plants’
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H. 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, hard	<i>rairabiki</i> ‘bench (lit. long table to sit down)’; <i>omabiki</i> ‘long tail (of an animal)’; <i>rabiki</i> ‘splinter’
- <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)	bulging and protruding forms	<i>moidurai</i> ‘buttocks’, <i>komaidurai</i> ‘a form that remains when the <i>milpeso</i> tree rots (what remains is a bulge)’
- <i>duri</i> (CLF:BALL.SMALL)	form of small ball-like shapes	<i>dioduri</i> ‘tobacco bran that looks like a ball’; <i>onoduri</i> ‘form of a paw of an animal’
- <i>fako</i> (CLF:LONG.SOFT)	long, soft, small	<i>omafako</i> ‘tail (of a lizard or a monkey)’
- <i>foro</i> (CLF:FEATHER)	feather-like shape (especially palm leaves)	<i>ñekiforo</i> ‘ <i>chambira</i> palm leaf’; <i>jimeforo</i> ‘ <i>chontaduro</i> palm leaf’; <i>kineforo</i> ‘ <i>canangucho</i> palm leaf’; <i>neforo</i> ‘ <i>asaí</i> 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>-nigi</i> (CLF:PLAIN.THICK)	plain, longish roundish in form, thick	<i>rabenigi</i> ‘thick book (such as e.g. the 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 Minika)	<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> ‘yera (liquid tobacco) wrapped in ball-like package’; <i>juiyiroji</i> ‘small yuca tuber’
<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</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> ‘yuca 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)’

I. SPECIFIC

<i>-beji</i> (CLF:SIDE.WATER)	side of the river	<i>bibeji</i> ‘this side of the river (called <i>bibezi</i> in Minika)’
<i>-begi</i> (CLF:FLAT.POT)	pot-like; also trunk after being picked	<i>zibegi</i> ‘pot’; <i>ibegi</i> ‘trunk (of e.g. yuca) after having been picked’
<i>-biri</i> (CLF:SITE)	enclosed area, site, location, courtyard	<i>jiibibiri</i> ‘ground inside the <i>maloca</i> for men to gather at night and take in coca’; <i>nairāibiri</i> ‘ground in front of <i>maloca</i> ’; <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>-chupi</i> (CLF:SMALL.HOUSE)	small house	<i>jofochupi</i> ‘small house’

- <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 the <i>zuruma</i> tapir)’
- <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)	dried out tree with nodes	<i>duigaba</i> ‘tree which has dried out but still has its nodes’
- <i>gido</i> (CLF:SPLINTER)	splinter	<i>yoegido</i> ‘metal, iron splinter’
- <i>giri</i> (CLF:NODE.PEELED)	node or stick that remains after having picked it	<i>oogogiri</i> ‘fruit stalk of banana tree that remains after one plucks its leaves’; <i>beyagiri</i> ‘stick node of maize tree that remains after one plucks the corn’
- <i>giro</i> (CLF:WORM)	worm	<i>igiro</i> ‘worm type’; <i>izigiro</i> ‘tooth caries’
- <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>jiaikuri</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 yuca plant ready to be planted’; <i>jiibikuru</i> ‘part of coca plant ready to be planted’ <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 around one’s head’
- <i>tiru</i> (CLF:SMALL)	small animate	<i>uruetiru</i> ‘small children’
- <i>tiki</i> (CLF:HANGING)	set of objects hanging	<i>jefo itiki</i> ‘earring’
- <i>tiko</i> (CLF:AMOUNT)	a lot of, amount	<i>riamatiko</i> ‘a lot of non-Witoto’, <i>urutiko</i> ‘a lot of children’; <i>dirotiko</i> ‘a lot of blood’
- <i>tirai</i> (CLF:FUR)	hair, fur	<i>ifotirai</i> ‘hair on the head’; <i>uizi itirai</i> ‘eyelash (lit. eye’s hair)’
- <i>yobe</i> (CLF:SET)	set, package of objects (usually plants)	<i>ereyobe</i> ‘a set of the <i>erebe</i> leaves’
- <i>yoi</i> (CLF:HOLD.FRUIT)	part of leaves that hold fruit (in palms); also bunch of objects hang up	<i>jimeyoi</i> ‘part of the leaves that hold <i>chontaduro</i> fruits’; <i>kineyoi</i> ‘part of the leaves that hold <i>canangucho</i> fruits’; <i>ereyoi</i> ‘leaves of <i>erebe</i> being hung 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 interpreted as ‘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. Examples (4.19-20) illustrate mono and disyllabic classifiers 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
 ‘coca (container)’
- (4.20) *rozi-doro*
 pineapple-CLF:PINEAPPLE
 ‘pineapple (plant)’
- (4.21) *ebi-re-di-no*
 nice-ATT-LK-CLF:SP.PLACE
 ‘nice (place)’
- (4.22) *zuu-re-di-mani*
 sad-ATT-LK-CLF:BIG.RIVER
 ‘(river that is) sad’

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* ‘inanimate spherical roundish objects (that also subsumes containers)’, but synchronically *-beko* behaves as one morpheme, e.g.:

- (4.23) *oma-beko*
 tail-CLF:FLATTER
 ‘flat tail’

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 containers)’, as in (4.23), and *-ji* ‘small, round’ (see Table 4.2):¹⁴²

- (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. Let us take for instance the disyllabic classifier *-tiko* ‘very small’. While synchronically there is a classifier *-ko* for either ‘container’, ‘cover’, or ‘spherical objects’, there is no classifier that would have a form *-ti*.¹⁴³

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 a monosyllabic classifier in origin. For instance, while the structure of the disyllabic classifier *-doro* for ‘pineapple’ is not transparent anymore, one might possibly point to the monosyllabic elements *-do* ‘pointed objects’ and *-ro* for ‘string-like objects’ as its origin. For repeaters, this is not possible.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Since disyllabic classifiers behave synchronically as one morpheme, they are treated on a par with the monosyllabic classifiers. In some cases, however, disyllabic classifiers can slightly vary in terms of their morphosyntactic behavior, 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 monomorphemic or bimorphemic. 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.

¹⁴³ 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.

¹⁴⁴ Murui classifiers and repeaters do not appear to have distinct phonological features or prosodic status. Such differences would be more clearly notable in Minika than in Murui due to the stress difference between Murui and Minika. In Tucano spoken to the north-east, when a noun is used as a repeater, it loses its pitch (Ramirez, 1997: 241). In Tariana (Arawak), 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 a semantic one. For instance, *-ko* can either be interpreted as a classifier denoting ‘cover, container’ or ‘spherical objects’, or a repeater for ‘dog’ (from *jiko* ‘jaguar, 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 is big (lit. yours - big (house/round object/dog)).’

The generic classifiers *-e* (and its allomorph *-je*) and *-rue* are somewhat different from other physical property classifiers. They denote objecthood without specifying its physical properties.¹⁴⁵ 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*
 tooth-CLF:POINTED
 ‘tooth’

- (4.27) *izi-e*
 tooth-CLF:G
 ‘teeth’

- (4.28) **izi-do-e*

This is similar in example (4.29), where *jiibi-* ‘coca’ is specified for ‘tree-like shape’. In

(4.30), ‘coca’ has a ‘general’ meaning.

- (4.29) *jiibi-na-iai*
 coca-CLF:TREE-PL
 ‘coca trees’

¹⁴⁵ In Minika the generic classifier *-e* can also have non-singular readings, such as *iyi* ‘jungle garden’ becomes *iyie* for ‘jungle gardens (general)’, *jofo* ‘house’ becomes *jofue* for ‘housing (general)’.

- (4.30) *jiibi-e-nao* *ku_{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* and *-di* (see §3.1.4). Historically, they might have had the same origin. In (4.31), a human referent is cross-referenced with *-e*. Compare the slot of *-e* with the structural position of other classifiers (e.g. the abstract classifier *-kino*, as in *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}
 exist-LK-3
 ‘She came home, but where is she (how is it possible she is not here)?!’

The classifier *-e* is a default form that occurs on ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, such as *da-je* (one-CLF:G) ‘one’ (see §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 §13.2.3). 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 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.¹⁴⁶ Those animate classifiers that occur on nouns (noun root followed by a classifier), on the number word *da-* ‘one’, and a few verbs, are referred to as ‘DERIVATIONAL’. Those that are used in other contexts 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 ‘derivational’ feminine animate classifier *-ño* translates as ‘alone, by himself’ (see §8.3.1 on Murui reflexive). The number word *da-* followed by the ‘pronominal’ feminine animate classifier *-ñaiño* forms a ‘headless’ nominal modifier, as in (4.33). This cannot be interpreted as ‘(she) stayed there by herself’ but rather as ‘it was only one female who stayed home’.

(4.32) aa ! jađi da-ño jaai-d-e?_{PRED}
 INTERJ HERE.CTH alone-CLF:DR.F go-LK-3
 ‘Ah, did (she) go there alone, by herself?’

(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 reflexive readings are not available for forms such as (4.32), is further illustrated by

(4.34), where *dañaiño* occurs in an O NP function indicating that only one female was killed.

(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.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Derivational animate classifiers’ are not necessarily word-class-changing markers. The term ‘derivational’ was chosen to merely contrast them with ‘pronominal animate classifiers’. Both types of animate classifiers can be derivational in nature.

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*	B	<i>iiima</i> ‘man’ <i>jigadima</i> ‘tapir’ <i>manoraima</i> ‘(male) healer’
C (event nominalization, agentive nominalization with - <i>rai</i> , directly on verbs)				<i>riño</i> ‘woman’ <i>ueño</i> ‘frog’ <i>dobeño</i> ‘basin (to crush yuca in)’ <i>riaño</i> ‘non-Witoto (female)’	
- <i>ni</i> (CLF:DR.GR)		plural		E (number word <i>da</i> - ‘one’)	<i>Gidoni</i> ‘the <i>Gidoni</i> clan’ <i>Nogoni</i> ‘the <i>Nogoni</i> clan’ <i>komini</i> ‘people’
- <i>mie</i> (CLF:PR.M)	‘pronominal’	singular	natural gender distinction: female vs. male, and sex differentiable animals	A	<i>bimie</i> ‘he (this male)’ <i>fiiidimie</i> ‘(male) who robbed’ <i>jofomie</i> ‘house-man’
- <i>ñaiño</i> (CLF:PR.F)				C (relativization)	<i>baiñaiño</i> ‘she (that female)’ <i>fetokañaiño</i> ‘chosen one (female)’ <i>jofoñaiño</i> ‘house-wife’
- <i>no</i> (CLF:PR.GR) (restricted)		plural		D	<i>komuidino</i> ‘those who grew up’ <i>jiaino</i> ‘other (group)’
** <i>-maki</i> (CLF:PR.GR.AN)				E (all number words)	<i>nimaki</i> ‘(which) others’ <i>kaimaki</i> ‘us (our people)’
				F G H I	

* Nouns with non-human referents can also have a gender distinction: semantic assignment is not always transparent.

** On verbs the classifier -*maki* (CLF:PR.GR.AN) functions as a pronominal subject marker (glossed as (3pl)’ 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, *-ñio* for female, and *-ni* for group. They occur on bound noun roots, the number word *da-* ‘one’, and a few verbal roots (those referring to traditional artifacts, clan names, and such) (morphosyntactic loci B, C, and E, see Table 4.4). Certain kinship terms have a special property whereby these classifiers can be dropped in vocative forms, such as *eiño* > *ei!* for ‘mother’ (see §3.1.1).

The referents of animate classifiers *-ma* and *-ñio* are generally human. However, many animals and inanimate objects can also be assigned a gender by:

- their perceived physical properties (size and shape: bigger (male) vs. smaller (female),
- dangerousness: dangerous (male) vs. harmless (female),
- sex-related tasks: those belonging to the realm of men vs. those to the realm of women), and
- mythological associations (by anthropomorphizing animals and objects).

Examples of inanimate beings assigned to natural gender by their properties are: *dobe-ñio* (crush-CLF:DR.F) ‘basin (to crush unprocessed yuca)’, which is a women-only task, *ñeñi-ñio* (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 men. 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 and beliefs, as is the case for other languages, e.g. for Dyirbal in Australia (Dixon, 2015). Some body parts are given gender possibly on a taboo principle, such as the masculine classifier *-ma* in *yikoma* ‘clitoris’ (cf. *yi-* ‘suck’). This is somewhat similar to some Australian languages where male and female body parts are given

the opposite gender (Evans, 1994). The majority of body parts in Murui are referred to in terms of their physical properties, e.g. shape, form and interiority, *ifo-gi* (head-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 *iiima* ‘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) [jigadi-ma ii-ma]_{NP}
 tapir-CLF:DR.M man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘male tapir’

(4.38) [atava ii-ma]_{NP}
 chicken man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘male chicken’

For animate (sex-differentiable) referents, repeaters can attach to the words ‘man’ and ‘woman’ forming a new noun. This is illustrated in (4.39) where the independent noun *riño* ‘woman’ followed by the repeater *-dima* ‘tapir’ (from *jigadima* for ‘tapir’):

(4.39) ri-ño-dima
 woman-CLF:DR.F-CLF.REP:TAPIR
 ‘female (tapir)’ (cf. *jigadima* ‘tapir’)

In such structures, animate classifier occurs only with the word for ‘woman’, but not for ‘man’.¹⁴⁷ Compare (4.39) above with (4.40-41) below:

¹⁴⁷ This suggests that the noun root *ii-* is inherently masculine (unlike *riño*, which in fact originates from the verbal root *ri-* ‘eat meat’ followed by the ‘derivational’ feminine animate classifier *-ño*).

- (4.40) *iii-me*
 man-CLF.REP:PACA
 ‘male (paca)’ (cf. *ime* ‘lowland paca’)
- (4.41) [*daje* *iii-gui*]_{O:NP} *yi-no-ti-kue*_{CPRED} *nai-guis*
 one-CLF:G man-CLF.REP:AGOUTI tie-SMLF-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF.REP:AGOUTI
mare-na *jaye-d*_{CPRED}
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP smell-LK-3
 ‘I’ve tied up a male (agouti). That (agouti) smells nice.’

The words *riño* ‘woman’ and *iiima* ‘man’ can serve as a basis for further derivations using repeaters, e.g. *ri-ño-chara* (woman-CLF:DR.F-CLF.REP:SPOON.Sp) ‘woman’s spoon’ (cf. Sp. *cuchara* ‘spoon’).

To refer to a mixed group (of men and women), the ‘derivational’ animate classifier *-ni* is used (see also Table 4.4). It has animate reference of a collective group (but no natural gender distinction). Similarly to *-ma* and *-ño*, it occurs in the position of a ‘derivational’ animate classifier on nouns, verbs, adjectives, number word ‘one’, and a number of 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, on their own’, *nimairaini* ‘wise (men)’ (see also Wojtylak (2016a)). The classifier *-ni* cannot be considered on par with the animate *-ma* and *-ño*, however. Note that *-ni* cannot mark number on nouns. Example (4.42) shows that the classifier *-ni* cannot occur in the slot for the animate classifiers *-ño* and *-ma*. The plurality meaning is obtained in those contexts with the plural number marker *-ai*, the collective *-niai*, and the kinship plural *-tiai* (see §5.2).

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| (4.42) | SINGULAR | PLURAL/COLLECTIVE | UNGRAMMATICAL WITH <i>-ni</i> |
| | <i>ri-ño</i> ‘woman’ | <i>ri-ñucai</i> ‘women’ | * <i>ri-ni</i> |
| | <i>iii-ma</i> ‘man’ | <i>iii-ma-niai</i> ‘men (collective)’ | * <i>iii-ni</i> |
| | <i>uzu-ma</i> ‘grandfather’ | <i>uzu-tiai</i> ‘grandparents (kinship)’ | * <i>uzu-ni</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, ‘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 (position B, cf. Table 4.1 and 4.4):

- A. FREE NOUN ROOTS, e.g. *jo-fo-ñaiño* (house-CLF:CAV-CLF:PR.F) ‘house- wife’; cf. *jo-fo i-ñaiño* (house-CLF:CAV ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.F) ‘woman of the house’,
- C. VERBS (roots) (nominalization through relativization, see §3.1.4), e.g. *fñi-ka-ñaiño* (rob-PASS-CLF:PR.F) ‘(female) that was stolen’,
- D. ADJECTIVES (roots), e.g. *jano-ñaiño* (small-CLF:PR.F) ‘small (female)’,
- E. NUMBER WORDS (roots) (including *da-* ‘one’), e.g. *da-mie* (one-CLF:PR.M) ‘one (male)’,
- F. PRONOUNS (1st and 2nd person), e.g. *kue-ñaiño* (1sg-CLF:PR.F) ‘my (female)’,
- G. DEMONSTRATIVES (roots), e.g. *bi-ñaiño* (this.CTS-CLF:PR.F) ‘this (female)’,
- H. INTERROGATIVE CONTENT WORDS (roots), e.g. *bu-mie* (Q1-CLF:PR.M) ‘what (male) (meaning: who)?’,
- I. QUANTIFIERS, e.g. *naga-mie* (EACH-CLF:PR.M) ‘each (male)’.

Murui ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers may historically have originated from ‘derivational’ animate classifiers. There is a certain relatedness between these forms:¹⁴⁸

(4.43) *-ño* (CLF:DR.F)
-ñaiño (CLF:PR.F)

(4.44) *-ma* (CLF:DR.M)
-mie (CLF:PR.M)

¹⁴⁸ According to Seifart (2007) such ‘animate classifiers’ possibly originate in free nouns. The CLF:PR.M *-mie* might have originated in CLF:DR.M *-ma* (which was followed by the generic classifier *-e* and underwent vowel centralization; see §2.5.1).

Murui has also an additional classifier *-no* which has animate reference but does not have the natural gender distinction.¹⁴⁹ It denotes a group of animate beings, subsuming the animate classifiers *-ñaiño* and *-mie*, e.g.:

- (4.45) *rīi-re-dī-no* (angry-ATT-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘(those) who are angry’
nīfo-dī-no (Nifo.speakers-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘(those) who are Nifode’
Polonia-tī-no (Poland-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘(those) who are Polish’

The classifier *-no* for ‘group’ is very limited and has two morphosyntactic contexts it can occur in. These are nominalized verbs (relativization), as in (4.46a-b) and (4.47), and some noun-like underived adjectives (see §9.1.1), as in (4.48):

- (4.46) a. *bi-tī-mie* b. *bi-tī-no*
 come-LK-CLF:PR.M come-LK-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘(male) who came’ ‘(those) who came’

- (4.47) *nooi-ta-yī-no*
 bathe-CAUS-FUT.PASS-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘(those) who will be bathed’

- (4.48) *jīai-no*
 other-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘others’

To refer to a group of animate referents, in all other morphosyntactic contexts, the ‘pronominal’ classifier *-maki* (CLF:PR.GR.AN) is used (see also §3.3.2).¹⁵⁰ (4.49) illustrates an example of *-maki* used with the interrogative content word *nī-* ‘which’:

- (4.49) *nī-maki*
 Q₂-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘which (people)?’

¹⁴⁹ Its form is homonymous with the classifier *-no* for ‘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* (empty-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘nothingness, place with nothing’.

¹⁵⁰ On verbs *-maki* is a pronominal subject marker (see §7.1).

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 §3.3.2, Murui non-singular pronominal subject markers are in fact 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. ‘Pronominal’ animate classifiers have a tripartite number system that distinguishes three numbers, singular (male – female), dual (male – female), and plural. Plural gender is neutralized. Examples include *gui-ti-mie* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘(male) who eats’, *gui-ti-aiñuái* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.DU.F) ‘(two females) who eat’, and *gui-ti-no* (eat-LK-CLF:PR.GR) ‘(group) who eats’. ‘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-niaí* (woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘women’.¹⁵¹ This ‘split’ number system is outlined in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Animate classifiers and split number system

ANIMATE CLASSIFIER TYPE	NATURAL GENDER	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
‘DERIVATIONAL’	feminine	-ño	-	-
	masculine	-ma		
‘PRONOMINAL’	feminine	-ñaiño	-aiñuái	-no
	masculine	-mie	-aimaiaí	

¹⁵¹ The ‘derivational’ group animate classifier *-ni* is excluded as it does not function as a non-singular equivalent of the feminine *-ño* and the masculine *-ma*; on verbs *-maki* occurs only as the pronominal subject marker and therefore is not included here.

In Murui, singular is a formally and functionally unmarked form; its non-singular reading is determined by context. In the following story, Ismael Tejada from La Chorrera is narrating a story about hunting and what types of animals are usually killed. While the nouns *eimo* ‘pig’, *jigadi* ‘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).’

There are three forms of non-singular number markers on nouns and nominal forms: the plural affix *-ai*, the morpheme *-niai* marking collective, and the kinship plural *-tiai* (see also §5.2). Marking number distinctions on nouns that have low animates and inanimate objects as referents is not frequent. Also, classifiers that refer to low animates and inanimates have no natural gender distinctions.

Noun roots that take the ‘derivational’ animate classifiers *-ño* (feminine) and *-ma* (masculine) can directly take plural and collective number markers. The number marking and the omission of the animate classifier is related to how high the referent is in the Nominal Hierarchy, as well as how important the referent’s plurality is in the context (but see also the omission of physical property classifiers with plural and collective number markers in §5.2). (4.51-53) illustrate non-singular forms of *ofoma* (bird.type-CLF:DR.M) ‘bird (type)’. Note the optional omission of the animate classifier *-ma* in (4.51b), and the ungrammaticality of (4.52b). The noun *ofoma* cannot occur with kinship plural, as in (4.53a-b) as it is not a kinship noun.

- (4.51) *with the plural marker*
 a. *ofoma-ia*_i b. *ofuai*
 bird.type-CLF:DR.M-PL bird.PL

(4.52) *with the collective marker*

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| a. ofo-ma-niai | b. *ofo-niai |
| bird.type-CLF:DR.M-COLL | bird.type-COLL |

(4.53) *with the kinship plural marker*

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| 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 the collective marker s*

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| a. *jimo-ma-niai | b. *jimo-niai |
| Yagua-CLF:DR.M-COLL | Yagua-COLL |

(4.56) *with the kinship plural marker*

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| a. *jimo-ma-tiai | b. *jimo-tiai |
| Yagua-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL | Yagua-KIN.PL |

(4.57-59) show the interplay between number and classifiers on the kin term *oi-ma*

(sisters.husband-CLF:DR.M) ‘sister’s husband’. The noun *oima* is a kinship term, and therefore it occurs with the kinship plural, rather than the plural marker *-ai*. The collective number marking is not available.

(4.57) *with plural markers*

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| a. oi-ma-iai | b. ooi-iai |
| wife’s.brother-CLF:DR.M-PL | wife’s.brother-PL |

(4.58) *with the collective marker*

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| a. *oi-ma-niai | b. *ooi-niai |
| wife’s.brother-CLF:DR.M-COLL | wife’s.brother-COLL |

(4.59) *with the kinship plural marker*

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. oi-ma-tiai | b. ooi-tiai |
| wife’s.brother-CLF:DR.M-KIN.PL | wife’s.brother-KIN.PL |

4.2.2.4 Abstract classifiers

Murui has two classifiers that designate abstract concepts. They are used frequently in the Murui everyday discourse. Although they do occur in morphosyntactic loci of other classifiers, their typical function is deverbal and deadjectival nominalization with abstract meanings. They are disyllabic in form, and their morphological composition is not fully transparent. They have only one position available and cannot occur with other classifiers. These are the classifiers *-kino* with the meaning of ‘narrative, new, instruction, oral transfer’ and *-fue* ‘story, dance’.

The classifier *-kino* is commonly used as a conventionalized question when greeting somebody, *ni-ga-kino?* (Q2-QUANT-CLF:NEWS) ‘what are the news (lit. how many news?)’. Examples of *-kino* are presented in (4.60-62). (4.62) illustrates that such forms can further take plural number markers.

- (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 ugly’

The morphological composition of the classifier *-kino* is not semantically transparent (that is, at least synchronically, *-kino* does not appear to contain 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 Murui classifiers must have historically originated in full independent nouns, cf. *i-ye fuue*

(ANA.NSP-CLF:RIVER mouth) ‘river mouth’.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ Some examples of *-fue* include:

- (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) ‘defence’

Furthermore, forms that take the classifier *-fue* can be followed by a plural marker, e.g. *moni-fuiái* (abundance-CLF:STORY.PL) ‘nourishments, economies’.

4.2.2.5 Neutral classifier

The neutral classifier *-ra* (glossed as CLF:NEUT) originates in an independent noun *raa* for inanimate unspecified objects, and has various derivational and linker-like functions. The free form *raa* meaning ‘thing’ is illustrated in (4.64):

- (4.64) [bai-no-d-e raa]_{NP:O} ati!_{PRED}
 die-SMLF-LK-3 thing bring
 ‘Bring the thing that kills (e.g. poison, gun)!’

The free form *raa* can occur with classifiers of all types, as illustrated in (4.65-66). Note the meaning change in (4.66):¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Similarly to the origin of classifiers in Yagua (Peba-Yagua), Miraña (Bora), and other languages in Northwest Amazonia (Aikhenvald, 2000, 2007; Doris L Payne, 2007; Seifart, 2007; Seifart & Payne, 2007).

¹⁵³ *Rafue* is also an important ‘power-discourse’ in Murui (Echeverri, 1997).

¹⁵⁴ When *raa* ‘thing’ is followed by a classifier, the long vowel *aa* is shortened: *raa* > *ra-* (see §2.5.1). A few of the physical property classifiers cannot occur with *raa*. For instance, while *i-bogí* (ANA.NSP-CLF:CYLINDRICAL) ‘a form of a ball’ is a perfectly grammatical form, **ra-bogí* is not. This further extends to other specific classifiers of the physical property classifier class and repeaters. It has a certain relation 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’).

- (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) *with the anaphoric demonstrative i-* *with raa ‘thing’ as head*
 i-be ‘a form of a leaf’ ra-be ‘a leaf’
 i-foro ‘a feather-shaped leaf-form’ ra-foro ‘a feather-shaped leaf’
 i-gi ‘a thick trunk shape’ ra-gi ‘a thick trunk’
 i-ki ‘a round form’ ra-ki ‘a round fruit’
 i-dozi ‘a stick-like form’ ra-dozi ‘a stick’
 i-o ‘a flexible rope-like form, long’ ra-o ‘a vine’
 i-gai ‘a form of a rope’ ra-gai ‘a rope’
 i-bani ‘a form of a plank’ ra-bani ‘a plank’

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 occur in the classifier slot filling the ‘blank’.¹⁵⁵ Interpretations of repeaters are semantically very limited: each repeater refers to only one particular entity. The majority of nouns with a non-human referent, and no additional nominal morphology, can be used as repeaters in Murui. This

¹⁵⁵ 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).

excludes proper names, such as *Colombia* or *Bogotá*. A sample list 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>dima</i>	from <i>jigadima</i> ‘tapir’	<i>bidima</i> ‘this (tapir)’
- <i>kae</i>	from <i>nokae</i> ‘canoe’	<i>aiyokae</i> ‘big (canoe)’
- <i>ko</i>	from <i>jiko</i> ‘dog’	<i>biko</i> ‘this (dog)’
- <i>nie</i>	from the word <i>enie</i> ‘land’	<i>binie</i> ‘this (land)’
- <i>rai</i>	from <i>irai</i> ‘fire’	<i>diorai</i> ‘tobacco (fire) used for preparing tobacco (<i>diona</i>)’
- <i>tava</i>	from <i>atava</i> ‘chicken’	<i>baitava</i> ‘that (chicken)’
- <i>ziki</i>	from <i>jaziki</i> ‘jungle’	<i>taaiziki</i> ‘empty jungle (with no animals)’
- <i>zo</i>	from <i>naizo</i> ‘path’	<i>bai-zo</i> ‘that (path)’
- <i>yari</i>	from <i>janayari</i> ‘jaguar’	<i>meroyari</i> ‘mero jaguar (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 those that have loanwords 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. Most repeaters are partial repeaters; repeaters with a disyllabic structure are much more frequent, than those with the monosyllabic structure.¹⁵⁶ Examples of repeaters are given in (4.69):

(4.69) NOUNS USED AS REPEATERS	REPEATERS
CVCV e.g. <i>jiko</i> ‘dog’	> CV - <i>ko</i> (monosyllabic)
CVCVCV e.g. <i>atava</i> ‘chicken’	> CVCV - <i>tava</i> (disyllabic)
CVCVCVCV e.g. <i>grabadora</i> ‘recorder (Sp.)’	> CVCV - <i>dora</i> (disyllabic)

There are a few full repeaters that are often used to further clarify a referent, in a context

¹⁵⁶ Murui has only a few monosyllabic nouns (the great majority is disyllabic, see §3.1.1).

where 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)

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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, they never have full repeater forms, as in (4.71):

- (4.71) *jjai-fa* (red-CLF.REP:MACAW) ‘red (macaw)’
mogo-fa (blue-CLF.REP:MACAW) ‘blue (macaw)’

Murui repeaters are used in the same morphological environments as those of classifiers (excluding those of full and bound nouns, position A and B, see §4.1). 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 (cf. §4.1):

- C. VERBS (roots, with repeaters as nominalizers), e.g. *bi-ti-vio* (come-LK-CLF.REP:AIRPLANE.Sp) ‘this (plane) that came’,
- D. ADJECTIVES (roots, with repeaters as nominalizers), e.g. *mare-chera* (good.ATT-CLF.REP:LIGHTER.Sp) ‘good (lighter)’,
- E. NUMBER WORDS (roots), e.g. *da-misa* (one-CLF.REP:SHIRT.Sp) ‘one (shirt)’,
- F. PRONOUNS (1st and 2nd person), e.g. *kue-fono* (1sg-CLF.REP:PHONE.Sp) ‘my (phone)’,
- G. DEMONSTRATIVES (roots), e.g. *bi-dio* (this.CTS-CLF.REP:RADIO.Sp) ‘this (radio)’, *nai-taro* (ANA.SP-CLF.REP:TROUSERS) ‘that (trousers)’,
- H. INTERROGATIVE CONTENT WORDS (roots), e.g. *ni-chera* (Q2-CLF.REP:LIGHTER.Sp) ‘which (lighter)’,
- I. QUANTIFIERS, e.g. *naga-kae* (EACH-CLF.REP:CANOE) ‘each (canoe)’.

Murui repeaters, similarly to classifiers, can be marked only once on a ‘headless’ nominal modifier. There is no repeater stacking with only one structural position available for a repeater. Additionally, repeaters can be followed by classifiers (but not the other way around). An example of the repeater *-pato* (Sp. *zapato* ‘shoe’) followed by the classifier *-kada* is given in (4.72):

- (4.72) da-pato-kada
 one-CLF.REP:SHOE.Sp-CLF:LONG
 ‘one (shoe, long)’

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. Example

(4.73) shows that repeaters and classifiers cannot occur on the same nouns:

- (4.73) GRAMMATICAL WITH A CLASSIFIER:
ñeki-na (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘chambira palm (tree)’
ñeki-foro (chambira-CLF:FEATHER.SHAPED) ‘chambira palm (leaf)’
- UNGRAMMATICAL WITH A REPEATER (RATHER, A FULL NP WOULD BE USED):
 **ñeki-zo* intended meaning for ‘(path made of, with) chambira palm’
 **ñeki-kae* intended meaning for ‘(canoe made of, with) chambira palm’

Loanwords, such as *semana* for ‘week’ (see §2.6), are easily incorporated into Murui as repeaters, but not all function as repeaters. There are a number of reasons for this:

- a) a traditional word might be 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 word *mano-ri-ra-ko* (heal-DUR-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER) ‘healing house’ is used instead.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ The word *manorirako* is referred back to with the classifier *-ko*, as in *bi-ko* (this-CLF:COVER) ‘this house, hospital etc.’.

b) a form of repeater is the same as that of the classifier. This is the case for *-ro* (CLF:STRING) and *-ro* as a possible source of a repeater of *rero* ‘watch’ (phonologically adapted from the Spanish word *reloj*). In such cases, disyllabic forms are preferred. In case of *rero*, it is *da-rero* (one-CLF.REP:WATCH.Sp) ‘one (watch)’.

c) under specific circumstances forms of certain repeaters are ambiguous. This is the case for instance for the repeater *-dora* from Spanish which can refer to either *komputadora* ‘computer’ or *grabadora* ‘recorder’. To disambiguate, in a situation where both objects are present, a full noun is used instead.

There are a few Spanish nouns that cannot occur as repeaters. These include, among others, words such as *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 (4.74), the noun is modified with the numeral *da-* ‘one’, followed by the allomorph of the generic classifier *-e*. There is no agreement with the head noun *jano-tava* ‘small chicken’.

(4.74) [da-je jano-tava-na]_{NP:O} ati-d-_{CPRED}
 one-CLF:G small-CLF.REP:CHICKEN-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-3
 ‘(She) brought one small (chicken).’

Similarly to classifiers, *riño* ‘woman’ and *iiima* ‘man’ can occur with repeaters to mark natural gender distinctions, as in (4.75-67). Cf. also (4.39).

(4.75) ri-ño-tava (woman-CLF:DR.F-CLF.REP:CHICKEN) ‘female (chicken)’

(4.76) ii-tava (man-CLF.REP:CHICKEN) ‘male (chicken)’

These structures are similar to full NPs. Compare examples (4.75-76) above with (4.77-78) below. The nouns *riño* ‘woman’ and *iiima* ‘man’ have the same semantic function but formally are NPs where the head nouns are modified by *atava* ‘chicken’. Cf. also (4.35-38).

(4.77) [atava ri-ño]_{NP} (chicken woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘female chicken’

(4.78) [atava ñi-ma]_{NP} (chicken man-CLF:DR.M) ‘male chicken’

4.2.2.7 *Repeaters and specific classifiers*

The distinction between classifiers and repeaters can sometimes be difficult to make as they occur in the same morphosyntactic loci. 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 neighboring 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 are grammatically established to be classifiers; 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’ (Zubin & Shimojo, 1993).

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 employed 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 the 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 slowly 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> (CLF:NEUT)	appear not to be used with <i>raa</i> ‘thing’
Phonological properties	no independent stress	
Semantics	specific (with certain amount of abstraction)	a unique single referent
Stacking	classifier + classifier: yes classifier + repeater: no	repeater + repeater: no repeater + classifier: no (nowadays occasionally 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 there are subtle distinctions between classifiers and repeaters. This is due to the fact that in some cases repeaters appear to be the origin of classifiers. For instance, the classifier *-vui* (CLF:CYCLE) ‘time cycle of usually a month, also covers season’ seems to have originated in *fi^hvui* ‘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, at least synchronically, is in terms of their morphological structure: all bound forms appear to originate in ‘fixed’ unanalyzable free nouns (further referred to as ‘source nouns’), as in *nokae* ‘canoe’. Although such bound forms allow for two alternative interpretations – repeaters or classifiers – given their distinct morphological structures and the fact that they refer back to a unique single entity (which is always non-human), they have been analyzed here as ‘repeaters’.

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 a 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 marker

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 *-ga* occurs also elsewhere; it grammaticalized into a ‘dedicated’ quantifier *naga* ‘each’ and the adposition *diga* for ‘with, many’ (see §3.3.1 and §3.3.6).¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the marker *-ga* can occur on the noun *aama* ‘brother’. In (4.79), *-ga* occurs on the noun *aama* ‘brother’, when it is used as a fraternal lexical number words for ‘four (lit. all of each brothers)’ as well as for ‘ten’ and ‘twenty’ (§3.2.3). The form *aama-ga* is always preceded by *naga*, as in (4.79-80), and can further be followed by classifiers and repeaters, as well as take other nominal morphology, that is case and number:¹⁵⁹

(4.79) [naga aa-ma-ga aa-ma]_{NP}
 EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT brother-CLF:DR.M
 ‘four (lit. all of each brothers) brothers’

¹⁵⁸ *Naga* can be traced back to the special form of what seems to be the anaphoric (specific) demonstrative *nai-* (§3.3.3) followed with *-ga*. Note also that *diga* ‘many’ has the same form as the adposition with committative meanings *diga* ‘with’ (see §3.3.6).

¹⁵⁹ Such constructions seem to resemble agreement, elsewhere absent in the language (see §4.1). See also example (4.81). In terms of its occurrence with the noun *aama* ‘brother’, the use of *-ga* could either be increasing or decreasing. That the lexical number word *naga amaga* ‘four’ is highly lexicalized and occurs in many ‘Witoto’ varieties in this form (i.e. with *-ga* occurring on *ama*), could be indicative of the latter processes.

- (4.80) [naga aa-ma-ga-dima-na]_{NP} ati!_{PRED}
 EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT-CLF.REP:TAPIR-N.S/A.TOP bring
 ‘Bring four (tapirs)!’

Occasionally, to express number ‘four’, speakers omit the modifying *naga*, as in (4.81):

- (4.81) aa-ma-ga-das i-ñe?_{PRED}
 brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT-CLF.LONG.STRAIGHT exist-NEG
 ‘Aren’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 peel)’

- (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?’

The 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 three locational classifier-like markers *-no*, *-ne*, and *-fe*. They are different from other classifier types (including physical property classifiers that have locational meanings, such as *-re* (CLF:PLANT.PLACE) for ‘location, opening in the jungle associated with certain

plants, field’ or *-birĩ* (CLF:SITE) ‘enclosed area, site, location, courtyard’). They share their locational semantics, but do not occur in all the morphosyntactic environments as other classifiers do, and can be regarded as ‘deficient’ classifiers. They can never co-occur. They are discussed in turn.

A. LOCATIONAL CLASSIFIER-LIKE MARKER *-no* ‘SPECIFIC PLACE’ – the classifier-like *-no* has special properties. It has limited morphosyntactic loci it occurs in: adjectives (as in *taai-no* ‘empty place’), the demonstratives *nai-* and *jadi-*, e.g. *nai-no* (ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘that (place)’ (cf. *dino* (AT.CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘there’), and the interrogative content word *ni-* ‘which’, as in *nino* ‘which (place)?’).¹⁶⁰ Unlike other classifiers, *-no* occurs neither on nouns, on the remaining set of demonstratives (e.g. **bi-no*, **aki-no*, **bai-no*, **i-no*)¹⁶¹, the interrogative form *bu-* ‘who’ (**bu-no*), nor pronouns (e.g. **kue-no*). In such contexts, *-no* has different semantics that relate to ‘group’, see §4.2.2.2). Event nominalization can occur with the locational marker (similarly to other classifier types), e.g. *komui-ya-no* (grow-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE) ‘(place of) growing’ (for details see Wojtylak (2018c) and §3.1.4). Compare the two nominalizations below:

(4.86) *du-ti-no*
 chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.GR
 ‘(group of) coca chewers (lit. (group) who chewed or chews coca)’

(4.87) *bi-evcs* [*kue i-ya-no*]_{vcc}
 this.CTS-CLF:G 1sg exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE
 ‘This is where I live (lit. this – my living place).’

¹⁶⁰ As discussed in §3.3.3, *jadi-* and *nai-* appear to be grammaticalized complex forms, unlike other demonstratives.

¹⁶¹ These demonstratives have to take an additional element *-di* to occur with the location classifier-like markers, e.g. *aki=dino* and *aki=dine* (see §3.3.3 and example T1.1 in the Appendix). This is further 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)’.

Nominalized verbs that take *-no* do not take any classifiers or repeaters, but take case and number markers, as in (4.88):

- (4.88) *du-ti-nuai*
 chew.coca-LK-CLF:PR.GR.PL
 ‘(groups of) coca chewers (lit. (groups) who chewed or chews coca)’

Occasionally, 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, T1.64 in the Appendix):

- (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)¹⁶², the interrogative content word *nine* ‘where (unspecified location)’, and the number word *da-* ‘one, alone’, with an opaque meaning *dane* ‘once more’. Examples are given in (4.90-92):

- (4.90) *bii_{PRED}* *bene!_{LOC}*
 come HERE.LOC:NSP
 ‘Come here!’

Forms with *-ne* take limited nominal morphology. The only case marker they occur with is the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* for ablative meanings (cf. the ablative marker on

¹⁶² The form *dine* can also occur as a free form translated as ‘over (here, there)’.

nouns 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) *bene*_{LOC} *i-ti-kai!*_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP exist-LK-1pl
 ‘We live (lit. exist) 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 (4.87) above, *-ne* cannot be used as in the nominalizer function on verbs, but unlike *-no*, it can function as a ‘linker’ that can be followed by classifiers. This is illustrated in (4.93) below (which, synchronically, is a lexicalized noun *anane-ko* (maloca-CLF:COVER) (see e.g. example (5.12) in §5.1.1.1):

(4.93) *ana-ne-ko*
 below-LOC:NSP-CLF:COVER
 ‘*maloca* (lit. from below (i.e. sky) place that is covered, like a house)’

C. LOCATION CLASSIFIER-LIKE MARKER *-fe* ‘AT THE SIDE OF’ – the morpheme *-fe* has the meaning of ‘location at the side of’. It occurs on adverbs and lexical adverbial demonstratives deriving noun-like forms, such as *baaife* ‘over there’ (cf. *baai* ‘there (far from speaker)’ in §3.3.3), and can function as a ‘linker’ that can be followed by physical property classifiers. Forms that take *-fe* can function as non-core arguments followed by case markers. In the following examples, the place adverbs *aa* ‘above’ and *ari* ‘uphill’ take *-fe* ‘at the side of’, further followed by the locative *-mo*:

(4.94) *aa-fe-mo*_{LOC} *jooi-d-e*_{PRED}
 above-CLF:SIDE-LOC lie-LK-3
 ‘(He) put it up there (lit. on the above side).’

- (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 to 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 level is higher)’
- (4.97) [[ana bi-ji] ari-fe-ji-mo]_{LOC} aima-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 (that is located below the hill).’

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 three 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). 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 side of peel of leaf)’

Within a syntactic phrase, classifiers can occur in two ways: either following a noun, as shown in (4.100), or following a noun and a ‘headless’ nominal modifier 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 it is uncommon for classifiers to occur in either order in Murui.

- (4.102)a. yera-kobe
 liquid.tobacco-CLF:ROUND.LEAF
 ‘leaf containing *yera* (liquid tobacco paste)’
- b. yera-be-ko
 liquid.tobacco-CLF:LEAF-CLF:COVER
 ‘container to wrap *yera* in’

4.5 Functions of classifiers and repeaters

Classifiers and repeaters, as noun categorization devices in Murui, have various functions; see, among others, Aikhenvald (2000: 316-333). Some, although similar, are not quite the same. This section discusses functions of classifiers and repeaters in Murui in detail.

4.5.1 Functions of classifiers

There are three major functions of classifiers in Murui: derivation of nominal stems, formation of ‘headless’ 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 by 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*)’ in (4.103) can occur with a variety of classifiers to refer to and focus on its different properties (cf. Table 12.5 in Aikhenvald (2017b: 388)).

(4.103)	<i>yera-do</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:POINTED)	‘ <i>yera</i> in a pointed form (wrapped)’
	<i>yera-ji</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:WATERY)	‘ <i>yera</i> in a liquid, viscous, sap form’
	<i>yera-fo</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:CAV)	‘ <i>yera</i> container (<i>maraca</i>) with a hole’
	<i>yera-ko</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:COVER)	‘ <i>yera</i> container, round’
	<i>yera-ji</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:SMALL.ROUND)	‘ <i>yera</i> in form of a small ball’
	<i>yera-ru</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:OVAL)	‘ <i>yera</i> in an oval container’
	<i>yera-bi</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:SUBS)	‘ <i>yera</i> very thick in consistency’
	<i>yera-rue</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:THINGS)	‘a lot of prepared paste of <i>yera</i> ’
	<i>yera-rui</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:DAY)	‘day of <i>yera</i> (when it is sent out)’
	<i>yera-bero</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:DOUGH)	‘dough made out of <i>yera</i> ’
	<i>yera-biri</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:SITE)	‘space, place where <i>yera</i> is kept’
	<i>yera-roji</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:TINY.ROUNDISH)	‘ <i>yera</i> in form of a ball’
	<i>yera-kino</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:NEWS)	‘word of <i>yera</i> (Sp. <i>dialogo de ambil</i>)’
	<i>yera-tiko</i>	(liquid.tobacco-CLF:BASKET)	‘basket for keeping <i>yera</i> ’

There are semantic restrictions for various classifiers in order 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 has to be meaningful in order to be grammatical, e.g. **yera-mani* (liquid.tobacco-CLF:BIG.RIVER) is not possible because *yera* could never have the form of a big river. Another example is *ñeki-chambira* palm’, as in *ñeki-na* (chambira-CLF:TREE) ‘*chambira* palm tree’, which cannot possibly be 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 leaf’ but never **ñeki-be*.

Frequently, if there is no word for an object in Murui, there may be a classifier for it. Therefore, what Murui classifiers do is fill 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 Spanish ‘concepts’ into Murui. An illustrative example of this is *i-bani* (ANA.NSP-CLF:PLANK) for ‘office desk’. 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 classifiers.¹⁶³ When used, the generic *-e* somehow ‘neutralizes’ the meaning of physical property classifiers (and also repeaters). An example of this is *bie* ‘this’ and *baie* ‘that’ used during dance rituals, when a man who does the distribution of gifts, and lifts them up one by one. Those gifts are objects of diverse shapes, forms and sizes. Notably, customarily he does not say e.g. *bi-yi* (this.CTS-CLF:PINEAPPLE) for ‘this (pineapple)’ or *bi-roi* (this.CTS-CLF:CLOTHES) when he holds those objects up; he says *bi-e* (this.CTS-CLF:G) instead.¹⁶⁴ He appropriately uses the generic classifier when he does not intend to focus on objects’ functions, shapes, forms, or any other physical properties. This is direct evidence that one uses classifiers when talking in terms of the objects’ properties. Such functions of generic classifiers are mentioned in Zubin and Shimojo (1993) and Aikhenvald (2000: 335).

Another function of Murui classifiers is formation of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers. In Murui, the majority of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers are bound forms that obligatorily take a

¹⁶³ The classifier *-e* is used very frequently among younger speakers of Murui. This could be an indication that younger people whose first language is Spanish rather than Murui, may not know the extent of the nominal classification system or have only a certain amount of cultural knowledge. In those instances they could possibly overuse the generic classifier *-e*.

¹⁶⁴ Another form of such expression is also *buu ie?* (Q₁ CONN) ‘whose is it?’. In such a situation a speaker would rarely utter forms like *bi-yi buu ie?* (this.CTS-CLF:BUSHY Q₁ CONN) ‘whose is this (pineapple)?’ or *bi-e rozi-yi buu ie?* (this.CTS-CLF:G pineapple-CLF:BUSHY Q₁ CONN) ‘whose is this (pineapple)?’

classifier to form an independent word (see §4.1). This is illustrated in (4.104). As a modifier within a syntactic phrase, the demonstrative *bi-* ‘this’ occurs with the generic classifier *-e*; the head of the NP *moto* ‘motor’ is stated. ‘Headless’ nominal modifiers can also function as arguments of verbs, as shown in (4.105):

(4.104) [bi-e moto]_S maraiñe-d-e_{PRED} jakai-e=za
 this.CTS-CLF:G motor.Sp good.ATT-NEG-LK-3 old-CLF:G=UNCERT
 ‘This (boat) motor does not work (lit. is not good); it’s old.’

(4.105) bai-ya-nao uiño-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 that.FSH-CLF:CRAFT-N.S/A.TOP know-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘We do not know that (boat).’

Nominalization with classifiers, used as a relativization strategy, is another prominent function of classifiers (see also §3.1.4).¹⁶⁵ 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), stated in the relative clause (see §12.3.3):

(4.106) uru-iai-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE} kome-kis 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 home.’

(4.107) furi-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, reference-tracking is an important function of Murui classifiers.¹⁶⁶

Classifiers can be used anaphorically: ‘headless’ nominal modifiers (accompanied by classifiers), function as the referential identity of arguments which are explicitly stated in the

¹⁶⁵ In many languages spoken in Amazonia, classifier-driven nominalizations form relative clauses, e.g. in some Macro-Jé languages (Rodrigues, 1999: 194), Tuyuca (an East Tucanoan language spoken to the northeast) (Barnes, 1990), and Hup (a Makú language spoken to the north) (Epps, 2012: 196).

¹⁶⁶ This is a typical feature of classifiers worldwide (Aikhenvald, 2000, 2017b).

previous parts of the discourse. In (4.108) *jea-kobe* ‘dirty (nails)’ refers back to previously mentioned *onokobe* ‘nails’:

- (4.108) [[Kata ono-kai ïï-kai] ono-kobe]_s jea-re-d-e_{PRD}
 Kata hand-CLF:STEM man-CLF:STEM hand-CLF:ROUND.LEAF dirty-ATT-LK-3
 eo jea-kobe
 very dirty-CLF:ROUND.LEAF
 ‘The nail of Kata’s index finger is very dirty. 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 settlement of the Murui people of the Putumayo River area. This is the beginning of the narration:

- (4.109) Ikanto-mo_{LOC} i-ya_{PRD} mare mare-kinuai_s i-ya_{PRD}
 El.Encanto-LOC exist-E.NMLZ good.ATT good.ATT-CLF:NEWS.PL exist-E.NMLZ
 nai-no-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRD} [komini Murui]_s
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3 people.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 repeaters) are not even present in discourse but are understood given the non-linguistic context and cultural knowledge of the speech participants. More study is needed to fully understand this phenomenon.

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 (Zubin & Shimojo, 1993). 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 classes) just like other classifiers. See an example of the repeater *-tava* (cf. *atava* ‘chicken’) in (4.77-78) in §4.2.2.6. This function of repeaters can also have 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’, a word also used in Minika)’, 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) is 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 to paddle ‘properly’. He pointed at a canoe (*nokae*) and a motor boat that were anchored to the shore line of a river bank, and said:

- (4.111) *bai-e-do_{INS}* *jaaiti-kai_{PRED}* *afai=bene_{LOC}*
 that.CTS-CLF:G-INS go.FUT.LK-1pl upriver=HERE.LOC:NSP
 ‘By this, we will go upstream.’

I asked *ni-e-do?* (Q2-CLF:G-INS) ‘by which?’, hoping it would be a motor boat. Walter looked at me smiling and specified what he meant: *bi-kae-do* (this.CTS-CLF.REP:CANOE-INS) ‘by this (canoe)’. This is very similar to typical individualizing functions of classifiers.

In some cases, ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with repeaters are understood from the non-linguistic context and cultural knowledge of the speech participants. For instance, at some point I saw my consultant Tadave arriving home. I asked her how she came back, suspecting that she came by canoe. She answered:

- (4.112) *bai-zo-do!*
 that.FSH-CLF.REP:PATH-INS
 ‘By that (path)!’

There is only one path between Tercera India and San Rafael, and it is common knowledge among the people.

Similarly to classifiers, repeaters can also be used anaphorically. This is illustrated in

Murui classifiers is reference-tracking. An overview of the Murui multiple classifier system is given in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Murui multiple classifier system – an overview

	PHYSICAL PROPERTY CLASSIFIERS	ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS	ABSTRACT CLASSIFIERS	THE NEUTRAL CLASSIFIER <i>-ra</i>	REPEATERS
SIZE OF THE SYSTEM	large (more than 100)	small (7)	small (2)	small (1)	large
KIND OF THE SYSTEM	closed	closed	closed	closed	semi-open
MORPHOSYNTACTIC LOCI	A. free noun roots; B. bound noun roots; C. verbs (event nominalization, following classifiers such as <i>-fe</i> (CLF:SIDE) or <i>-ra</i> (CLF:NEUT), relativization); D. adjectives; E. number words; F. pronouns (1 st and 2 nd); G. demonstratives; H. interrogative content words; I. quantifiers.	‘PRONOMINAL’: A. free noun roots; C. verbs (relativization); D. adjectives; E. number words; F. pronouns (1 st and 2 nd); G. demonstratives; H. interrogative content words; I. quantifiers. ‘DERIVATIONAL’: B. bound noun roots; C. verbs (event nominalization, agentive nominalization with <i>-rai</i> , directly on verbs); E. number word <i>da-</i> ‘one’).	A. free noun roots; C. verbs (event nominalization, relativization); D. adjectives; E. number words; F. pronouns (1 st and 2 nd); G. demonstratives; H. interrogative content words; I. quantifiers.	C. verbs; D. adjectives.	C. verbs (following classifiers such as <i>-fe</i> (CLF:SIDE) or <i>-ra</i> (CLF:NEUT), relativization); D. adjectives; E. number words; F. pronouns (1 st and 2 nd); G. demonstratives; H. interrogative content words; I. quantifiers.
SEMANTICS	size, form, shape, dimensionality, function, etc.	natural-gender (male vs. female); other principles for non-human referents	abstract notions	inanimate objects	A unique single referent
INTERRELATIONS WITH OTHER CATEGORIES	classifier stacking possible	number	some marked by number	can function as a ‘linker’ followed by classifiers	Classifiers and repeaters are mutually exclusive
OTHER PROPERTIES	mono and disyllabic (the majority is disyllabic)	feminine-masculine vs. group (with no gender specification)	referring to notions such as ‘news’ and ‘story’	unspecified inanimate referent	Cannot have human referents; Spanish loans become easily incorporated into the repeater system; Repeaters can be followed by classifiers

5 Possession and number

Murui lacks the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. The most frequent marking of possession involves a simple juxtaposition of words within the NP that requires the Possessor (R) - Possessed (D) order. The language also lacks a lexical verb, such as ‘have’, to express possession. How possession is expressed in Murui is the topic of §5.1. Section §5.2 discussed how number is expressed on nouns and within NPs.

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; they 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) [Lusio_{OR} yoe-fai_D]_{NP}
 Lucio metal-CLF:SHORT.THICKER
 ‘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.). Such possessive constructions function as arguments of predicates, or head an intransitive predicate.

Verbless possessive constructions involve the R (and, often, the D) followed by the connective *ie* that refers to the R 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 construction with the omitted D. Verbless possessive constructions, such as (5.3), are frequently used as answers to 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 to *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 breath-CLF:INHER
 ‘father’s spirit (belonging to the father)’

(5.4) moo_R [jafai-ki ie]_R
 father breath-CLF:INHER CONN
 ‘father’s spirit’s (belonging to the spirit of the father)’

Additionally, Murui has a construction which involves a morphological process of affixation where the genitive *-ie* is applied to pronouns. Such form function as arguments of verbless clauses; they can also head an intransitive predicate. The marking of the genitive is conditioned by the Nominal Hierarchy, where the 1st and 2nd person pronouns (singular, dual, and plural) 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:PR.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 meaning 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 an 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* (punish-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY) ‘norms, laws’, is modified by the R *uzu-tiai* (grandparents-KIN.PL) ‘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) [jæe uzu-tiai]_R yeta-ra-fue_D
 PAST grandparent-KIN.PL punish-CLF:NEUT-CLF:STORY
 ‘norms, laws of our past ancestors’

Possessive constructions are always used for some kinds 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 always takes the generic classifier *-e* (note that there is no full agreement within a noun phrase in Murui, see §4.1), as in (5.8):

- (5.8) [bi-e jo-fo]_R uie-k_{OD}]_{NP}
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV face-CLF:SPHERICAL
 ‘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.¹⁶⁸ 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-tia_{iR} uru-ia_{iD}]_{NP}
 father-KIN.PL child-CLF:G.PL
 ‘fathers’ children’

- (5.10) [oni bai-e jigadi-ma_R ri-ño_{OD}]_{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-_{EPRED}
 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):

- (5.11) [Tadave_R mame-ki-d_{OD}]_{INS} bi-ti-kue_{PREP} [kue-m_{OO:ADDRESSEE} oo
 Tadave name-CLF:INHER-INS come-LK-1sg 1sg-LOC 2sg
 i-ye-na]_{PUR}
 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).’

¹⁶⁸ If nouns are unmarked for number, their non-singular reading depends on the context (see §5.2 on number).

- (5.12) nare naio [[kue moo]_R anane-ko-mo_D]_{NP:LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 yesterday night 1sg father maloca-CLF:COVER-LOC go-LK-1sg
 ‘Yesterday night I went to my father’s *maloca* (communal roundhouse).’

In specific semantic circumstances, possessive NPs that function as arguments of a predicate can take markers of the topical S/A subject and non-S/A marking (see §6.2.1.2 and §6.2.1.5-6). The following is taken from a conversation between a boy and his grandfather. The boy was looking for Kata’s dog. His grandfather became angry with the boy who kept asking him about the dog. ‘Flor’s daughter’ is marked with the topical S/A subject =*di*; ‘Kata’s dog’ is marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*.¹⁶⁹

- (5.13) [Flor_R jiza=*di*]_{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 S/A.TOP 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 neighbor
 ‘Elger and Marcia’s neighbor (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)’

All personal pronouns (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person) can function as possessive markers (for Murui personal pronouns see Table 3.2 in §3.3.2). In the following examples (5.16-19), the heads of the NPs, the D, are preceded by pronouns that function as pronominal possessors:

- (5.16) [o_R abi]_D_{NP}
 2sg body
 ‘your body’

¹⁶⁹ Simultaneous marking of the topical S/A subject and topical non-S/A subject within the same clause does not occur in natural discourse (see §6.2).

- (5.17) [kaiñai_R evu-ñ_{oD}]_{NP} kasa-d-_{ePRED} ie kaiñai_R
 1du.f sister-CLF:DR.F marry.Sp-LK-3 CONN 1du.f
 oi-ma_D diga]_{NP} i-t-_{ePRED}
 wife's.brother-CLF:DR.M WITH exist-LK-3
 'Our sister got married. And she lives with our brother-in-law.'
- (5.18) [kai_R komima-f_{oD}]_s [San Jose ari-fe]_{LOC} i-t-_{ePRED}
 1pl person.CLF:DR.M-CLF:CAV San Jose uphill-CLF:SIDE exist-LK-3
 'Our Hole of Humanity (lit. hole of the people) is located north of San Jose.'
- (5.19) [nai-maki_R jo-f_{oD}]_s komini-na]_o
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN house-CLF:CAV people.CLF:DR.GR-N.S/A.TOP
 orui-d-_{ePRED}
 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) [kok_{OR} kuita-ia_{iD}]_{NP:S} buu_{OBLIQUE} ui-ga?_{PRED}
 1du.m monkey-PL Q2 take.away-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). 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.¹⁷⁰ To express genitive meanings, 3rd

¹⁷⁰ The marker *-ie* might be etymologically related to the generic classifier *-e* (and 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 occur with the generic classifier.

person pronouns are followed by the connective *ie* (see also §3.3.5). 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	-aimaiai ie	-aiñuai ie	-maki ie

Pronouns marked with the genitive *-ie* and the connective *ie* cannot function as modifiers within an 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 in 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 (2sg)’ 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!’

(5.22) [[jadi-e mero]_R ifo-gi_D]_{VCS} oo-*ie*_{VCC}
 this.CTH-CLF:G peccary head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER 2sg-GEN
 [OOR ifo-gi_D]_{NP} oo-*ie*-d-*e*_{EPRED}
 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!]
 AUDIT-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. ‘Headless’ nominal modifiers formed from pronouns by means of ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers are discussed in §5.1.1.3.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (5.24) kue-ñaiño
1sg-CLF:PR.F
‘my (female)’ | (5.25) kai-makī
1pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN
‘our (group, e.g. family)’ |
| (5.26) omoi-makī
2pl-CLF:PR.GR.AN
‘your (group)’ | (5.27) kaiñai-makī
1du.f-CLF:PR.GR.AN
‘our (group of two females, e.g. girlfriends)’ |

Kaimakī 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 dance rituals in the communal roundhouses when addressing the crowd. Note *-makī* is fairly restricted, that is, it cannot occur on nouns (many classifiers do have such functions, see §4.2.2.2). Compare (5.28a-b) and (5.29a), and note the ungrammaticality of (5.28c) and (5.29b):¹⁷¹

- | |
|--|
| (5.28) a. [jo-fo i-makī] _{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-makī
*jo-fo-ñaiño |
| (5.29) a. [nai-ñaiño abi i-makī] _{NP}
ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F body ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
‘the group (i.e. people) around her (that woman)’ |
| b. *abi-makī
*abi-ñaiño |

¹⁷¹ The morpheme *-makī* is also a pronominal subject marker on verbs (see §4.2.2.2).

1st and 2nd person pronouns marked with the genitive *-ie* can occur as arguments of predicate and take case marking, the topical non-S/A subject marker *-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.¹⁷²

- (5.30) *koko-ie-na* *ati!*_{PREL}
 1du.m-GEN-N.S/A.TOP bring
 ‘Bring ours (machetes)!’
- (5.31) *kaie-mo* *uai!*_{PREL}
 1pl.GEN-LOC take.ANDTV
 ‘Take it away into ours (jungle garden)!’
- (5.32) *kue-ie-do* *gui-ño!*_{PREL}
 1sg-GEN-INS eat-IMP
 ‘Eat with mine (spoon)!’
- (5.33) [*kue-maki* *ie*]_R *uaibi-ti-kue*_{PREL}
 1sg-CLF:DR.M CONN take.VENTV-LK-1sg
 ‘I will bring my people’s (things, belonging to my people).’
- (5.34) [*nai-mie* *ie-mo*]_R *uai!*_{PREL}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M CONN-LOC take.ANDTV
 ‘Take it away into his (house)!’

Under specific pragmatic conditions, the ordering of VCS - VCC can be reversed. This has to do with putting extra emphasis on the constituent in that position.¹⁷³ Compare (5.21-22) above with (5.35d) below. (5.35a-d) is an excerpt from an argument between two angry sisters:

- (5.35) a. T: *ñaiño*_{VCS} [*kue*_R *ei!*_D]_{VCC}
 CLF:PR.F 1sg mother
 ‘She is my mother! (lit. she – my mother)’

¹⁷² In Minika, it is also possible to add the benefactive-causal case marker *-ri* to pronouns that take the genitive *-ie*, e.g. *kue-ie-ri fui-ri-di-maki* (1sg-GEN-BENEF.CAUS fight-LK-3pl) ‘they fought for (something) mine’. In Murui, only *kue-ri* (1sg-BENEF.CAUS) ‘for me’ appears to be grammatical in such constructions (see §6.2.2.4).

¹⁷³ It is similar to the emphasis in the highly marked VCC-VCS constituent order (§6.3).

- b. W: nooo! [kue_R ei!_D]_{NP}
no.Sp 1sg mother
'No! My mother!'
- c. T: ei_{VCS} kue-ie!_{VCC}
mother 1sg-GEN
'MY mother! (lit. mother - mine)'
- d. W: kue-ie!_{VCC} ei_{VCS}
1sg-GEN mother
'MY (!) mother! (lit. mine - mother)'

Generally, pronouns marked with *-ie* cannot function as modifiers within an NP. However, on rare occasions young Murui use them as modifying elements. Such usage has overtones of being angry and annoyed. This is somewhat similar to putting emphasis on a constituent within the NP. An example is presented in (5.36):¹⁷⁴

- (5.36) [oo-ie ifo-gi]_s maraiñe-d-e!_{PRED}
2sg-GEN head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER good.ATT.NEG-LK-3
'YOUR head is not good!' (a young man shouting at his brother)

Murui elders do not approve of such constructions and correct them with sentences such as

(5.37). In (5.37), *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 *jofode 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-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
'The house of Elger is too small for celebrations (lit. house of Elger - small (house) for (dancing) future dance rituals).'

¹⁷⁴ Constructions such as (5.36) might also be analyzed as simple appositions, perhaps as an emphatic construction of sorts, *oo-ie - ifo-gi maraiñede* meaning 'yours, head is not good!'.

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 §4.2). In Murui, if a possessed noun is to be focused 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 (day)’ (two men referring to their birthday)

(5.40) *kai-ko*
 1pl-CLF.REP:DOG
 ‘our (dog)’ (cf. *jiko* ‘dog’)

(5.41) *omoi-dora*
 2pl-CLF.REP:RECORDER.Sp
 ‘your (recorder)’ (cf. *grabadora* (Sp.) ‘recorder’)

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 (5.42):

(5.42) [*koko-ie* *i-rui*]_{NP}
 1du.m-GEN ANA.NSP-CLF:DAY
 ‘MY day (lit. mine - any (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:HILL
 ‘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’s. Jose is the only person in the community who owns a motor.

- (5.44) [Jose_R mot_{OD}]_{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, will it 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 selular*¹⁷⁵ ‘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 selular* ‘this phone’ (accompanied by a gesture).

B. WHOLE-PART RELATIONSHIP – 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 artifacts (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 painful-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The vagina of Maria is painful.’
- (5.47) [kue_R dirue_D]_{NP:S} jiri-ya_{PRED}
 1sg blood stain-E.NMLZ
 ‘My blood stained (it).’
- (5.48) [moor 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) [konag_{OR} 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-for ventana_D]_{NP:S} tuui-d-e_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV window.Sp be.open-LK-3
 ‘The window of the house is open.’

¹⁷⁵ *Selular* (or *serura*) is a borrowing from Spanish (*celular* for ‘phone’).

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) [Ismael_R miri-ñ_{OD}]_{VCS} [eo nai-ya-re-d-e ri-ñ_O]_{VCC}
 Ismael sister-CLF:DR.F very speak-E.NMLZ-ATT-LK-3 woman-CLF:DR.F
 ‘Ismael’s sister is a chatty woman.’ (talking behind one’s back)

(5.53) [Maria_R ini_D]_S baai bai-e fie-mona-mo baai-d-e_{PRED}
 Maria husband THERE that.FSH-CLF:G summer-CLF: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) [kuer mood]_{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:SPHERICAL 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.NODE
 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 eni-ed]_{NP:S} Polonia-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}
 Katarina land-CLF:G Poland.Sp-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘The land of Katarina is (in) Poland’.

G. NOMINALIZATIONS – nominalizations are easily ‘possessed’, as illustrated in (5.58-60):

- (5.58) [[_{oor} _{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 (out of respect).’
- (5.59) [kue_R gui-ye_D]_{NP:O} kue-mo_{OO:ADDRESSEE} ine!_{PRED}
 1sg eat-FUT.E.NMLZ 1sg-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give me my food (lit. my future eating)!’
- (5.60) [kai_R kai_{ma}-tai-ya-kinuai_D]_{NP:O} oo-mo_{OO: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 (§5.1.3.2).

Murui can express possessive meanings through a special kind of verbless clause marked with the connective *ie* (discussed in §5.1.3.3).

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, as well as closed word classes that form ‘headless’ 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 also §10.1). 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers functioning predicatively can be marked

with the positive 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* ‘(male) who has houses’ in (5.63).

- (5.61) [kue_R 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} jo-fui_{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!’

Negative counterpart of the predicative positive possessive construction are 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 positive attributive *-re* with the standard negative marker *-ñe*.¹⁷⁶ Compare (5.64-65) above with (5.66) below. There is no apparent change in meaning between predicates marked with the negative attributive *-ni*, as in (5.64-65), and those with the (positive) attributive *-re* followed by the standard negative *-ñe*, as in (5.66):

¹⁷⁶Murui elders tend to correct such uses employing structures that contain the negative attributive marker *-ni*.

- (5.66) nia terefono-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=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 nouns and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers to occur in possessive predicative constructions. In (5.67) the head of the intransitive predicate is the ‘headless’ nominal modifier *bue* ‘what’ which contains the interrogative *buu* ‘who’ (see §3.3.4 and §10.3.2):

- (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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers as heads, pronominal subject marker has 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) oOR 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?’

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) [oOR mot_{OD}]_{NP:S} kue-m_{LOC} i-t-_{PRED}
 2sg motor.Sp 1sg-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘I have your motor.’

- (5.71) buu_S [kue_R mot_{OD}]_{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:¹⁷⁷

(5.72) kue-mo_{R:LOC} uru-es 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) [oor 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).’

Other examples of existential clauses expressing possessive relationships are illustrated in (5.75-79) below:

(5.75) [ni-ga uru-iai]_{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:OVAL.BIGGER-LOC exist-LK-3
 ‘I have (it) in my head (lit. it’s in my head).’

(5.78) [oo uru-iai]_{NP:S} i-t-e_{PRED}
 2sg child-CLF:G.PL exist-LK-3
 ‘Do you have children? (lit. do your children exist?)’

¹⁷⁷ This is called ‘locational schema’ in Heine (1997).

- (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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers in the predicate slot, as in (5.80). This example is an excerpt from a dialogue between women about their children – a frequent topic in everyday conversation.¹⁷⁸

- (5.80) T: [oo uru-iaɪ]_{NP:S} i-t-e?_{PRED} ni-ga-za=dɪ?_{NP}
 2sg child-CLF:G.PL exist-LK-3 Q₂-QUANT-CLF:IMMAT=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).’

5.1.3.3 Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses with possessive meanings obligatorily receive the connective *ie* that occurs following the R directly making an anaphoric reference to it. There are two types of verbless constructions:

- i) with the D stated – these are called the POSSESSION TYPE A constructions, see (5.81),
- ii) with the D omitted – these are called the POSSESSION TYPE B constructions, see (5.82).

Two types of constructions with *ie* are illustrated below. Two types of constructions with *ie* are illustrated below. In (5.81), ‘Walter’_{SR} abdomen_D’ makes a statement about an object that belongs to Walter, whereas ‘Walter’_{SR} abdomen’_{SR}’, whereas (5.82) is a statement about something that belongs to the abdomen of Walter.

¹⁷⁸ 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’.

- (5.81) [Walter_R ie]_R jebe-gi_D
 Walter CONN abdomen-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER
 ‘Walter’s abdomen (lit. Walter HIS abdomen, belonging to Walter)’
- (5.82) Walter_R [jebe-gi ie]_R
 Walter abdomen-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER CONN
 ‘Walter’s abdomen’s (lit. Walter abdomen ITS, belonging to Walter’s abdomen, not directly to Walter)’

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 an 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:¹⁷⁹

- (5.84) [bi-e iii-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).’

¹⁷⁹ 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).

- (5.86) [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 Rata’s grandmother’s (belonging to Rata’s grandmother) (lit. that dog - Rata’s grandmother HERS).’

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 (5.87-90) below. (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 jik_{OD}]_{NP:VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G Walter dog
 ‘This is Walter’s dog (lit. this - Walter’s dog).’
- (5.88) [[Jose ie]_R iy_{ID}]_{NP}
 Jose CONN jungle.garden
 ‘(This is) Jose’s jungle garden (lit. Jose HIS jungle garden)’
- (5.89) [[kue moo ie]_R anane-k_{OD}]_{NP}
 1sg father 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifier, but never a 1st and 2nd person pronoun (as mentioned in §5.1.1.2, non-3rd person pronouns cannot co-occur with *ie*), e.g. **oo ie jebe-gi* (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-j_{ID}
 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) [Lusio_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 argument *kamara* ‘camera’ is not overtly stated. (5.95) shows the underlying VSC-VCC structure of (5.94):

(5.94) [Kata ie]_R
 Kata CONN
 ‘(The camera) is Kata’s.’

(5.95) kamara_{D:VCS} [Kata ie]_{R:VCC}
 camera.Sp Kata CONN
 ‘The camera is Kata’s.’

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. (male) who learns)’, never seem to be possessed. Elders prefer to say *kue yofue-ga-mie* (1sg teach-PASS-CLF:PR.M) ‘my apprentice (lit. (male) who I taught)’. This is similar with *giboki* ‘type of 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? See also Aikhenvald (2012: 163-169).

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-KIN.PL) ‘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 §3.1.1 on vocative forms).¹⁸⁰

Some objects in Murui cannot be envisaged as ‘ownable’ and, therefore, cannot be ‘possessed’ (see also §3.1.1). These are:

- 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 aversion 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”!’

¹⁸⁰ Note that Murui has a kinship plural *-tiai* which contrasts with the collective *-niai*, see §5.2.

This individual vs. collective distinction is reflected in nouns as well. While many of the nouns cannot be possessed by individuals (that is, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and dual, e.g. ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘his’, etc.), when they have plural referents and are expressed in relation to a group, they become ‘possessible’. A number of examples are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Possessibility of salient cultural concepts in plural, ungrammatical otherwise

SINGULAR AND DUAL	PLURAL
* <i>kue Yetarafue</i> ‘my norms, law’	<i>kai Yetarafue</i> ‘our norms, law’
* <i>kue jaziki</i> ‘my forest’	<i>kai jaziki</i> ‘our forest’
* <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’ ¹⁸¹	<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, 2017a) (see also §11.1). According to elder Lucio Agga Calderón: ‘How can you say “let’s 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* ‘jungle garden’ conventionally belonged to entire clans. Nowadays, ‘possessibility’ of many of these 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

¹⁸¹ *Uai* can mean ‘voice’, ‘language’, and ‘word’. *Uai* is ‘possessible’ by individuals with the meaning ‘voice, word’, as in *kue uai* (1sg voice/word) ‘my voice, my word’, but never ‘my language’ (for which *uai* has to have plural referents).

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: inanimate nouns, inanimate nouns without specific semantics (such as culturally important objects, and artifacts), animate nouns, kinship nouns, as well as nouns, which make no number distinctions. Number marking on Murui nouns is discussed §5.2.1. The last section of this chapter, §5.2.2, discusses number marking on ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with relation to agreement marking.¹⁸²

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 (those that do not include 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 five types of nouns. They are illustrated in Table 5.3 below.

¹⁸² Murui has also a rarely occurring plural participant marker on verbs that can only co-occur with the pronominal subject marker *-e*, e.g. *maka-zit-e* (walk-PP-LK-3) ‘(they) walked’. This marker requires further study. See examples T1.39, T.1.47, T1.62, and T1.69 in the Appendix.

Table 5.3 Number marking on nouns in Murui – an overview

Types of nouns	Subtype	Number	Marking
A. Inanimate nouns without specific semantics	A	singular plural 'general'	no number marking marked with plural <i>-ai</i> (marked with the generic classifier <i>-e</i>)
B. Inanimate nouns with specific semantics	B1, B4	singular plural collective	no number marking marked with plural <i>-ai</i> marked with collective <i>-niai</i>
	B2, B3	singular collective	no number marking marked with collective <i>-niai</i>
C. Animate nouns	C1, C3	singular collective	no number marking marked with collective <i>-niai</i>
	C2	singular plural	no number marking marked with plural <i>-ai</i>
D. Kinship nouns	D	singular plural kinship plural	no number marking marked with plural <i>-ai</i> marked with kinship plural <i>-tiaí</i>
E. Nouns with no number distinctions	E1, E2, E3, E4	singular	no number marking

A. INANIMATE NOUNS WITHOUT SPECIFIC SEMANTICS – such nouns have two major number distinctions: singular (unmarked) and plural (marked). Additionally, the generic classifier *-e* can have ‘collective’ readings as well. Nouns with inanimate referents include low animals (that is, those with no sex-differentiable gender), concrete objects, and abstract concepts. Marking of number distinctions on inanimate nouns is not frequent in 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 dance ritual arrived, and women were urged to hurry up and smoke the fish.

(5.97) *nokae*_S *rii-ya*_{PRED} *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 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 /i/).

For instance the pluralized form of the noun *defo* ‘nose’ is *de-fuai* (nose-CLF:CAV.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 of they are free forms or bound roots (that take a classifier or a repeater). Some examples are illustrated in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 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 generic 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’.¹⁸³

There are dependencies between nouns that occur with classifiers and number (similarly to those with animate classifiers discussed in §4.2.2.3). Such nouns show optional

¹⁸³ To this group also belong two nouns which have human referents: *uru-e* (child-CLF:G) ‘child’ (cf. *uru-ki* (child-CLF.CLUSTER) ‘children’), and *konirue* (cf. *-rue* CLF:THINGS) ‘youngster, fellow’.

omission of classifiers 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: classifiers can be followed by the plural marker as in *airi-ji-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) shows noun *ifo* ‘head’ specified for shape with the classifier *-gi*, this is followed by the plural marker *-ai* in (5.99b). Example (5.99c) shows the plural marker which occurs without a classifier. In such cases, the noun is specified for number, not for shape/form.

(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 – these are some nouns with inanimate referents that refer to important objects, natural phenomena, and body parts. These are:

B1. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO IMPORTANT OBJECTS – a group of about a dozen nouns that refer to culturally important objects and artifacts have three number distinctions: singular (unmarked), plural (marked with *-ai*), and collective (marked). Some examples include *fiya-bakui* (flute-CLF:?) ‘flute’ > *fiya-bakui-niai* (flute-CLF:?-COLL) ‘flutes’, *nokae* ‘canoe’ >

nokae-niai (canoe-COLL) ‘canoes’, *jifi-ji* (chili-CLF:SMALL.ROUND) ‘chili’ > *jifi-ji-niai* ‘chillies’ (chili-CLF:SMALL.ROUND-COLL).¹⁸⁴

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:HILL) ‘star’ > *uku-du-niai* (star-CLF:HILL-COLL) ‘stars’.

B3. INANIMATE NOUNS THAT REFER TO BODY PARTS AND RELATED CONCEPTS – to this class belong a handful of nouns that have the singular (unmarked) vs. collective (marked) distinctions. These include *abi* ‘body’ > *abi-niai* (body-COLL) ‘bodies’.

B4. THE NOUN *uai* – 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* refers to ‘words (e.g. words that are written down in a book)’.

C. ANIMATE NOUNS – depending on their structure, animate nouns can distinguish singular (unmarked), plural (marked), and collective (marked) number. KINSHIP NOUNS (D) have different number distinctions. Depending on their number marking, there are three types of nouns with animate referents:

¹⁸⁴ 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 have become widely used among younger speakers.

C1. NOUNS WITH ANIMATE REFERENTS WITH ‘DERIVATIONAL’ ANIMATE CLASSIFIERS – these are bound nouns which obligatorily take ‘derivational’ animate classifiers; they distinguish between singular and collective numbers. The collective is marked with *-niai*, as in *ri-ño* (woman-CLF:DR.F) ‘woman’ > *ri-ño-niai* (woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL) ‘women’, *ai-ma* (witch-CLF:DR.M) ‘witch’ > *ai-ma-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 vs. the plural numbers, and retain the inherent gender distinction (in that respect they differ from those nominalizations that take the ‘pronominal’ classifier *-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 (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-CLF:PR.GR) ‘(those: female, male, or mixed) who grew’

C3. NOUNS WITH ANIMATE REFERENTS WITH NO DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES – these are free nouns (free noun roots with no derivational affixes) that can 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 type of kinship plural (marked), e.g. as in *ei-tiai* (mother-KIN.PL) ‘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-KIN.PL) ‘mother’s brothers (of one’s group)’
 cf. *biya-ma* (mothers.brother-CLF:DR.M) ‘mother’s brother’

(5.102) *moo-tiai* (father-KIN.PL) ‘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-ñuui* (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 *dīrue* ‘blood’ and *enīrue* ‘ground’.

E3. NOMINALIZATIONS – event nominalizations which cannot take classifiers cannot be pluralized in any way. For instance, *jīfanua* (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 *jītoma* ‘sun’, *fīvui* ‘moon’, and *aifī* ‘wind’, can have only singular readings and do not take non-singular markers.

5.2.2 Number of ‘headless’ nominal modifiers and partial agreement

In Murui, number is marked on ‘headless’ nominal modifiers as an agreement category in equative clauses (see §4.1 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-es kue_{OBLIQUE} ati-ka_{PRED} ame-na]_{VCS}
 that.FSH-CLF:G 1sg cut-PASS wood-CLF:TREE-COLL
 mare-na_{VCC}
 good.ATT-CLF:TREE
 ‘That tree brought by me is good (lit. is a good tree).’
- (5.104) [bi-es kue_{OBLIQUE} tie-ka_{PRED} ame-na-ia]_{VCS}
 this.CTS-CLF:G 1sg cut-PASS wood-CLF:TREE-PL
 aare-na-ia_{VCC}
 long-CLF:TREE-PL
 ‘These trees cut by me are long (lit. are long trees).’

The agreement is always obligatory when the head noun is human. This illustrated in (5.105), where *naie uzutiai* ‘those grandfathers’ agrees with the ‘headless’ nominal modifier *maremaki* ‘good (group)’. As shown in §4.2.2.2, ‘headless’ nominal modifiers occur generally with ‘pronominal’ animate classifiers. This is similar in examples (5.106-107). Note the inherent gender distinction between the ‘pronominal’ feminine animate classifier *-ñaiño* marked for number, and the animate group classifier *-maki* in (5.107).

- (5.105) [nai-e uzu-tiai]_{NP:VCS} mare-maki_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G grandparent-KIN.PL good.ATT-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 ‘Those grandfathers are good (group).’
- (5.106) [nai-e ei-tiai]_{NP:VCS} jano-ñaiñuai_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G mother-KIN.PL small-CLF:PR.F.PL
 ‘Those mothers are small (females).’
- (5.107) [bi-e ri-ño-niai]_{NP:VCS} mare-ñaiñuai_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F-COLL good.ATT-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 discourse), ‘headless’ nominal modifier can occasionally agree with it in classifier and in

number.¹⁸⁵ 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_{CPRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dog-COLL big-CLF.REP:DOG-COLL 1sg-N.S/A.TOP bother-LK-3
 ‘These big dogs, big (dogs), are bothering me.’

Occasionally, when a noun with an animate referent is marked for number, but its plurality in discourse is not important, the number agreement on the ‘headless’ nominal modifiers can be omitted, as illustrated in (5.109). This is similar to 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 (lit. these nails - small (nails)).’

¹⁸⁵ Such NPs that contain a head noun and more than one modifier are very rare in discourse (see §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.¹⁸⁶ 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 neighboring 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

¹⁸⁶ This is a normal discourse feature in neighboring languages such as Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2003b) as in many other languages around the world (Aikhenvald, 2012: 202-203).

bound pronouns and classifiers (see also §3.1.2 and §3.1.4).¹⁸⁷ 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 marking 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-di-kue_{PRED}
Katarina-LK-1sg
'I am Katarina.'
- (6.2) nai-ñaiño-na_O joko-di-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 =*di*,
- O arguments can be unmarked or marked with the topical *-na*,
- certain types of O arguments in addressee function can be either unmarked or marked with the dative/locative *-mo*.

¹⁸⁷That is, unless they appear in the form of verbal classifiers, which, synchronically, appear to be unproductive in Murui. 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)' (Wojtylak, forthcoming-a). Note that such 'verbal classifiers' are nowadays rare in Murui. In older texts (Petersen de Piñeros, 1994b; Preuss, 1921, 1923) verbal classifiers were a productive process deriving verbal stems (Petersen de Piñeros, p.c.).

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) and is therefore marked with topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*.¹⁸⁸

The marking of the core cases (S/A and O) is discussed in §6.2.

(6.4) *nokae*_O *fi*_N*no*-*di*-*o*?_{PRED}
 canoe make-LK-2sg
 ‘Did you make a canoe?’ (enquiring if you made a canoe)

(6.5) *nokae*-*na*_O *fi*_N*no*-*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 mechanisms 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 NPs helps to determine syntactic functions of core arguments. It is thus apparent that there are two mechanisms for 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):

¹⁸⁸ Similarly to other neighboring languages spoken in the vicinity of the Vaupés linguistic area (Aikhenvald, 2006; Birchall, 2014; Bruil, 2016; Epps, 2006, 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 unmarked, or marked with the locative case,
- *transitive clauses* – with transitive subject (A) and transitive object (O) as core arguments,
- *extended transitive* – 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 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 (see §3.1 on the noun structure and §4.1 on the structure of Murui NP).

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 term ‘topical’ refers to S/A and O arguments that are topical in discourse.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Murui has a focus marker *-ka* on pronouns, as in: *kue-ka jaie=koni rao-ti-kue* (1sg-FOC PAST=LOCAL₁ 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 Míka, 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	'Headless' 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 general	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/recipient	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 transitive 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)” (Dixon, 2010b: 76). There are a number of morphological and syntactic criteria in Murui that identify 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* *koko_S bita-da-ti-kok_OPRED*
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ 1du.m lie.on.ground.TH-BODY-LK-1du.m
 ‘We (two men) lie down on the ground 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 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-tiais* *jaai~jai-kai-d-e_{PRED}* *mei*
 PAST really grandparent-KIN.PL go~RED-INCP-LK-3 so

ni-no-mo neka-zis uai-d-e_{PRE}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC green.umari-CLF:OVAL.SMALL fall-LK-3
 ‘In the old times the elders were going (and 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-fi-re-i-aka-di-maki=za_{PRE} mai kokos maka-ri-zai
 walk-CUST-ATT-EMPH-DES-LK-3_{pl}=UNCERT LET 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 (there) 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 (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) gatos bi-ñe-d-e_{PRE} jiko=dis bi-ya_{PRE}
 cat.Sp come-NEG-LK-3 dog=S/A.TOP come-E.NMLZ
 ‘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-S/A subject case. Compare (6.11a) (with the AOV constituent order and no overt case marking) with (6.11b) (with the AVO constituent order and the overt case marking). In (6.11b), *akiena* ‘this’ is topical.

- (6.11) a. navuida [uzu-ma Lusio]_A jinui_O ati-d-e_{PRE}
 evening 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).’

- (6.11) b. nai-mie_A ati-d-e_{PRE} aki-e-nao_O
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M bring-LK-3 AUDIT-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘He brought this (as heard).’

D. Murui has the S/A pivot where the S and A arguments are a common argument of two linked clauses (so-called the ‘nominative-accusative’ S/A pivot), as in (6.12):

- (6.12) Pedro_A nai-ñaiño-na_O kio-d-e_{PRED} Ø_S jaki-nai-t-e_{PRED}
 Pedro ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3 (he) scared-BECOME₁-LK-3
 ‘Pedro saw her (and he) got scared.’

E. In addition to the criteria for recognition of the S/A subject outlined above, there are also more associations between the S and A arguments. In Murui, the referent of both S and A is 2nd person in canonical imperative constructions (see §11.1).¹⁹⁰ Usually, the S and A arguments are not explicitly stated, and they are understood from the context. The imperative in (6.13) below is an example of an intransitive clause where the S argument is not stated.

The reported command in (6.14) illustrates a transitive clause; the A argument is covert:

- (6.13) beno-mo (Ø)_S bii!_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC (2sg) come
 ‘(You) come here!’ (shouting at a boy running in front of the house)
- (6.14) ‘(Ø)_A bi-eo eko-no-ñe-no!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 (2du.m) this.CTS-CLF:G open-SEMLF-NEG-PRIV.PROH say-LK-3
 ‘“(You, two males) do not open this up!” (he) said.’

6.2.1.2 Differential S/A case marking

The form of pronouns for S, A, and O arguments is the same for all the persons. There is no morphological distinction between marking of NPs in S function of intransitive clauses, in A function of transitive clauses, and in VCS function of verbless clauses. This is illustrated in (6.15-17) below. (6.15) is an example of an intransitive clause with the independent pronoun *kue* ‘I’ functioning as S; in the transitive clause in (6.16) *kue* functions as A; in the verbless

¹⁹⁰ Such association applies equally to languages with accusative and with ergative marking of syntactic relations. It is not treated as one of the criteria for S/A subjecthood in the language but merely as a confirmation of one of a linguistic universal (Dixon, 2012).

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.’

Often in Murui the S/A arguments tend not to be stated when they are already retrievable from the context; they are always 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 S/A argument is subject to differential S/A case marking where the marking of the S/A arguments depends on their pragmatics. In 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) $Kata=di_S$ bi-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 §7.2.3.4). Compare examples (6.21-22):

(6.21) *Katas* jaai-ya=*di*_{PRD}
Kata go-E.NMLZ=CERT
 ‘Kata WENT AWAY.’

(6.22) [*Kiña* ui-ga=*di*] fuiri aima-jai-d-*e*_{PRD} aki
Kiña take-PASS=CERT downstream fish-ANDTV-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘(It) was TAKEN by *Kiña*. He went (away) fishing, I hear.’

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

(‘headless’ nominal modifier *baie* ‘that’) is marked with =*di*. (6.25) is a ‘headless’ nominal modifier (*birui* ‘today’) in a temporal function:¹⁹¹

(6.23) [*uru-e* ee~e-na] ua raire monoi-nao *kue=di*_A
 child-CLF:G cry~RED-E.NMLZ really fast.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 (and 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 are many of THOSE *maloca* (communal roundhouse) people.’

(6.25) *bi-rui=di* [rakuiyar ire-iai]_D i-t-*e*_{PRD}
 this.CTS-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 people (to catch big animals).’

¹⁹¹ The marker =*di* seems to have more than just one grammatical function, that of (contrastive) focus. This might be why it occasionally occurs on some non S/A arguments (such as those in temporal functions). An analogy would be a grammatical marker *-pi* in the neighboring Tucano language spoken to the north, that frequently marks focus on subjects and can also occur on other clausal arguments (Ramirez, 1997). I use the gloss S/A.TOP throughout this work, even where it clearly refers to focus, which is not at all the same function, as in (6.10).

The characteristics of the S/A marking are the following:

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 but never on O NPs. This is illustrated in examples (6.26-30). 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* ‘(in the) past’. In (6.29) it occurs on the linker *ia* ‘but’; in (6.30), it follows the adverbial demonstrative *bene* ‘here’.¹⁹²

(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-ka_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_{PRED}*
 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} *iadi=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]_{Pur}
 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 words would have

¹⁹² 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 §7.2.4.2).

‘general’ indefinite meaning, not a specific one, as in (6.71) in §6.2.1.5. This is similar to the differential 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=dī ua moni-fue i-t-e_{PRED} eki-mo]
 Q1=S/A.TOP really abundance-CLF:STORY exist-LK-3 side-LOC
 aime-ri majji-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 abundance,
 (who) doesn’t work because of the hunger.’

Occasionally, the marker =*dī* 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) jii! kue mei kue dīs ua kue yofue-ra-ko-mo_{LOC}
 yes 1sg so 1sg S/A.TOP really 1sg teach-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER-LOC
 i-ya dino-ri kues mei ua jaka
 exist-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-BENEF.CAUS 1sg so really always
 uie-ko-mo_{LOC} i-ya-nao gaai-fi-re-di-kue_{PRED}
 face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC exist-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP like-CUST-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 =*dī* are usually referential and recoverable from the context of the discourse. This is illustrated in the marking of the VCS and the VCC arguments in the verbless clause in (6.33). The dragonfly, 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=dī mei jinui naa-ma=dī jii...
 CONN dragonfly=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 DRAGONFLY 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 a bee. A grandmother commented:

(6.34) [nai-e jiko=*di*]_A jai une-gi_o bai-t-*e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF: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 dine]_{LOC} omoki=*dis* jai bii
 cold-ATT-LK.3.CALL dragonfly 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 the dragonfly’s (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 the story why the Murui language is disappearing. Although the referents *uruiai* ‘children’ have not yet been 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 forget-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, I hear. This is the way how our
 language disappears. (And) our children do not worry (about this) ANYMORE.’

5) The NP S/A arguments that receive the =*di* marker can be in some kind of a contrastive focus. Example (7.37) illustrates a conversation between two people about who the other day came back from Leticia. Somebody said that Sandriela has returned from the city. Another speaker denied this by saying:

- (6.37) Sandriela_S Letisia-mona_{ABL} bi-ñe-d-e_{PRED} Elver=dis 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

The O argument in Murui is defined as the non-S/A core argument. Semantically, in transitive clauses, A arguments can potentially initiate or control the activity. As Dixon (2010b: 76) put it: “And if there is something which is saliently affected by the activity, the argument referring to this will be in the O function.” O arguments in Murui are recognized based on the following morphological and syntactic criteria:

1) The O argument is 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 [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-e_{PRED}
 speak-NEG-LK-3
 ‘And so, our children do not speak our language.’

2) O arguments are marked with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* that marks a variety of core non-subject participants (prototypical patients and recipients), as in (6.39-41):¹⁹³

(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 *kie*_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!’

3) If O arguments have specific referents, they are case marked with the topical non-S/A 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 in (6.43):

(6.42) [*kai ñai-a-kino...*]_S *baa* *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) is painting (and painting) the nails there at her (house).’

All types of nominal constituents can take the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* (nouns, nominalizations, pronouns, and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers of all types). The sentence in

¹⁹³ 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 (Makú) 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, 2003b).

(6.44) is an example of the specific anaphoric demonstrative *nai-* followed by the generic classifier *-e*. *Naie* is marked with N.S/A.TOP *-na* and refers to hair-painting, something that the speaker stopped doing a long time ago. Note that *naie* is marked regardless of the constituent order, that is regardless of whether it is preposed or postposed to the verb (see also §6.3):

- (6.44) jai iadi nai-e-na_o fie-d-e_{PREL} jai fie-d-e_{PREL}
 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 (6.46-46), 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_{PREL} baai=bene
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE come-LK-1du.f THERE=HERE.LOC:NSP
 jifanua_o jibui-zaibi-ti-kañai_{PREL} estadio-mo_{LOC}
 play.E.NMLZ watch-VENTV-LK-2du.f stadium.Sp-LOC
 ‘From there once more we (two women) came over here. We came to watch a game (lit. playing) at the stadium.’

- (6.46) jiai-mie_A [jiai-e duiko manua-na]_o uiño-t-e_{PREL}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Another (man) knows how to heal (lit. the healing) other illnesses.’

- (6.47) nai-mie_A [bi-e ra-ya raize
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M this.CTS-CLF:G thing-CLF:CRAFT well.SIMIL
 ui-ya-na]_o uiño-t-e_{PREL}
 take.away-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘He knows to drive this boat well.’

In (6.48), the interrogative content 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 speaker has something specific in mind, the food.

- (6.48) kio-do maiji-iti-kue iadi bu-e-nao [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 lay.TH-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.’

4) Murui has the default S_XV and AO_XV constituent orders where the S/A arguments are preposed to the clause-final predicate (see §6.3 for details). 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 may follow the verb. When that is the case, it is marked with the topical non-S/A 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.

- (6.50) [ñiño ra-fue...]_{NP} [aki-e ra-fue]_O yo-iti-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 Other functions of *-na*

The topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* marks core O NPs (that are not in the addressee/recipient function, see §6.2.1.6). 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 patterning of topical non-S/A 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 that are frequently topical (and, therefore, it is called the ‘topical non-S/A subject marker’). 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_{PRD}
 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_{PRD}
 1sg=so good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP grow-LK-1sg
 ‘I grew up well.’

3) The morpheme *-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 (and 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. *Kolombia-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 topical non-S/A subject marker can be used as a topical clause linker. For instance, constructions with the sequential dependent marker *-no* can be followed by the topical non-

S/A subject *-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, Ávila, & Sarmiento Espinosa, forthcoming):

- (6.54) *ie=mei* *gua-ja-no-na* *imui-ya-no-na*
 CONN=so pound-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP add.salt-E.NMLZ-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-S/A subject marker functions as a topical marker of clauses with purposive meaning, as in (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}* *serve_{so}* [*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 §12.3.1).

The case in point is *muidona* ‘for reason, because of’, as in (6.56) below:¹⁹⁴

- (6.56) *nai-mie=d_{is}* *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) in §6.2.1.3):

¹⁹⁴ *Muidona* ‘for reason’ originates in the independent lexical word *muido* meaning ‘end point of an object (commonly, the highest point in 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) ‘Headless’ nominal modifiers (with inherently locational and temporal meanings) that are topical in the context can be optionally marked with *-na*. In (6.59), the ‘headless’ nominal modifier contains the interrogative content word *ni-* ‘which’ that occasionally translates as ‘where’ (§3.3.4):

(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.¹⁹⁵ In the following example, a speaker is talking

¹⁹⁵ Nouns and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers that take the generic classifier *-e* (which has ‘generic’ interpretation), can further be marked with *-na* if their reference is retrievable from the immediate context and specific.

about the importance of *jiibie* ‘coca (processed coca powder)’ in the Murui culture. In (6.60), the first occurrence of *jiibie* is unmarked. The second occurrence is referential and specific, and marked with *-na*.

- (6.60) ri-ñō_A jiibi-e_o du-ñe-d-e_{PRED} [kai bi-e Murui
 woman-CLF:DR.F coca-CLF:G chew.coca-NEG-LK-3 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G Murui
 ðibeji-mo] ie=mei ri-ñō_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_{PRED}
 chew.coca-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) jeenino kue_A jiai-za-na_o i-ti-kue_{PRED}
 little 1sg other-CLF:IMMAT-N.S/A.TOP give-LK-1sg
 ‘I gave a little to the other children.’

(6.62) is a reply to a question, the ‘headless’ nominal modifiers *jadie* ‘this’ and *naie* ‘that’ are marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*, and are specific and highly referential in the context:

- (6.62) jadi-e-na_o uiño-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} 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 kueno-ye-na]_{PUR} jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN study.Sp finish-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-S/A 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 he also has internal knowledge as to how to make one.

(6.64) Gaie_A nokae_O f̃no-d-e_{PRED}
 Gaie canoe make-LK-3
 ‘Gaie made a canoe.’

(6.65) uru-e_A jano-kae-nao f̃no-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 to make that canoe)

Core O NP of negated verbal predicate often occur with the topical non-S/A subject marker.¹⁹⁶ Examples are given in (6.66-68). An unmarked O NP of a negated verbal predicate is shown in (7.60) above and (7.68) below:

(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-ka_I_{PRED} [uru-ia_i 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 canoe.’

The topical non-S/A 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)

¹⁹⁶ The speaker may possibly negate something that is already specific in their mind.

‘anybody’ refers to absence of a specific referent, the people who are supposed to accompany the 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 angle-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 lie.on.ground.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 lay down on the ground (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 Ismael 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* ‘neighbors’, who 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 neighbor-N.S/A.TOP tell-LK-1sg
 ‘I tell my wife, I tell all my NEIGHBORS.’

In Murui, future events can also be topical, where the O NP arguments of a predicate marked for future, takes the topical non-S/A subject marker. (6.73) is an opening of a narration about

An interpretation of partially vs. fully affected object is also true for the following two examples below. During the preparations for the dance rituals 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 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-ku_{ePRED}
 woman-CLF:DR.F=ANA.NSP-CLF:IMMAT grab-LK-1sg
 ‘I delivered (lit. I grabbed) a baby-girl.’ (unspecific child)

- (6.79) *uru-e-na_o* *yiii-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 THE NP ON THE 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* in §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 *oo* (2sg) ‘you’ see T2.26 in the Appendix.

- (6.80) *ie-mo* *dakaiño* *River-na_o* [*da-je* *iii-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.SMLF-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 said 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 animate nouns.

F. THE PREDICATE’S SEMANTIC GROUP – objects of verbs of perception, as well as verbs of liking 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.EMPH 2sg-N.S/A.TOP see-LK-3=REP tell-LK-3
 ‘Ah, he said that he saw you!’
- (6.82) ‘*kue-mo_{OO:ADDRESSEE}* *yo-ñe-iti-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. Example (6.83) is a mother’s recommendation to her daughter not to buy rice but sugar in the village:¹⁹⁸

- (6.83) aros_o ati-ñe-iti-_{OPRED} asukar-na_o ati-iti-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-S/A subject marker *-na* is used to disambiguate between two arguments. See 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-S/A subject marking. This is illustrated in (6.86) where *akie rafue* ‘that story’ is post-posed to the verb and therefore is topical (and in focus). (6.87) shows that the marker *-na* does not solely depend on the constituent order, as in both positions (pre-V and post-V) the O NP takes the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*:

¹⁹⁸ This is similar to the contrastive function of the topical S/A subject marker =*di*; cf. (6.37).

- (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 told 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

The O NP argument that refers to the addressee/recipient¹⁹⁹ can be marked with the dative/locative *-mo* or be left unmarked.²⁰⁰ In (6.88), the argument of the second clause is the O NP *kue* (1sg) ‘I’ is marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*; the O NP *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-iti-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.’

Marking of the addressee depends on the nature of the O, and how it correlates with the Nominal Hierarchy and the contrastive focus. Unmarked addressees can only be personal pronouns, proper nouns (personal names and kinship terms); nouns with other types of

¹⁹⁹ ‘O NP addressee/recipient’ can also be referred to as ‘indirect object’.

²⁰⁰ Locative marker is one of the sources of differential object marking in Murui. This is similar to the differential object marker *-nuku* in Tariana, an Arawak language spoken to the north (cf. Baniwa (Arawak) *-naku* ‘on’) (Aikhenvald, 2003b). Cross-linguistically, there is a tendency for DOM to have their origin in locative markers.

referents are always marked with *-mo*. The meaning of marked arguments with the dative/locative is ‘focused O addressee/recipient’. The marking on the O NP: Addressee is typically used in imperative clauses where a 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 (6.41) in §6.2.1.3 for an unmarked pronoun O NP: Addressee *kue* (1sg) ‘I’:

(6.91) *da-godo_o* *Lusio_o:ADDRESSEE* *ine!*_{PRED}
 one-CLF.REP:BANANA Lucio give.IMP
 ‘Give Lucio a cigarette!’ (normal reading)

(6.92) *bi-e-nao* *Elger-mo_o:ADDRESSEE* *ine!*_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP Elger-LOC give.IMP
 ‘Give this to ELGER!’ (abrupt reading, brusque)

(6.93) *aros-nao* *kue-mo_o:ADDRESSEE* *akata!*_{PRED}
 rice.Sp-N.S/A.TOP 1sg-LOC show
 ‘Show ME the rice!’ (abrupt reading, brusque)

(6.94) ‘*kue-mo_o:ADDRESSEE* *nai-kino-nao* *yo-ñe-iti-makì*’_{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)

Nouns in the addressee function always receive the *-mo* marking. Examples (6.95-96) illustrate an extended transitive clause with three arguments. In (6.95), these are: *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 strictly transitive verb *akata(te)* ‘show’:

(6.95) *kue*_A *bi-e-nao* *gato-mo*_{O:ADDRESSEE} *i-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 1sg this.CTS-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.CTS-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 predicative construction employs the intransitive 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 *i(te)* expressing possession):

(6.98) *kue-mo*_O *uru-e*_A *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 (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 over there side (i.e. ahead of)’ 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 to 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 string of suffixes *-ta-ta* (see §8.2.2). (6.100-101) show the derivation mechanism of a ‘simple’ causative:

(6.100) *uru-es* *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 anybody specific in mind:

(6.102) *Elger mai [kai komini]_O* *mai-ji-ta!_{PRED}*
 Elger LET 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:

(6.103) *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-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘She orders me to make the child sleep.’

As (6.103) shows, such constructions allow marking the case twice with a clause. The first O NP is always obligatorily marked with *-na*, the marking of the second O NP can be omitted but it is usually present (see §8.2).

6.2.2 Oblique arguments

Oblique cases mark any non-core arguments and their marking cannot be omitted. Murui distinguishes between five oblique cases: locative, ablative, instrumental (with comitative overtones), benefactive-causal and privative. There is also a genitive form, which is not strictly a case as it marks relations within the NP rather than grammatical relations (see §5.1.1.2). All nouns and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers distinguish oblique cases. Adverbial demonstratives that take the suffix *-ne* (see §3.3.3) are unique in that they show limited case marking possibilities, as well as differ in terms of locative and ablative marking. The nominalizations are unique in that their privative forms can either be *-(ñe)no* or *-(ni)no* (see §10.2.5), whereas the privative is marked with *-(ni)no* elsewhere (see §6.2.2.5 for details). The most restricted case is the privative marking. Murui lexicalized adverbial demonstratives that contain the formative *-ne* (see §3.3.3) occurs with the ablative and the instrumental only. Murui oblique cases are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Oblique cases in Murui

CASE	Noun	Pronoun	‘Headless’ nominal modifiers			Event nominalizations
			Location marker <i>-ne</i>	Demonstrative	Interrogative	
LOCATIONAL	-mo	-mo	-	-mo	-mo	-mo
ABLATIVE	- mona	-mona	-na	-mona	-mona	-mona
INSTRUMENTAL	-do	-do	-do	-do	-do	-do
BENEFACTIVE-CAUSAL	-ri	some	-	(-ri) ²⁰¹	some	-ri
PRIVATIVE	- (ni)no	-	-	-(ni)no	-(ni)no	-(ñe)no -(ni)no

²⁰¹ Murui speakers usually associate forms with *-ri* as Minika forms, but do use them among themselves.

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 a clause linking device, 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 (see (6.110-6.111) in §6.2.1.1).

6.2.2.1 Locative

Murui locative case marker functions as an oblique argument marking location of an object in space, as in (6.104-105), or a direction, as in (6.106-108):²⁰²

- (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 the 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} *rau*_{PRED}
 forest-LOC person hunt-CUST-ATT-LK-3 hunt.E.NMLZ
 ‘One used to go hunting. (He) hunted (lit. his hunting).’
- (6.108) [*kai* *gairi-ya-biri-mo*]_{LOC} *ñaa-i~ñai-di-kai*_{PRED}
 1pl gather-E.NMLZ-CLF:SITE-LOC speak~RED-LK-1pl
 ‘We were talking (and talking) at our place of gathering (in the *maloca*).’

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

²⁰² See also §6.2.1.7 for the locative functioning as a core argument.

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, such as ‘coming’, ‘doing’, and ‘going’, as illustrated in (6.109-111) below. An NP will almost always occur with the locative *-mo*, rather than be unmarked (compare (6.109-6.111) with (4.33) in §4.2.2.2). The cases where the locative is omitted are exceptional, however.

- (6.109) *ben*_{LOC} *bii!*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE come
 ‘Come here!’ (young Murui man talking to his friend)
- (6.110) *jaai-ño-kai-ñe-no* *bu-e*_O *ben*_{LOC} *ñee~ñe-di-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 (and doing) here?’
- (6.111) [*kue ai*]_S *iyi*_{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 for a long time in La Chorrera with the Minika. In Minika, *jof* means ‘inside’ while in Murui, it is *fo*.²⁰³ *Fo*, being an adverb of place, does not take the locative marking. Although it is unclear if the omission of the locative marker is for this reason, the speaker meant either ‘home’ or ‘inside of the village’.

- (6.112) *aki-e-ze* *jiibi-es* *fino-ka*_{PRED} *jiibi-es* *ri-ñ*_{OBLIQUE}
 AUDIT-CLF:G-SIMIL coca-CLF:G make-PASS coca-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F
*jo-fo*_{LOC} *ati-ka*_{PRED}
 house-CLF:CAV bring-PASS
 ‘This (as we talked) is how coca is made. Coca is brought home by women.’

²⁰³ Cf. with the classifier *-fo* for ‘cavity’ (see §4.2.2.1).

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 movements away from the reference point (see §7.3 on spatial setting). There is a symmetrical alignment between the direction markers and arguments with the locative and the ablative case (if present). The same goes for 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_{PRED}
 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_{PRED}
 El.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 marking temporal relations (see §12.3.1). It indicates that an action happened simultaneously while another action was taking place. This is illustrated in (6.115):

(6.115) gairi-di-kai-mo jiai-kinos rii-ya_{PRED}
 gather-LK-1pl-TEMP other-CLF:NEWS arrive-E.NMLZ
 ‘While we were gathered (at night in a communal roundhouse), 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 obligatorily take the locative case marker as well (see Wojtylak (2018a) and §9.2 on comparative constructions), as in *kue baai-fe-mo* (1sg THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC) meaning ‘than me’ but best translated as ‘me on the over there side, ahead of 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* in (6.116):²⁰⁴

- (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 (*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 unspecific, undefined location in space, rather than a specific, defined location. Compare (6.117-118):

- (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)

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-INCP-LK-2sg
 ‘You are beginning to be passing (and 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)?’

Murui has a class of inherently locational expressions that do not take the locative marking.

That class consists of some place adverbs (such as *ana* ‘below’, *aa* ‘above’, *foo* ‘inside’, *jino*

²⁰⁴ The original meaning of *jerei* is ‘guts, stomach’, e.g. *kue jerei izi-re-na* (1sg guts painful-ATT-E.NMLZ) ‘my guts hurt (lit. are painful)’.

- (6.127) zeri-ya-mona [bi-e kai oogo-do]_s i-t-e_{PREL}
 burst-E.NMLZ-ABL this.CTS-CLF:G 1pl banana-CLF:POINTED exist-LK-3
 ‘From the moment (the *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.CTS-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*.²⁰⁵ 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_{PREL}
 fish-ANDTV-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘After coming once more from up the river, I (will) want to go fishing.’

- (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_{PREL}
 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 (6.131) with the ‘headless’ nominal modifier *dino* ‘there (specific place)’ in (6.132):

- (6.131) dine-na bi-ti-kue_{PREL}
 AT.LOC:NSP-ABL come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came from there (unspecific place)’

- (6.132) dino-mona bi-ti-kue_{PREL}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL come-LK-1sg
 ‘I came from there (specific place).’

²⁰⁵ As shown in §6.2.2.1, they also cannot take the locative *-mo*.

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

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 WITH INSTRUMENTAL READINGS *-do* – Murui instrumental has a number of meanings: ‘by means of’ and ‘by, through, on’. Instrumental marking occurs on nouns and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, but not on personal pronouns. Instrumental ‘by means of’ encodes a meaning where a noun is either an instrument, a material, or a means by, or with which, the subject achieves or accomplishes an action, 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 ðine]_{LOC} bi-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC uncle.Sp Silva CLF:PR.F AT.LOC:NSP come-LK-3
 [komini uai-do]_{INS} [ñaiño ðiga] ñai-t-e_{PRED}
 people.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. This is illustrated in (6.139-141). The instrumental ‘by, through, on’ can also mark temporal expressions, as in (6.142):

- (6.139) beno-m_{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-m_{LOC} jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 uphill-INS La.Chorrera-LOC go-LK-1sg
 ‘I went to La Chorrera by land.’
- (6.142) naga ñee naga-rui jo-fo-m_{LOC} i-ti-kai=za_{PRED}
 EACH FILLER EACH-CLF:DAY house-CLF:CAV-LOC exist-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 nai-rui-do_{INS} kais jaai-ya_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:DAY-INS 1pl go-E.NMLZ
 ‘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 ‘headless’ 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 content word in (6.146), and a pronoun in (6.147). Its usage on pronouns, however, is sparse even among older speakers of Murui.

- (6.143) [kai yera]_S bai-e-ze ñi-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-2sg
 ‘Who did you 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.’ (blaming someone of theft)

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 §3.3.7 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 animal WITH
 ‘Always, we eat fish with animal (meat) every day.’
- (6.149) jo-fo-mo [kue evu-ño [ie uru-iai 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 lives (lit. sleeps) with her children at home.’

C. SPECIAL READINGS OF *-do* WITH PRONOUNS AND THE VERB ‘come’ – in addition to the instrumental meanings, the marker *-do* on pronouns can have a special reading that is neither instrumental nor comitative, but some type of 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-mie*_S *kie-do* *bi-t-e*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg-INS come-LK-3
 ‘He came out like me (you resemble 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 (she resembles me).’ (when comparing children)

D. FOSSILIZED EXPRESSIONS – on a handful of nouns, the meaning of the instrumental is no longer transparent. There is one fossilized adverbial expression in Murui that frequently occurs with the instrumental case marker *abido* meaning ‘again’, as in (6.152):²⁰⁶

(6.152) *kais* *gairi-di-kai*_{PRED} *dane* *abido* *bi-ya*_{PRED}
 1pl gather-LK-1pl ONCE AGAIN come-E.NMLZ
 ‘We gather, (and then) we come (to gather) once again.’

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.

A. CASUAL ‘BECAUSE OF’ – meaning ‘because of’, e.g.:

(6.153) *noki-ri* *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC} *fiebi-di-kue*_{PRED}
 rain-BENEF.CAUS house-CLF:CAV-LOC stay-LK-1sg
 ‘Because of the rain, I stayed home.’

²⁰⁶ *Abido* is possibly related to *abi* ‘body’ (followed by the instrumental case marker *-do*) (see (T1.21) in the Appendix). It frequently co-occurs with *dane* ‘once’, as in *abido dane* ‘once again’.

- (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 having fever (lit. my child’s
 body being hot), I never went.’
- (6.155) iyi-mo_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRED} gui-yes 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 tiring-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} rai-di-kue_{PRED}
 go-NEG-LK-1sg ONLY this.CTS-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.CTS-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 is 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 variety, and frequently give benefactive reading in clauses that contain with *fakai* ‘time’, as in (6.159):

- (6.158) kue-ri iba-it-e_{PRED}
 1sg-BENEF.CAUS buy-FUT.LK-3
 ‘(He) will buy (it) for me.’
- (6.159) kue fakai-na iba-it-e_{PRED}
 1sg time-N.S/A.TOP buy-FUT.LK-3
 ‘(He) will buy (it) 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.²⁰⁷ 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 (the benefit of) us’. If the referent is not present, the clause has negative overtones interpreted usually as ‘to cause misfortune’

- (6.160) *kai-ri* *ñai-t-e_{PRED}*
 1pl-BENEF.CAUS speak-LK-3
 ‘(He) speaks for (benefit of) us.’ (if the referent is present) or
 ‘(He) speaks (to cause misfortune) for us.’ (if the referent is not present)

6.2.2.5 Privative

Murui nouns and ‘headless’ 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. Examples are given in (6.161-163):

- (6.161) *nai-mie* [*nana atava*]_S *feka-ka_{PRED}* *ie=ta*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M ALL chicken distribute-PASS CONN=REP
atava-ni-no_{PRIV} *fiebi-d-e_{PRED}*
 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_{IPRED}* *gui-ñe-no!_{PRED}*
 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!’
- (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.’

²⁰⁷ See also §5.1.4 on the distinction between ‘I’ vs. ‘we’ in Murui.

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*).²⁰⁸ The privative *-no* has to co-occur with either the negative attributive *-ni*, as in examples (6.161-163) above, or the standard negator *-ñe*, as in (6.164) (see also §10.2.3):

- (6.164) *maiji-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 – S, A followed by O, occur before the verb. The placement of the non-core arguments follows the nominative–accusative nature of Murui: *SxV* and *AOxV*. 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 oblique 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 San Rafael-mo_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRED}*
 Adam San.Rafael-LOC go-LK-3
 ‘Adam went to San Rafael.’

- (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).’

²⁰⁸ The privative forms are similar to clausal nominalizations, in that they have a number of morphological and syntactic properties of event nominalizations. On verbs, the privative extends to cover prohibitive meanings, as in (6.164) (see §10.2.3).

In Murui, there is a certain flexibility in the constituents patterns where the oblique argument (marked as *x*) occurs either before the verb (*xSV* and *xAOV*) and after the V (i.e. *SV_x* and *AOV_x*). In (6.167) the oblique *jofomo* ‘home’ is placed after the verb:

- (6.167) L: nai-mi_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 home 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 (6.168-169). In (6.168), the A argument, *Flor*, is postposed to the verb *roko(de)* ‘cook’. This is similar in (6.169). 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 VCS constituent order in intransitive clauses. This is illustrated in (6.170):

- (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 and causative constructions (§8.1-2), the constituent ordering is of great importance. Different orders can yield different interpretations. Compare (6.171-172):

(6.171) $jik_{OBLIQUE}$ $aini-ka_{PRED}$
 dog bite-PASS
 ‘(somebody, e.g. a boy) was bitten by a dog’

(6.172) $(janayari)_{OBLIQUE}$ $aini-ka_{PRED}$ $jiko_S$
 jaguar bite-PASS dog
 ‘the dog was bitten (by a jaguar)’

Often, there is some kind of morphological marking of grammatical relations in the clause (cf. differential case marking in §6.2). 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 (SxV) and AOV ($AOxV$) (the oblique ‘X’ arguments have to be marked). There is a certain flexibility in the constituent patterns where the oblique argument may occasionally precede the S/A argument (xSV and $xAOV$), or occur following the verb (SVx and $AOVx$). This suggests that X arguments have a certain degree of mobility within a clause. Occasionally, the O argument can occur in the clause-final position, i.e. AVO. Even though it is not common, the O argument can precede the A argument in transitive clauses (OAV). In such instances, the accusative marking on O NP is often retained, regardless of the referent’s discourse status. 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). In dependent clauses the constituent order appears to be rigid, verb-final (see §12.3). The order of constituents in those clauses with increased valency is AO_1VO_2 , in those with decreased valency is $SO_{OBLIQUE}V$ (see also 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 occurs in relation to the predicate) (§6.3). Murui has a nominative-accusative case marking system, and distinguishes between core and oblique arguments. The core arguments, the subject S/A 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 S/A and O arguments (including their topicality 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, 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 core and oblique cases is given in Table 6.3. Murui has a nominative-accusative pattern of constituent ordering – S, A followed by O, occur before the V. The constituent order, however, allows certain flexibility.

Table 6.3 Murui core and oblique cases – summary

CASE AND FUNCTION		FORM	MEANING
topical subject (nominative)	- core argument: S/A/VCS	-∅	- subject neutral with respect to discourse status
		= <i>di</i>	- referent topical - referent referential - referent known - referent specific - referent in (contrastive) focus
topical non-subject (accusative)	- core argument: general O	-∅	- object neutral with respect to discourse status
		- <i>na</i>	- referent topical - referent specific - referent affected - referent topical - emphatic referent - referent in (contrastive) focus
addressee (dative/locative)	- core argument: addressee/recipient -second O NP of strictly transitive 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>) - location (- <i>na</i>)
instrumental	- 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 favor of, because of' (benefactive)
privative	- oblique	- <i>nino</i> - <i>ñeno</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 and epistemic modality, §7.2.4). Spatial setting (i.e. direction and location expressed with affixes on verb), the andative and ventive, are discussed in §7.3. The last section §7.4 offers a brief summary.

7.1 Predicate structure

Root and affixes appear frequently in the order shown in Scheme 7.1 below (see also §3.1.2 on verbs). The underived verbal root (slot 1) can be either mono or disyllabic, 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 (slot 2) express high degree of intensity of an activity (see §7.2.2.3), such as *maka~maka-di-kue* (walk~RED-LK-1sg) 'I am walking (and walking)'. Some verbs have lexicalized trisyllabic roots, which contain 'thematic syllables' (slot 3). These thematic syllables appear to be fossilized affixes, now integrated into roots, and cannot be omitted (see §7.2.2.6). These include eight instances of suffixes 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)' and the classifier *-na* (CLF:TREE).

Scheme 7.1 The structure of a Murui verb

- Root 1. Root
- Suffixes 2. Aspect
- high intensity (root reduplication) (see §7.2.2.3)
 - 3. Thematic syllable and miscellaneous affixes (§7.2.2.6)
 - 4. Body movement *-da* (§7.2.2.5)
 - 5. Aspect system (§7.2.2)
 - terminative *-bi* (§7.2.2.1)
 - durative *-ri* (§7.2.2.2)
 - reiterative *-oi* (§7.2.2.4)
 - semelfactive *-no* (§7.2.2.4)
 - inceptive *-kai* (§7.2.2.5)
 - manner *-rui*
 - 6. Valency increasing markers
 - causative *-ta* (§8.2.1)
 - double causative *-tata* (§8.2.2)
 - causative (encouragement) *-do*
 - 7. Emphatic *-i*
 - 8. Desiderative *-aka* (§7.2.3.1)
 - 9. System of directional markers
 - andative *-ai* (§7.3)
 - ventive *-ai*bi (§7.3)
 - 10. Aspect system
 - remote habitual *-vui/-zoi* (§7.2.2.4)
 - customary *-fi* (§7.2.2.4)
 - general habitual *-kabi* (§7.2.2.4)
 - 11. Attributive markers
 - positive *-re* (§7.2.3.2)
 - negative *-ni* (§7.2.3.2)
 - 12. Negation *-ñe* (§10.1)
 - 13. Prohibitive *-no* (§10.3)
 - 14. Tense
 - future *-it(i)* (§7.2.1.2)
 - 15. Predicate linkers, passive, nominalizers, and clause linking
 - linker *-di/-ti* (§7.1)
 - passive *-ka/-ga* and future passive *-yi* (§8.1)
 - event and future nominalizer *-ye* (followed by emphatic *-za*) (§7.2.3.3 and §3.1.4)
 - sequential *-no* (§12.3)
 - sequential completive *-da* (*-ta* following directly the root) (§12.3)
 - conditional₁ *-ia* (§12.3)
 - overlap *-kana* (§12.3)
 - apprehensive *-iza* (§7.2.3.1)
 - imperative *-no* (followed by the rapid action *-kai*) (§11.1)
 - 16. Pronominal cross-referencing and classifiers as nominalizers (§7.1 and §4.2)
 - 17. Clause linking markers
 - temporal *-mo* (§12.3)
 - conditional₂ *-na* (§12.3)
- Enclitic 18. Epistemic and evidentiality markers
- confirmed certainty =*di* (§7.2.4.2)
 - unconfirmed certainty =*za* (§7.2.4.2)
 - reported =*ta* (§7.2.4.1)

Other verbs obligatorily include forms that resemble 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 suffixes 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 change of bodily position. In a minimally inflected verb in Murui the positions 1, 15, 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) *nokis* *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 (slots 2, 5, and 10). Aspect markers from those slots can co-occur (but often there is just one choice per slot). Some aspectual distinctions are restricted to certain tenses. For instance, reduplication, which marks intensity and repetition, cannot be expressed in future tense; neither does the general 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 (slot 14) is preceded by negation, indicating that position available for tense is further away from the root than other verbal categories, such as negation (slot 12). Slot 15 is most commonly filled by either the linker *-di/-ti*, or the passive *-ka/-ga*. An example of a passivized verb is given in (7.3):

- (7.3) [[kue mero]_s [i-maki_{OBLIQUE} chuuno-ga]]_s baai-a_{PRED}
 1sg pig ANA.NSP-CLF:DR.GR.AN bewitch-PASS die-E.NMLZ
 ‘My pig (that was) bewitched by them, died.’

Slot 15 are restricted to nominalizers (see §3.4.1), various types of clause linking markers (§12.3), the passive (§8.1), the apprehensive and ‘obligative’ modality markers (see §7.2.3), as well as the imperative (§11.1). Similarly, slots 8 and 11 are filled by the desiderative and the attributive markers. Slot 16 is filled by verbal cross-referencing pronominal subject markers (see Table 7.1 below) and classifiers.

Table 7.1 Murui cross-referencing pronominal subject markers on verbs

		SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE	
1		-kue		-koko	-kaiñai	-kai
2		-o		-omiko	-omiñoi	-omoi
3	UNSPECIFIC	-e				
	HIGHLY ANIMATE	-mie	-ñaiño	-aimai	-aiñuai	-maki

Independent pronouns have the same form as verbal cross-referencing suffixes for the 1st and 2nd person (cf. Table 3.2 in §3.3.2). The 3rd 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 Table 7.3 at the end of this section and Table 7.4 in §7.4.

The verbal category of tense in Murui is manifested as a binary opposition between non-future and future.²⁰⁹ 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 time 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 time 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 time 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 relative clauses, lack time 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, done once, or a little bit, whether it is (remotely) habitual, or customary), and *manner* (relating to the manner in which

²⁰⁹ The opposition non-future vs. future is not common cross-linguistically (Dixon, 2012: 14).

an action is performed, such as by means of scratching with small pointed 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 the imperative (§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, 2018b).²¹⁰ 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 can be used in declarative and interrogative clauses but not in 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 not expressed in commands, and it rarely occurs in questions. Also, clause types and negation can affect expression of certain grammatical categories on the verb. An example of this are verbless clauses which cannot occur with any of the TAME markers (§12.1.1).

²¹⁰ In the literature, such a system has been termed as A3 'non-firsthand' vs. 'the rest' (Aikhenvald, 2004).

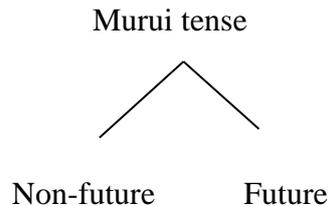
Table 7.2 Murui TAME markers

Non-spatial setting parameter		Gloss	§	Slot	Semantics	Marker	
Tense		non-future	7.2.1.1	-	'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	7.2.1.2	14	covers events expected to happen either in near or distant indefinite future	<i>-it(i)</i>	
Aspect	Phase of activity	terminative	7.2.2.1	5	completed actions or processes	<i>-bi</i>	
	Temporal extent	durative	7.2.2.2	5	indicates that an action is not momentary but necessarily distributed over time	<i>-ri</i>	
	Degree	high intensity	7.2.2.3	2	high degree of intensity of an activity, also iteration	RED of verbal roots	
	Frequency		reiterative	7.2.2.4	5	iteration of an action	<i>-oi</i>
			semelfactive		5	indicating whether an action is done once or a little bit	<i>-no</i>
			remote habitual		10	covers remote past events which refer to events that happened very long ago	<i>-vui</i>
			customary		10	indicates customary activity (not necessarily regular), often in the past	<i>-fi</i>
			general habitual		10	implies general habitual character of an action	<i>-kabi</i>
	Manner		inceptive	7.2.2.5	5	indicates that the action has begun	<i>-kai</i>
			body		4	bodily movement of the human S/A argument	<i>-da</i>
manner			3		indicating different type of manner with which action/process is performed	various	
Modality	Attitudinal	desiderative	7.2.3.1	8	indicating a desire to perform an action	<i>-aka</i>	
		apprehensive		15	indicates apprehension or dread of something that may or will happen	<i>-iza</i>	
	Ability	attributive	7.2.3.2	11	having capability to, being allowed to	<i>-re, -ni</i>	
	Obligation	future nominalizer	7.2.3.3	16	action done by obligation	<i>-ye</i>	
	Epistemic modality	unconfirmed certainty	7.2.4.2	18	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>	
confirmed certainty		18		confirmation that something is true, based on visual and sensory evidence	<i>=di</i>		
Evidentiality		unmarked form	7.2.4.1	-	'unspecified' information source	unmarked	
		reported		18	reported information	<i>=ta</i>	

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 (slot 14 on the verb structure, see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1) and/or vowel lengthening of verbal roots.²¹¹ The future tense markers precede the allomorphs of the verbal linker *-di/-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 has) (already) eaten’ 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).’

²¹¹ Phonological processes that apply to roots are discussed in §2.5.

To express time specification, the VCC argument becomes the S NP and takes predicate marking, as in (7.7):

- (7.7) *kue*_S [ana uru-ia_i]_{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, functioning 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 (that are often used as a command strategy, see §7.2.3.3 and §11.1.4). There is also evidence in favor of certain lexical nouns having originated in future event nominalizations, as e.g. *gui-ye* (eat-FUT.E.NMLZ) ‘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-ka_i_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist.FUT.LK-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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs (see §8.1.2).²¹²

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 following sections discuss the non-future tense (§7.2.1.1) and future tense (§7.2.1.2). Lexical time words are the focus of §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 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} fɪnua-no jeno-d-e_{PRED}
 FIRST ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE make.E.NMLZ-SEQ search-LK-3
 dɪno-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).’

²¹² The marker *-ye* as in *guiye* as in (7.9) might have its origins in the future passive marker *-yi*, rather than the nominalizer *-ye*. I was told that 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 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.

Examples (7.11-14) 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) refers to an event that happened a day before.

(7.11) [Jitoma [nai-e aa-ma Kechatoma diga]_s jaai-d-_ePRED
 Jitoma ANA.SP-CLF:G brother-CLF:DR.M Kechatoma WITH go-LK-3
 naiZO-do_{INS}
 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-_ePRED
 AUDIT-CLF: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 dakaiño River-na [da-je ñi-ma]_s rei²¹³-t-_ePRED
 CONN-LOC ONE.TIME River-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 ‘San Rafael-mo jifano-iti-kai=za_{PRED} jaaiti-o?’_{PRED} rei-t-_ePRED
 San Rafael-LOC play.SMLF-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, once one man said to River “We are going to play in San Rafael, will you go?” he (the man) said to him.’

(7.14) ñaiños yo-a_{PRED} nare bi-es afai jaai-d-_ePRED
 CLF:PR.F tell-E.NMLZ yesterday this.CTS-CLF:G upstream go-LK-3
 jai iba-ñe-d-_ePRED
 already buy-NEG-LK-3
 ‘According to her, (she) went upstream yesterday. She didn’t buy (it) anymore.’

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:

²¹³ Some speakers pronounce *rai(te)* ‘say’ as *rei(te)* in the non-future tense. Its future tense form is always pronounced as *raai(te)*.

(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_{PRED} 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-eo ñe-t-e!?_{PRED} kazi-ta=ua!_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:PR.M Q1-CLF:G do-LK-3 wake.up-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_{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 people.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 *-it(i)* and/or vowel lengthening (see §2.5 on morphophonological processes applicable to verbal roots that express the future tense).²¹⁴ The affixation and apophony 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 are presented below. (7.18)

²¹⁴ The future suffix consists of the element *i-* followed obligatorily by the linker *-ti* (that, can also take form *-t*). Note that in non-future tense, the linker can have the forms *-di* or *-ti* (or *-d/-t*) (see §2.5). As such, I treat *-it(i)* as one future tense suffix.

refers to near future ('tomorrow'), (7.19) talks about distant future; (7.20) is a statement about the future in general:

(7.18) [jai naio] ikare juiyi-ji_o ooit_i-kue_{PRED}
 already night tomorrow yuca-CLF:TUBER get.FUT.LK-1sg
 juiyi-ji_o o-a-no juta-iti-kue_{PRED}
 yuca-CLF:TUBER get-E.NMLZ-SEQ make.ripe.in.water-FUT.LK-1sg
 '(It's) night already. Tomorrow I will get the yuca. After having got the yuca, 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
 i_{no}-iti-o=za_{PRED}
 obey-FUT.LK-2sg=UNCERT
 "This is your uncle". You will obey his words.'

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.CTS-CLF:G week.Sp-LOC come-NEG-FUT.LK-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 later. Such usage of the future tense can be regarded as an imperative strategy which has additional overtones of politeness (see also §11.1.4) (Cowell, 2007).²¹⁵ In (7.22), a woman was giving an order to her daughter to stay home and watch other children while she would be away. Her utterances are cast in the future tense:

²¹⁵ 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).

- (7.22) *kue*_S [Ismael=dine]_{LOC} *jaai-di-kue*=za_{PRD} *oo*_S *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC}
 1sg Ismael=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-1sg=UNCERT 2sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC
iiti-O_{PRD} *uru-iaio* *zada-iti*-O_{PRD} *ni-ne*_{LOC}
 exist.FUT.LK-2sg child-CLF:G.PL take.care-FUT.LK-2sg Q2-LOC:NSP
*jaai-ñe-iti-omo*_{IPRED} *uri* *beno* *jo-fo-mo*_{LOC}
 go-NEG-FUT.LK-2pl calm HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE house-CLF:CAV-LOC
*iiti-omo*_{IPRED}
 exist.FUT.LK-2pl
 ‘I am going to Ismael’s, you stay home. Watch the children. You (plural) will not go
 anywhere. You (plural) will stay home quietly!’

The future tense can also be employed when expressing obligative- and prohibitive-like meanings (see §7.2.3.3).²¹⁶ Murui imperatives do not have dedicated tense-like distinctions (see §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 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/action will

²¹⁶ The event nominalizer *-ye* (often followed by the topical non-S/A subject *-na*) also encodes purposive meanings in Murui (see §12.3).

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 an extensive array of suffixes, which are independent of other TAME markers. 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 occupies more than one slot (slot 2, 5, and 10 on the verb structure, see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1). 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). 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, §7.2.2.3), 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 §7.2.2.6.

7.2.2.1 *Phase of activity*

The phase of activity parameter (slot 5) usually specify whether an activity is beginning, 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’ is used for completed actions or processes

(the suffix is not particularly productive, however).²¹⁷ 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-NEG-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). Note that the terminative followed by the inceptive *-kai* has a reading of an action that happened slowly, as in (7.25):

- (7.24) eni-es [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-es feei-bi-kai-d-e_{PRED} ua?
ANA.SP-CLF:G forget-TERM-INCP-LK-3 really
'This was slowly forgotten, right?'
- (7.26) [bi-e iniroi]_s eo raize joko-bi-d-e_{PRED}
this.CTS-CLF:G clothes very well.SIMIL wash-TERM-LK-3
'This cloth came out well washed.'

With the verb *kio(de)*, the suffix *-bi* yields a different reading which involves some type of repetition of an action, as in (7.27):²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Cf. the form of verbal root *bi-* 'come'.

²¹⁸ Some speakers consider *kiobi(de)* to be Minika, rather than Murui.

- (7.27) *uru-e!* *jito-mas* *kio-bi-d-e_{PRED}* *mai kai jaai!_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G son-CLF:DR.M see-TERM-LK-3 LET 1pl go
 ‘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 (7.30a-b):

- (7.28) *mare-na* *jifo-bi-kai-d-e_{PRED}*
 good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP weave-TERM-INCP-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-REIT-LK-3
 ‘Because of Jonatan not being calm, (he) was being told off constantly.’

- (7.30) a. *oi-mas* *ibai-bi-d-e_{PRED}*
 wife’s.brother-CLF:DR.M close-TERM-LK-3
 ‘The brother-in-law remained closed up (for good).’

- b. *naze ibai~ibai-bi-d-e_{PRED}*
 door close~RED-TERM-LK-3
 ‘The door is being opened (and closed).’

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-INCP-LK-3) ‘(he) fell asleep slowly’.

The stative verbs such as *jooi(de)* ‘lie down’, *büüi(de)* ‘lie down (on a plank)’, and *füüi(de)* ‘lie down (in a hammock)’ also take the terminative *-bi*. The final element of the verbal root, the formative *-i*, is lost in such cases, e.g. *joo-bi-d-e* (lie-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) lay down (something)’, and *fü-bi-d-e* (lie.in.hammock-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) lay down (something) in a hammock’.

The terminative marker appears to have an intransitivizing effect on ambitransitive

and strictly transitive verbs.²¹⁹ It can further occur with the causative, e.g. *bu-ta-bi-d-e* (hurt-CAUS-TERM-LK-3) ‘(he) was (made) hurt (by being hit 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 of Murui non-spatial setting is what Dixon (2012: 33) refers to as ‘temporal extent’, that indicate whether the activity extends over a period of time or not (slot 5). Murui grammaticalized one aspectual value, the durative *-ri*. The durative marker is followed by the linker *-ti*, unless there are other markers following the durative suffix. For instance, *dobe-d-e* (crush-LK-3) ‘crush (yuca)’ > *dobe-ri-t-e* (crush-DUR-LK-3) ‘keep crushing (yuca)’ > *dobe-ri-kabi-d-e* (crush-DUR-HAB-LK-3) ‘habitually keep crushing (yuca)’.

The durative marker *-ri* indicates that an action or a process indicated by the verb is not momentary but of long duration, and is necessarily distributed over time. This is illustrated in (7.31-34):

(7.31) *nairai_s jobai-ri-ya_{APRED}*
 clan fight-DUR-EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘They fought (for a long time).’ (talking about times of war)

(7.32) [*kolejio ie uru-e_s eo fino-ri-t-_{CPRED}*
 school.Sp CONN child-CLF:G very prepare-DUR-LK-3
 ‘The school child keeps ‘preparing’ (lit. doing) himself a lot.’ (ritual preparations)

(7.33) *ua rozi-nai-ti-aimie_{PREPRED} yai-ri-d-_{CPRED} [nofi-ki*
 really cold-BECOME₁-LK-1du.m strike.lightning-DUR-LK-3 stone-CLF:ROUND
ana-mo] reei-ri-tiaimaia_{PREPRED}
 below-LOC hide-DUR-LK-1du.m
 ‘(They) really got cold. Lightning kept striking. They kept hiding under a stone.’

²¹⁹ This issue requires further study.

- (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 (can) keep walking with this (cure) in their hearts.’

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 multiplicity of O arguments (regardless of their 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-LK-3-TEMP arrive-DUR-LK-3
 ‘While (she) kept crushing (a lot of yuca), I came in.’

The iterative readings are especially evident when the durative occurs with the reiterative *-oi* (from the same slot), e.g. *iki-ri-oi-d-e* (reprimand-DUR-REIT-LK-3) ‘keep reprimanding (and reprimanding)’. This is illustrated by *joko-ri-oi-d-e-mo* (wash-DUR-REIT-LK-3-TEMP) ‘(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 (slot 2). Murui has one type of reduplication, a process which applies to all types of 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 coextensive 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)’).²²⁰ Reduplication is a highly productive mechanism in Murui; reduplicated verbal roots are typically found in 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_{PRD}
 1sg house-CLF:CAV ANA-CLF:PL body smell~RED-ATT-LK-3
 ‘The people of my house are smelling (and smelling) (something).’

(7.46) beno-mo_{LOC} oo-na_O raina~raina-da-ti-kue_{PRD}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 2sg-N.S/A.TOP sit.TH~RED-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘I am sitting (and sitting) you down here.’

(7.47) Australia-mo iit-e_{PRD} 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_{PRD}
 request~RED-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘(He) will be in Australia but (he) will be asking (and asking) for his goddaughter.’

²²⁰ 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 §2.5.1). 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 (and chewing) coca’.

- (7.48) *kue_s irazi-ye-mo ikare roo~ro-iti-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg celebrate-FUT.E.NMLZ-LOC tomorrow sing~RED-FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘During the dance ritual, 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 (and coming) to you. I will always be coming (and coming)...’

- (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) was flashing (and flashing) light at the river, right?’

- (7.51) *maka~maka-kai-d-e-na mare*
 walk~RED-INCP-LK-3-COND₂ good.ATT
 ‘If (he) is beginning to go (and go) (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 be smashing (and smashing) the ground tomorrow.’

- (7.53) *iki~iki-d-e-mo jaka rii-di-O_{PRED}*
 reprimand~RED-LK-3-TEMP always arrive-LK-2sg
 ‘You always come while (the child) is being reprimanded (and reprimanded).’

A handful of verbs, such as *i(te)* ‘exist’, *kaaje(de)* ‘be alive’, and *baai(de)* ‘die’ cannot undergo the process of reduplication.²²¹ 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)

²²¹ The verbal root *baai-* ‘die’ can be reduplicated but in such cases, it refers to ‘losing consciousness’ rather than ‘dying’.

‘walking (and walking)’. There are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of reduplicated verbs with other types of TAME markers.

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 and semelfactive (from slot 5), and remote habitual, customary, and general habitual (from slot 10). Each of these markers is discussed in turn.

A. REITERATIVE *-oi* – the suffix *-oi* (slot 5) expresses a notion of doing something again, as in examples (7.54-56) below:

(7.54) naga-rui ua jifano-oi-di-maki^{IPRED}
 EACH-CLF:DAY really play.SMLF-REIT-LK-3pl
 ‘They have a game every day.’

(7.55) [bi-e uru-e]_s jai zefui-re-d-e^{PRED} daa ee-oi-d-e^{PRED}
 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^{PRED}
 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, a little bit’ with adjectives, see §9.1). A set of contrastive examples is given in (7.57a-b). The reading of (7.57a) is that of a normal bath; (7.57b) is a quick rinse:

(7.57) a. [kue abi]_O nooi-di-kue^{PRED}
 1sg body bathe-LK-1sg
 ‘I bathe myself.’

- b. [kue abi]_o nooi-oi-di-kue_{PREP}
 1sg body wash-REIT-LK-1sg
 ‘I am quickly rinsing myself again and again.’

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_{PREP}
 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_{PREP}
 1sg husband same thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THICK look.at-REIT-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 keeps waking up and going back to sleep again), rather than a proper sleep:

- (7.60) [kue moo]_S ini-oi-d-e_{PREP} [[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]
 painful-ATT-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘My father was taking a nap again and again because of his headache (lit. his head being painful a lot).’

There are no restrictions on 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 (and eating)’ and with the durative *-ri* (as in *roko-ri-oi-d-e* (cook-DUR-REIT-LK-3) ‘(she) keeps cooking (and cooking) (for some time)’). 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_{PREP}
 already forget-REIT-INCP-LK-3
 ‘Our grandfathers have already started to forget (our) words.’

- (7.62) maka-ri-oi-kai-di-kue-mo_{TEMP} Lusio_A nai-kino_O yo-t-e_{PRED}
 walk-DUR-REIT-QUICK-LK-1sg-TEMP 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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs (slot 5). 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 getting hungry.’
- b. Kata_A uai-yai_O jika-no-t-e_{PRED} uzu-ma-mo_{O:ADDRESSEE}
 Kata word-PL request-SMLF-LK-3 grandparent-CLF:DR.M-BENEF.CAUS
 ‘Kata asked the grandfather for (Murui) words.’
- (7.64) a. bi-ya-no dane eti-d-e_{PRED}
 come-E.NMLZ-SEQ ONCE light-LK-3
 ‘After having come, (he went) once more to flash (at the river with his torch 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) is flashing (and flashing) (i.e. switching off and on the torch) at the smokehouse (making sure that the fish does not burn).’
- (7.65) a. Adam_A emodo_O kui-t-e_{PRED} [taiti-re-na jira]
 Adam back scratch-LK-3 itchy-ATT-E.NMLZ REASON
 ‘Adam scratched his back because it was itchy.’
- 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 on grandmother’s body.’
- (7.66) a. [noki deei-ya]_S jai faikakai-d-e_{PRED}
 rain rain-E.NMLZ already stop-LK-3
 ‘The rain has stopped.’
- a. faikakai-ño-t-e_{PRED} jaai-ño-kai!_{PRED}
 stop-SMLF-LK-3 go-IMP-RAPID
 ‘(The rain) has stopped for a moment! Go quickly (before it starts raining again)!’

- (7.67) Marcias San Rafael jaai-ye-na [naiño pantalon
 Marcia San.Sp Rafael.Sp go-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP CLF:PR.F pants.Sp
 fue jea-dai-ti-no]_o jari-re joko-no-t-e_{PRED}
 mouth dirty-BECOME₃-LK-CLF:SP.PLACE quickly-ATT wash-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘Marcia was going to San Rafael. She washed quickly (the edge of) her pants where
 they got dirty.’

Occasionally, the interpretation of the semelfactive marker is ‘a bit’, rather than ‘once’. This is illustrated in (7.68):

- (7.68) [naiño daño]_s aro-ruño_o roko-no-t-e_{PRED}
 CLF:PR.F alone-CLF:DR.F rice.Sp-?CLF cook-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘She cooked a bit of rice.’ (small quantity)

Stative verbs marked with the semelfactive marker gain a causative reading, as in (7.69a-b) and (7.70ab-b). 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 (7.69b) and (7.70b):

- (7.69) a. [uzu-ño irai]_s boo-d-e_{PRED}
 grandparent-CLF:DR.F fire burn-LK-3
 ‘The grandmother’s fire is lit.’
 b. jaa Water_A irai_o bo-no-it-e_{PRED}
 soon Walter fire burn-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘Soon Walter will light up the fire.’
- (7.70) a. [kue moo mikori] jai baai-d-e_{PRED} i-ñe-d-e_{PRED} 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_{PRED} jira
 die-SMLF-LK-3 thing ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M drink.E.NMLZ REASON
 ‘Because he drunk the poison (lit. killing thing).’

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 ambitransitive and strictly 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 (slot 10) covers past events which 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), in teachings about the Murui norms of behavior (called *Yetarakino*), as in (7.72-73), as well as in commentaries about events that happened long time ago, as in (7.74-76):

(7.71) [kai jaie ra-gi-ma]s bi-ziki-do
 1pl PAST thing-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER-CLF:DR.M this.CTS-CLF.REP:FOREST-INS
maka-vui-d-ePRED
 walk-REM.HAB-LK-3
 ‘Our past leaders used to walk these (forest).’

(7.72) [aki-e izoi] rai-zoi-d-ePRED [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 always been 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 cassava, it used to be eaten.’

(7.74) Porki bi-zoi-d-ePRED jai bi-rui bi-ñe-d-ePRED
 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-ePRED
 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..._{PRE}
 very walk-EMPH-DES-REM.HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘I used to want to walk 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). It occurs in slot 10 and is obligatorily followed by the attributive markers *-re* or *-ni* from slot 11. This is illustrated in (7.77-78) that refer to past events, (7.79) refers to a present event:²²²

- (7.77) [jito [kue diga]]_s jiai-kaño jai-fī-re-d-_{PRE}
 son 1sg WITH other-TIME go-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 ‘My son and me customarily used to go sometimes.’

- (7.78) bi-kae-na ui-fī-re-d-_{PRE}
 this.CTS-CLF.REP:CANOA-N.S/A.TOP take.away-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 nai-mies 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-_{PRE} 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-_{PRE}
 other-CLF:PR.GR plant-PASS get-CUST-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Dana doesn’t customarily plant fruit, she gets these planted by others.’

The customary marker can occur on all types of verbs. 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 general habitual *-kabi* in (7.81) and the reduplicated verbal root *joko-* ‘wash’ (7.82):

- (7.80) [Flor Angela]_s iko aiyue-nia roko-fī-re-it-_{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.’

²²² In her description of Murui, S. A. Burtch (1983: 135) describes the customary marker *-fī* (followed by the attributive *-re* or *-ni*) as a dialectal variation of the customary marker *-kabi* in Minika. However, in Murui texts both markers can co-occur.

- (7.81) *naiños* *bi-kabi-fi-re-d-e_{PRED}* *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_{PRED}*
 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* is obligatorily followed by the attributive *-re* or *-ni*, and appears to form a complex suffix. 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_{PRED}*
 1sg eat-FUT.E.NMLZ cook-ATT-CUST-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘Customarily I used to be able to cook my food.’

E. GENERAL HABITUAL *-kabi* – the general habitual *-kabi* (slot 10) implies a habitual repetitive character of an action or an event that refers to 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*] *serve_{sa}o* *jiro-kabi-ti-kok_{OPRED}*
 EACH Sunday.Sp-LOC Adam WITH beer.Sp drink-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘Every Sunday we with Adam drink beer.’
- (7.85) [*kue iyi*] *eo niri-a* *fido_A* *iyi-nao*
 1sg garden very neglect-COND₁ guara.bird garden-N.S/A.TOP
gui-kabi-d-e_{PRED}
 eat-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘When my garden is neglected, the *guara* bird eats my garden.’
- (7.86) [*naga fie-mona* *muido-mo*] *Elver_s* *Bogotá-mo*
 EACH summer-CLF:SEASON end.point-LOC Elver Bogotá.Sp-LOC
jaai-kabi-d-e_{PRED}
 go-HAB-LK-1sg
 ‘At the end of each summer, Elver goes to Bogotá.’

(7.88) aros_o gui~gui-kai-do?_{PRED}
 rice.Sp eat~RED-INCP-LK.2sg
 ‘Have you started eating (and 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-it-e_{PRED} jaka ua jaai~jai-kai-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN AUDIT-CLF:G forget-NEG-FUT.LK-3 always really go~RED-INCP-FUT.LK-3
 ‘And this (what has been heard) they will not forget. Always will they really be following (and 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-tiais jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED} mei ifo
 PAST really grandparent-KIN.PL go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ so head
 [ni-no-mo_{LOC} obe-dos 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 (and go) to where black *umarí* fruits fall.’

B. BODY MOVEMENT *-da* – the suffix *-da* (slot 3) describes actions or processes which cover some type of bodily movement of (animate and inanimate) S/A arguments.²²⁴ The body movement suffix occurs with a set of stative verbs (those marked with the thematic suffix *i-* directly following the verbal root, such as *jooi(de)* ‘lie down’, see §3.1.2). The intransitive

²²⁴ The ‘body movement’ suffix *-da* is treated in this section as an aspectual marker given its slot on the verb (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1).

verbs with stative meanings marked with *-da* remain intransitive (Petersen de Piñeros, 1998).

Compare the set of 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 lie.down.in.hammock-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘I lie (myself) 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 naidai-da-kai-da jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 Kata stand-BODY-INCP-SEQ.COMPL go-LK-3
 ‘Kata, after having stood up, went (away).’

A number of verbal roots occur obligatorily with the body moment suffix, such as *eroda-*

‘turn to look’ in (7.93) 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. Verbal markers with these suffixes and followed by the body suffix *-da* can occur with an O argument. Cf. the verbal root *joone-* ‘lay (down)’ in (7.94) with *jooi-* ‘lie (down)’ (e.g. (4.94) in §4.3.2):

- (7.94) Kata [naino lapisero] 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* occurs on a few intransitive verbs, such as *raai(de)* ‘sit’, and seems to turn them into ambitransitive verbs that can further be passivized, e.g. *raaina-ka* (sit.TH-PASS) ‘be seated, be placed’. They can be subsequently followed by the body movement suffix *-da* as in (7.95):

- (7.95) [jai jifai-ya meino] aa raina-da-t-_{CPRED} kome_S
 already get.intoxicated-E.NMLZ later above sit.TH-BODY-LK-3 person
 ‘After drinking, a person sits up (to feel better).’

7.2.2.6 *Miscellaneous affixes*

There is a number of miscellaneous unproductive affixes in Murui (slot 3). 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 (referred to as ‘instrumental’). They require further study.

Some Murui verbal affixes modify verbs to indicate different types of manner with which an action is performed; they occur mostly with verbs of handling.²²⁵ 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 seem to form a restricted set. 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 that has the form *jai-*.

²²⁵ 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).

- (7.96) a. Flor_A [naiño farie]_o [beei-ra idagi ie]_o
 Flor CLF:PR.F farina.Sp toast-CLF:NEUT toasting.plate CONN
 jaibe-d-e_{PRED}
 scratch.with.hoe-LK-3
 ‘Flor is scratching her toasting plate (with a toasting hoe).’
- 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 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 *-ko* (cf. form of the classifier *-ko* for ‘cover’ that include objects such as a banana skin).

- (7.97) Rata_A nai-e_o tuibe-d-e_{PRED}
 Rata ANA.SP-CLF:G open.plain.object-LK-3
 ‘Rata opened (a thin leaf-like package with a fish inside).’

- (7.98) Lusio komo oogo-do tuiko-d-e_{PRED}
 Lucio recently banana-CLF:POINTED open.covered.object-LK-3
 ‘Lucio has just peeled (off the skin of the banana).’

The difference between (7.99-100) below is the final result, as a different type of split, as in (7.99a-c) below:

- (7.99) a. rerigai-nao jenino bo-ti-kai_{PRED}
 firewood-N.S/A.TOP little split-LK-1pl
 ‘We cut a small amount of firewood.’
- b. raize bo-ro-ye-za_{PRED} [sal-nao
 well.SIMIL split-CLF:STING-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH salt.Sp-N.S/A.TOP
 joone-ye-na]_{Pur}
 lay.TH-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘One must split (the meat in thin pieces, like ham) well to put on salt.’
- c. mero-zi_o bo-fe-ye!_{PRED}
 pig-CLF:MEAT split-CLF:STRING.THICK-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘One must cut the meat of the pig (into bigger pieces).’

(7.100) *nai-e*_o *tie-kozi!*_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G cut-?CLF: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 also are markers 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* – desiderative modality is expressed by means of the suffix *-aka* (slot 8), 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.SIMIL bring.up-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘I want to bring up my dog well.’

- (7.102) ‘kue-mo yo-ñe-iti-maki!’_{PREL} rei-t-e_{PREL} 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_{PREL}
 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 preceded by the emphatic *-i-*, as in (7.104-7.106) (for more examples with the emphatic *-i-* see also T2.14, T3.3, and T4.7):

- (7.104) 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_{PREL}
 tell-NEG-LK-3
 ‘(He) wanted to do this, but really didn’t tell us!’
- (7.105) jamai ebe-na mai-i-aka-ñe-di-kue_{PREL} iadi
 only straight-N.S/A.TOP work-EMPH-DES-NEG-LK-1sg but
 iba-ja-na jitai-di-kue_{PREL}
 buy-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-1sg
 ‘I do not want to work straight away, but I need to be paid.’
- (7.106) jii! [ziga-kai_o bo-no-ye-na]_{Pur} ie jira
 yes cigarette.Sp-CLF:STEM burn-SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP CONN REASON
 eo fuma-i-aka-d-e_{PREL}
 very smoke.Sp-EMPH-DES-LK-3
 ‘Yes, to light a cigarette. That’s why she wants to smoke so much.’

(7.107a-b) are a textual excerpt from a story of a man who was talking about his plans for the next day. The preceding part of the story was cast in the future tense. Once the desiderative marker was used, the speaker, when talking about his future intentions, employed the non-future tense.

- (7.107) a. 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_{PREL}
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE fish-ANDTV-DES-LK-1sg
 ‘After going up the river once more, again I (will) want to go fishing.’

- b. aima-jai-ya dino-ri koda-i-aka-di-kue^{PRED}
 fish-ANDTV-E.NMLZ AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-BENEF.CAUS 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.²²⁶ The apprehensive modality is marked with the suffix *-iza* (or *-za* following /i/) (slot 15). Its syntactic scope is the main clause, and it is available for the 1st and the 2nd person (cf. as 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 Walter 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 tree 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 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-evcs [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

²²⁶ The apprehensive modality marker has been attested in other Amazonian languages, such as those of the Carib family (Derbyshire, 1979), Takanan (Vuillemet, 2013), (North) Arawak (Aikhenvald, 2003b), and Nambiquara (Eberhard, 2009).

‘Son! This is my *yera*! Be careful with licking it! Don’t lick it! You might get ‘drunk’!’

Murui apprehensive can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe* (e.g. *iba-ñe-iza!* (buy-NEG-APPR) ‘be careful, (otherwise you will) not buy it!’) 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 only with markers of non-spatial setting (see Table 7.4 in §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-APPR
 ‘Be careful 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 positive attributive *-re* ‘having capability to, being allowed to’ and the negative attributive *-ni* ‘not having capability to, not being allowed to’ (slot 11, see also §10.1 on differences in meaning of the attributive markers with nouns, verbs, and adjectives).²²⁷ Compare the following 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.’

²²⁷ The positive attributive marker *-re* can be negated with the standard negative *-ñe* in the speech of young Murui speakers (instead of being negative with the negative attributive *-ni*) (see §10.1).

(7.112) mare-kino=ta oo-mOo: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=UNCERT
 ‘(He) cannot swim (because he is drunk).’

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* (slot 15) (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! [kaĩ 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 (slot 18): =za (meaning ‘unconfirmed certainty’ from the speaker’s perspective) and =di (‘confirmed certainty’, as the speaker believes it to be ‘true, valid’); see Wojtylak (2018b) 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 kinds of semantic parameters, e.g. sensory evidence, assumption, and 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 certainty’ =*di*, see further in this section).²²⁸ Compare the following examples:

- (7.116) a. *naiñ*_{OBLIQUE} *fii-ka*_{PRED}
 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 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.’

²²⁸ The ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* therefore has often emphatic-like readings. To indicate uncertainty in Murui, one frequently uses periphrastic expressions, such as those with the verbal root *izoi-* meaning ‘be similar’. Murui has also an adverb *nibai* ‘maybe’ indicating uncertainty. It has a dubitative meaning, that is somewhat different from =*za*. It occurs in the contexts of verbs marked with the epistemic =*di* but not =*za*.

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)*:

- (7.118) *ie-mo dakaiño River-na [da-je ñi-ma]_s rei-t-e_{PRE}*
 CONN-LOC ONE.TIME River-N.S/A.TOP one-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 “San Rafael-mo *jifano-iti-kai=za_{PRE}* *jaaiti-o?*”_{PRE} *rei-t-e_{PRE}*
 San Rafael-LOC play.SMLF-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 (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 *Iyai_{ki}* 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_{PRE}*
 bone-CLF:INHER eat-DES-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘*Iyai_{ki}* (name of a cat) wants to eat.’

In (7.120), =*za* occurs with a directional marker, the andative *-jai*:

- (7.120) *mare aima-jai-d-e=za_{PRE} jai fui-ta-di-ka_{PRE}*
 good.ATT fish-ANDTV-LK-3=UNCERT already finish-CAUS-LK-1pl
dino-mo eo aare ñai-ti-ka_{PRE} izoi-d-e_{PRE}
 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 3rd person; however, they can occur with non-3rd person. In the following example (7.121), 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) *oos fibi-ñe-do=za oni baa ua ari*
 2sg adapt-NEG-LK.2sg=UNCERT LOCAL₂ THERE really uphill
maka-do-na maka-do_{PRE}

walk-LK.2sg-COND₂ walk-LK.2sg
 ‘You do not adapt (to stay) by (our) side. If you go there by land, (just) walk
 (you should not do other things).’

Overall, 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’ =*di* 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) gat_{OS} 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’ =*di* – the epistemic modality marker -*di* 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) kamaras uai-d-e=di_{PRED}
 camera.Sp fall-LK-3=CERT
 ‘The camera fell (I am sure of this).’

In (7.125), Tadave is narrating a story where *Kiña* is the person who took the canoe from her house:

- (7.125) *Kiña*_{OBLIQUE} *ui-ga=di*_{PRED} *fuiri* *aima-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).’

The conviction that something is confirmed to happen can be expressed in the future tense. In the following example, Walter is relaying the news that on the next day I had promised to sing a number of Polish songs.

- (7.126) *ikare* *Katas* *rooit-e=di*
 tomorrow *Kata* sing.FUT.LK-3=CERT
 ‘Tomorrow *Kata* will sing (I am sure of this).’

Another example is presented in (7.127) in which a speaker strongly believes that the *maloca* will be repaired in the future:

- (7.127) *ie-mona* *bi-ko* *ua* *kais* *judai-a-no* [*dane raize*
 CONN-ABL this.CTS-CLF:COVER really 1pl break-E.NMLZ-SEQ ONCE well.SIMIL
*kai*_A *fino-ye=di*]_{Pur}
 1pl make-FUT.E.NMLZ=CERT
 ‘From there, after having this house disarranged, we will make it well once more (I am sure of it).’

7.2.3.5 Extensions of epistemic modalities

Epistemic modalities can be used for evidential-like meanings (‘non-firsthand’ and ‘firsthand’ knowledge), functioning as an evidentiality strategy.

A. ‘UNCONFIRMED CERTAINTY’ TO ‘NON-FIRSTHAND’ KNOWLEDGE – the ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* can extend to express ‘non-firsthand’ knowledge, such as assumption and inference. This is based on some type of tangible evidence through seeing or hearing, and also deduction, logical reasoning, assumption. In the following example (7.128), Francisca left the kitchen saying she would go to sleep. After some time Flor called her to come to the kitchen. Since Francisca did not respond, Flor assumed that she must be sleeping and concluded:

In the situation in (7.132), Ismael, an elder from La Chorrera, was complaining about Elver not being home. Tadave knew otherwise – she just saw Elver outside.²²⁹ 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.²³⁰ 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* (slot 18) 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 reported evidential is autonomous in that it is not fused with any other grammatical

²²⁹ In (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).

²³⁰ Following Aikhenvald (2003a: 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’.

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 (7.133a) relates a reported information source while (7.133b) is the unmarked neutral-form:

(7.133) a. 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)

(7.133) b. 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] furi=bene
 already 1pl Yonatan WITH downstream=HERE.LOC:NSP
 bi-zai-di-kai_{PRED}
 come-ANDTV-LK-1pl
 ‘Yes, the house-wife fed us. And this way (as you heard) we already went
 downstream with our Yonatan.’

M:aaaj... i oo-nao kio-d-e=ta_{PRED} yo-t-e?_{PRED}
 INTERJ.EMPH 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 information in everyday 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-3rd person. In my collection of texts, =*ta* occurs with 3rd 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 lay.TH-PASS
 nana_S bo-it-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 §7.2.4.2). 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.²³¹ 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) Walters_S roo~ro-d-e=*ta*_{PREL}
 Walter sing~RED-LK-3=REP
 ‘Walter is singing (and singing).’ (Tadave hears Walter singing)

In (7.139) 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*_{PREL}
 Neily laugh-LK-3=REP
 ‘Neily laughed.’ (Tadave hears Neily laugh)

Examples where =*ta* extends to cover such auditory information are quite rare. Frequently, verbs are left unmarked or followed by a quotative verb (typically *reite* ‘say’). In (7.140), 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, shout’ is not marked for the reported evidential:

- (7.140) kaka-di-*OPRED* Kata? meros beno-mo_{LOC} kaiyi-d-*EPRED*
 hear-LK-2sg Kata pig HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC scream-LK-3
 ‘Did you hear, Kata? A pig made noise (lit. shouted) over here!’

²³¹ Cross-linguistically, languages with two-terms evidentiality system tend not to have epistemic (such as probability) semantic extensions (Aikhenvald, 2004).

Rather than the actual semantic extension of the reported evidential, such usage of the reported =*ta* as in (7.140) could also be the result of the influence of the Spanish *dizque* meaning ‘it is said that’. *Dizque* in Spanish h marks some kind of conceptual distance and doubt (Travis, 2006).

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, everyday conversation, etc.). Examples (7.141-142) come from the mythological narrative about two heroes, *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma*:

(7.141) [Jitoma dine-na rei-t-e_{PRED} Kecha-na_O
 Jitoma AT.LOC:NSP-ABL say-LK-3 Kechatoma-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘jaai-ñe-no!’ _{PRED:SPEECH REPORT} rei-t-e_{PRED} ‘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_{PRED}
 1du.masc send-PASS-LOC go.FUT.LK-1du.masc say-LK-3
 ‘Jitoma said to Kechatoma: “Do not go!”, he said. “Because we were sent, we will go”, he (Jitoma) said.’

(7.142) ie nai-mies rei-t-e_{PRED} ‘[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_{PRED}
 Jobai Q₂-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP lay.TH-NEG-LK-3=CERT
 jamei koko_O jifue-t-e’ _{PRED:SPEECH REPORT} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 ONLY 1du.masc cheat-LK-3 say-LK-3
 ‘And he (Jitoma) said: “Grandfather Jobai did not put anything in. So, he cheated 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* (see above). The meaning of =*ta* is quite transparent – native speakers have a clear ‘intuition’ of 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 whom the ‘Witoto’ people have been in contact for centuries (Wojtylak, 2018b).²³² Murui reported evidential may have developed as a consequence of language contact and areal diffusion. In addition, Murui also has the demonstrative *aki* ‘as heard’ which indicates auditory information, can be extended to refer to something that was previously said and can combine with non-spatial setting markers.

7.2.4.2 Epistemic modality vs. evidentiality

Although evidentiality (§7.2.4.1) 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 ‘unconfirmed certainty’ =*za* can acquire the meaning of ‘non-firsthand’ knowledge (assumption, inference), and the ‘confirmed certainty’ =*di* can have overtones of ‘firsthand’

²³² Bora reported evidential is used in traditional stories and legends (Thiesen and Weber 2012).

knowledge. The reported =*ta*, on the other hand, may be extended to cover auditory information. Murui evidentiality and epistemic modality are summarized in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Murui evidentiality and epistemic modality – a 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 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 3 rd 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 several allomorphs, *-ai*, *-zai*, and *-jai*,

conditioned phonologically (see §2.5.2).²³³ The andative marker directly follows 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-koko*_{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) [*fie-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.’

- (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?’

²³³ The forms of the allomorphs of the andative marker 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 *aima-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* (get.ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to get (it)’), and *-ai + /e/ > /i/* following /e/ (as in *ñiai-di-kue* (do.ANDTV-LK-1sg) ‘I go (away) to do’).

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_{PREP}
 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. This is shown in (7.149):

- (7.149) Eu_s afai jaai-zai-d-e_{PREP} iadi navuirai-t-e=ta_{PREP}
 Eu upriver go-ANDTV-LK-3 but surprised.by.night-LK-3=REP
 'Eulogio 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. As the andative, the ventive has three allomorphs: *-aibi*, *-zaibi*, and *-jaibi*.²³⁴ Examples of the ventive marker on verbs are given in (7.150-53) (cf. with (7.143) above):

- (7.150) jaka [kue=dine]_{LOC} ini-aibi-d-e_{PREP}
 always 1sg=AT.LOC:NSP sleep-VENTV-LK-3
 '(She) always comes to sleep at my place (lit. at me).'

- (7.151) jiti-ra-mo nooi-zaibi-fi-re-di-kue_{PREP}
 darken-CLF:NEUT-LOC bathe-VENTV-CUST-ATT-LK-1sg
 'In the morning, I used to come to bathe.'

²³⁴ The forms of the allomorphs of the ventive marker 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* (sleep-VENTV-LK-1sg) 'I come to sleep'), *-aibi* + /o/ > /u/ following /o/ (as in *uaibi-di-kue* (get.VENTV-LK-1sg) 'I come to get (it)'), and *-aibi* + /e/ > /i/ following /e/ (as in *ñiaibi-di-kue* (do.VENTV-LK-1sg) 'I come to do').

- (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 to crush (yuca) for what?’ (reprimand)
- (7.153) [ruika bai-ñaiño]_A beno-mo_{LOC} joko-ri-zaibi-d-e_{PRED}
 other.side that.FSH-CLF:PR.F HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC wash-DUR-VENTV-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 Letisia-mona_{ABL} raa_O uaibi-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg grandparent-CLF:DR.M Leticia-ABL thing get.VENTV-LK-3
 ‘My father came (back) to get things from Leticia.’
- (7.155) [Alexis jo-fo-mona]_{ABL} Fransiska=dino-mo_{LOC} gui-zaibi-t-e_{PRED}
 Alexis house-CLF:CAV-ABL Francisca=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC eat-VENTV-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 the 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 in §7.2. Table 7.4 below illustrates their co-occurrences in the language.

Table 7.4 Co-occurrences of Murui TAME markers

TAME	Non-spatial setting parameter	slot	<i>-bi</i>	<i>-ri</i>	RED	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-vui/-zoi</i>	<i>-fi</i>	<i>-kabi</i>	<i>-kai</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-aka</i>	<i>-iza</i>	<i>-re/-ni</i>	<i>-ye</i>	<i>=za</i>	<i>=di</i>	<i>=ta</i>
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>	14	yes	some	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
Aspect	terminative <i>-bi</i>	5	-	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	durative <i>-ri</i>	5	no	-	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	high intensity RED	2	yes	yes	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	reiterative <i>-oi</i>	5	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	semelfactive <i>-no</i>	5	yes	no	yes	no	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	remote habitual <i>-vui/-zoi</i>	10	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	-	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes
	customary <i>-fi</i>	10	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	-	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes
	general habitual <i>-kabi</i>	10	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	-	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes
	inceptive <i>-kai</i>	5	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
	body <i>-da</i>	4	no	no	yes	?yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Modality	desiderative <i>-aka</i>	8	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
	apprehensive <i>-iza</i>	15	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	no	no	no	no
	attributive <i>-re/-ni</i>	11	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	-	yes	yes	yes	yes
	future event nominalizer <i>-ye</i>	16	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	-	yes	yes	yes
	unconfirmed certainty <i>=za</i>	18	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	-	no
	confirmed certainty <i>=di</i>	18	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	-
Evidentiality	reported <i>=ta</i>	18	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	-

8 Valency-changing mechanisms

While the valency-reducing mechanisms signal demoting an argument – the erstwhile ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs become strictly intransitive, valency-increasing devices indicate that an argument has been added. Murui has one type of valency-reducing mechanisms – the passive (discussed in §8.1), and one valency-increasing mechanism – the causative and the double 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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive 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 the underlying O argument into S function, and place the underlying A argument in an oblique 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.²³⁵

8.1.1 *Non-future passive*

The non-future passive is formed with the suffixes *-ka* and *-ga* (slot 15 on the verb structure, see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1). The basic syntax of a transitive clause is illustrated in (8.1) and (8.2). Elements in parentheses are optional.

(8.1) [(kue moo)]_A kiri-gai(-na)_O ati-d-_EPRED
 1sg father basket-CLF-N.S/A.TOP bring-LK-3
 ‘(My father) brought a basket.’

(8.2) [(kue moo)]_A yiki-ai(-na)_O o-t-_EPRED
 1sg father fish.PL-N.S/A.TOP get-LK-3
 ‘(My father) caught 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 an oblique argument that might be omitted (but frequently is retained). Usually the A argument is 3rd person; there is no 3rd person subject affix on the verb. The syntax of such passive derivation is illustrated with a set of examples in (8.3-7):

(8.3) kiri-gais [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.’

²³⁵ Murui verbal category of tense displays a binary opposition between *non-future* and *future* (§7.2.1). 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’.

- (8.5) jai [kue moo]_{O:OBLIQUE} yiki-ai_S o-ga_{PRED}
 already 1sg father fish-PL get-PASS
 ‘The fish was caught (by my father).’
- (8.6) [[kue uru-e]_{O:OBLIQUE} fa-ga_{PRED} gato_S]_S i-t-e_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:G hit-PASS cat.Sp exist-LK-3
 ‘The cat that was hit by my child, 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 oblique 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 oblique 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 placed (by my husband) that was brought by my husband?’
- (8.9) [[kue moo]_{O:OBLIQUE} o-ga_{PRED} yiki-ai_S]_{NP}
 1sg father get-PASS fish-PL
 ‘the fish caught by my father’
- (8.10) nokae=*di*_S Rubi_{O:OBLIQUE} fi_{NO}-ka_{PRED}
 canoe-S/A.TOP Rubio make-PASS
 ‘The canoe was made by Rubio.’

If the oblique 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 brought (by me)’
- b. [bi-e jea-kuai beno kue_{OBLIQUE}
 this.CTS-CLF:G dirty-CLF.REP:DOG.PL HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE 1sg
 joone-ga]_S nana_S bo-it-e=*ta*_{PRED}
 lay.TH-PASS ALL burn-FUT.LK-3=REP
 ‘These dirty (things) put here by me, will all burn (I was told).’

Occasionally, the S argument and the oblique argument can be omitted on the 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} *fino-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 tends to be high on the animacy hierarchy. In this case, it is a child who made the canoe.

- (8.13) *nokae*_S *fino-ka?*_{PRED}
 canoe make-PASS
 ‘A canoe is ready (lit. was made)?’ (but never ‘made by a canoe’)

In 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* *naiños* *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-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 try-NEG-PASS
 ‘(It) is not tried.’

The oblique argument, the former A (if stated), always remains unmarked for case. If the S arguments (the former O) are highly topical referents, they can take the topical S/A subject marker =*dî* (it the S/A arguments but never the O, see §6.2.1). The S argument cannot be marked for the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*. Compare examples (8.15-16):

(8.15) ñî-ma(=dî)_S nokae(-na)_O fîno-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(=dî)_S fîno-ka?_{PRED}
 canoe(=S/A.TOP) make-PASS
 ‘The canoe was made?’

A: jî Rubio_{O:OBLIQUE} fîno-ka=dî_{PRED}
 yes Rubio make-PASS=CERT
 ‘Yes, it was made by Rubio.’

The topical S/A subject maker =*dî* can also be suffixed to the passivized verb if it is an action that is topical, as in (8.17):

(8.17) Kiña_{O:OBLIQUE} ui-ga=dî_{PRED} fûiri aima-jai-d-e_{PRED} aki
 Kiña bring-PASS=CERT downstream fish-ANDTV-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘(The canoe) was brought by Kiña. He went to fish (as heard).’

If an ambitransitive verb is passivized, the underlying O > S and the argument A (if stated) becomes 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 transitive 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-CLF:G woman-CLF:DR.F already ANA.SP-CLF:G father-LOC
 jika-no-ga_{PRED}
 request-SMLF-PASS
 ‘This woman has already been asked for at her father (someone asked the father for this woman).’

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 verbs followed by the manner marker *-rui*, as in (8.23). Such passivized verbs have habitual connotations. In (8.23), a speaker is describing Jose as a man who everybody likes:

- (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 Q_i
 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-fi-re-d-e_{PRED} uyi-mo_{LOC} ze-ga_{PRED}
 egg-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER split-CUST-ATT-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 a 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). (8.27-28) were uttered when a woman was showing her mother’s work and asked to pay attention to what she had written. In (8.28) the locative is marking the O argument of the verb *erode(te)* ‘look’. In (8.29) the locative has a 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 jaaiti-koko!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED}
 send-PASS-LOC go.FUT.LK-1du.masc say-LK-3
 ‘“Do not go!” he said. “As (lit. in that) we were sent, we will go!”’, he said.’

Murui passive with non-3rd person is a different construction type where pronouns are affixed to passivized verbs; cf. (8.11a). An example is given in (8.30). The grammatical subject in such passive clauses has always human referents.²³⁶ 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 jaguar.’

²³⁶ Or possibly highly animate referents; *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.

(8.31-32) are further examples of this. Compare also the difference in passive constructions of both types in (8.32). Note that the pronouns occur in the same structural position as the pronominal subject 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 has already been eaten (by me).’ (referring to a meal)

(8.32) a. giriki-ño_A oo-nao mai-t-_CPRED
 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 (slot 15 on the verb structure) is formed with the suffix *-yi* which follow verbal roots.²³⁷ The occurrence of this suffix is very rare in discourse, and remains a topic for future investigation. Such constructions are structurally similar to passive with non-3rd person, as illustrated in 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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs,

²³⁷ The future passive *-yi* appears to have the same form as the hortative ‘strong let’s’ *-yi* (see §11.1.2). Note however that synchronically, they are different: the hortative *-yi* can occur on all types of verbs; the future passive *-yi* cannot. This is an issue for further study.

- it puts underlying O argument into S function and place underlying A argument in an oblique function,
- has the same forms with non-3rd 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}
 get-FUT.PASS-1sg
 ‘I am very naughty (so) I will be taken off (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 take.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) ‘(female) that will be chosen’; cf. with *feto-ga-ñaiño* (choose-PASS-CLF:PR.F) ‘(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 to 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) and the double causative *-tata* (§8.2.2).

8.2.1 Causative

A prototypical Murui causative derivation takes an S argument and places it in derived O function. In agreement with 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* (slot 6 on the verb structure, see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1).

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-es* *ini-d-e_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G sleep-LK-3
 ‘The child sleeps.’

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 (8.39-41), or remain unmarked, as in (8.38-40) (see also §6.2.1.5 on factors conditioning marking of O NP). Such O arguments cannot take other case markers.

(8.38) *nai-ñaiño_A uru-e_O ñi-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:DR.F child-CLF:G sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘He is making the child go sleep.’ (by telling the child to go to sleep)

(8.39) *nai-ñaiño_A uru-e-na_O ñi-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 go sleep.’ (by rocking the child)

(8.40) *noki_A iye_O jini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 rain river water-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘The rain made the river rise.’ (a neutral statement)

(8.41) *noki_A iye-na_O jini-ta-t-e_{PRED}*
 rain river-N.S/A.TOP water-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘The rain made the river 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 all types of verbs. Ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs are causativized in the same manner as intransitive verbs in that they are marked with *-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-nao*_{O1} *jo-fo-nao*_{O2} *kie-ta-t-e*_{CPRED}
 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-nao*_{O2} *fii-ta-t-e*_{CPRED}
 Rata one-CLF:G dog-N.S/A.TOP 1sg-N.S/A.TOP rob-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Rata made me steal a 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 (8.43);
- ii) of the two O arguments, only the first argument has the option 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 the ‘primary’ O₁ and ‘secondary’ O₂.²³⁸

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-nao* *jaizi-ta-d-e*_{CPRED}
 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.’

²³⁸ Whether both arguments can be passivized further 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_{PREP} ie=ta ñaiño
 Pedro Maria-N.S/A.TOP scared-BECOME₁-CAUS-LK-3 CONN=REP CLF:PR.F
 jaki-nai-ta-ga_{PREP}
 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, as in (8.47):

- (8.47) [kue ñio]_A kue-nao kome-ki_o faka-ta-t-e_{PREP}
 1sg brother 1sg-N.S/A.TOP heart-CLF:ROUND think-CAUS-LK-3
 ie-mo mairi-ñaiño-di-kue_{PREP}
 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 korektor_o dota-ta-t-e_{PREP}
 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_{PREP} jai fui-ta-di-kai_{PREP}
 good.ATT fish-ANDTV-LK-3=UNCERT already finish-CAUS-LK-1pl
 dino-mo_{LOC} eo aare ñai-ti-kai_{PREP} izoi-d-e_{PREP} 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.’

However, the result can be unintentional, as illustrated in (8.50-51):

- (8.50) jino-na aifi_s beta-d-e_{PREP} [jo-fo jerai-mo]_{LOC} kue_o
 outside-ABL wind blow-LK-3 house-CLF:CAV inside-LOC 1sg
 jaki-nai-ta-d-e_{PREP}
 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-_CPRED
 really quick-ATT-E.NMLZ almost.Sp night-N.S/A.TOP=so 1pl step-CAUS-LK
 naze=mei fuue=koni ua bii-di-kai_PPRED
 door=so mouth=LOCAL₁ really lie.on.ground-LK-1pl
 ‘It was really quick. They almost stepped on us at night, we were lying on the ground
 at the side of the door.’

The default order of the constituents in the causative construction is AO₁V₂, as illustrated in the examples discussed throughout this section.²³⁹ 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-_CPRED
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F child-CLF:G sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘She makes the baby sleep.’

- (8.53) nai-mie-nao Katiña_A kinai-mo_{LOC} ini-ta-t-_CPRED
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F-N.S/A.TOP Katiña hammock-LOC sleep-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Katiña makes him fall asleep in the hammock.’

Oblique arguments are usually preposed to the verb; occasionally they are also expressed in clause final positions (this is similar to double causative constructions, see §8.2.2).

Murui causative *-ta* applies to all sorts of verbs. In addition to intransitive, ambitransitive, and strictly transitive verbs illustrated in the previous examples, it can also apply to adjectives as well when they are followed by the attributive *-re/-ni* or the markers meaning ‘become’ (*-nai*, *-tai*, and *-dai*), as in (8.54-56). The Murui causative cannot occur on nouns that function as heads of intransitive predicates.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Compare this with AO₁VO₂ of the double causative construction in which only O₂ can be postposed to the verb yielding the basic AOV constituent order.

²⁴⁰ For instance, intransitive predicates expressing possession cannot occur with the causative (see §5.1.3.1), as in *urue-re-di-kue* (child-CLF:G-ATT-LK-1sg) ‘I have a child’; **urue-re-ta-di-kue* (child-CLF:G-ATT-CAUS-LK-1sg) is ungrammatical.

- (8.54) [kue uru-e-na]_o yiki-nai-ta-di-kue_{PR}_{ED}
 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_{PR}_{ED}
 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 aa-ma diga] fui-ri-di-kue_{PR}_{ED} nai-mie_A [kue
 1sg brother-CLF:DR.M WITH fight-LK-1sg ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg
 ifo-gi]_o izi-re-ta-d-e_{PR}_{ED}
 head-CLF:OVAL.BIGGER painful-ATT-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘I fought with my brother. He made my head hurt.’

A few lexicalized verbs include the unproductive suffix *-no* to be able to take on the causative *-ta* (elsewhere in the language, *-no* is a semelfactive marker, see §7.2.2.4). These are verbs that refer to states, such as *baai(de)* ‘die, be dead’ in (8.57):

- (8.57) a. jiko baai-d-e_{PR}_{ED}
 dog die-LK-3
 ‘The dog died.’ or ‘The dog is dead.’
- b. nai-mie_A [kue jiko]_o bai-no-d-e_{PR}_{ED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg dog die-SMLF-LK-3
 ‘He killed my dog.’
- c. Flaco [kue jiko]_o baino-ta-t-e_{PR}_{ED}
 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 verbs and adjectives (§8.2.2). There are however some verbs which cannot occur with the causative *-ta*; instead, they obligatorily occur with the double causative *-tata*. For instance,

- (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.²⁴² 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* resulting in *-tata* (slot 6 on the verb structure),
- ii) the new A argument is introduced, and can be optionally marked with the topical S/A subject marker *=di*,

²⁴² Cross-linguistically, double causatives tend to consist of two tokens of the same causative affix (Dixon, 2012: 267). Capanawa (Panoan) has a double causative, formed with the same causative suffix applied twice (Doris L Payne, 1990: 229).

- iii) the underlying A argument goes into O function, and is usually marked with the 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 Murui 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-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 him wash Walter’s child!’

Three overtly stated core arguments are only occasionally present; commonly only A NP and one O NP argument are stated.

Murui ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs are causativized with the markers of double causative in the same way as 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 marker *-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. Oblique arguments are usually expressed in clause initial positions, and somewhat less often in clause final positions, as in (8.69):

- (8.69) bi-rui-do Ismael_A kue-na_{o1} ra-fue-na_{o2}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS Ismael 1sg-N.S/A.TOP thing-CLF:STORY-N.S/A.TOP
 uiño-ta-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 know-CAUS-CAUS-LK-3
 ‘Today, Ismael 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} maiji-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, one has to make amends later on.

- (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 *-ta* BUT NEVER WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE *-tata* – the verb *i(te)* ‘give’ is of this kind.

B. VERBS WHICH CONTAIN THE ELEMENT *-ta* AND CANNOT OCCUR WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE – a few strictly transitive verbs contain the element *-ta* fused to their roots cannot occur with the double causative, e.g. *akata(te)* ‘show’.

C. VERBS WHICH DO NOT OCCUR WITH THE CAUSATIVE *-ta* BUT DO OCCUR WITH THE DOUBLE CAUSATIVE *-tata* – the majority of such verbs are strictly intransitive, e.g. *i(te)* ‘exist’, *bi(te)* ‘come’, *rai(te)* ‘say’, *ñai(te)* ‘speak’, *raai(de)* ‘sit’, *zai(te)* ‘step’. Some are ambitransitive: *fa(te)* ‘kill’, *kue(te)* ‘write’, *kio(de)* ‘see’, and *yo(te)* ‘tell’.

8.3 Reflexive and reciprocal

In a reflexive construction, transitive subject A and transitive object O coincide; a reciprocal clause describes “(...) several instances of an activity such that what is A argument in one instance is O argument in another” (Dixon, 2012: 475). 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:

- free informative markers (‘headless’ nominal modifiers; these are bound forms followed by animate classifiers that refer to S/A NP arguments cross-referenced on the verb), and
- the possessed noun *abi* ‘body’.

In reflexive constructions the form of the informative marker is *da-* ‘own, one, alone’.

Reciprocal meanings are expressed with the form *koni-* that has locative meanings and could at best be translated as ‘between’. Murui reflexive constructions are discussed in §8.3.1; reciprocal meanings are the topic of §8.3.2. A brief summary of Murui reflexive and reciprocal constructions are given in Table 8.1 in §8.3.3.

8.3.1 Reflexive

Murui has one type of a reflexive construction which involves the possessed noun *abi* ‘body’ filling the O slot in a transitive clause. To express reflexive meanings, Murui requires the *abi* ‘body’ to be included as part of the O NP argument. Notably, *abi* can take the O-marking but it can never be the target of a passivized verb:²⁴³ Compare (8.72) with examples of the reflexive construction with *abi* in (8.73-75):

(8.72) (kue)_A uru-e-na_O joko-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP wash-LK-1sg
 ‘I wash the child.’

(8.73) [kue abi]_O joko-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg body wash-LK-1sg
 ‘I wash myself (lit. I wash my body)’

²⁴³ That the O NP argument of Murui reflexive construction (marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*) cannot undergo passivization might in fact be an argument to consider such constructions as a type of valency reducing mechanisms. This remains a topic of further analyses.

(8.74) [kue uru-e-nia fakai] [kue abi]_O jifue-ta-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg child-CLF:G-COND₁ time 1sg body cheat-CAUS-LK-1sg
 ‘When I was a child, I would deceive myself (lit. I cheat my body).’

(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.²⁴⁴ This is illustrated in (8.76):

(8.76) Elger [da-ma abi]_O jai-ta-d-e_{PRED}
 Elger one-CLF:DR.M body cut-CAUS-LK-1sg
 ‘Elger made himself to cut his own body.’ (referring to his finger; he did himself)

Murui has many lexicalized expressions with *abi*, such as *abi uiño(te)* ‘realize (lit. know one’s body)’, *abi ñno(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)’.²⁴⁵

(8.77) is a frequent warning said by Murui elders to naughty boys. The ‘headless’ nominal modifier *da-* ‘own (lit. alone)’ followed by the ‘derivational’ masculine 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*).

²⁴⁴ In Murui, the noun *abi* also denotes other physical body/locational notions, such as *jofo abi* ‘body of the house’, *iye abi* ‘riven bank (area)’.

²⁴⁵ Interestingly, all these meanings require the physical presence of a person’s body to perform an action. See also Petersen de Piñeros (1998: 35).

- (8.77) *naiyi* [da-ma *abi*]_O *uiño-it-ē_{PRED}*
 later one-CLF:DR.M body know-FUT.LK-3
 ‘Soon, he will realize (it) by himself (lit. his own body will know).’

Somewhat similar to *abi* is the noun *komeki* ‘heart’, as in (8.78) below (see also examples T3.8, T3.12, T.317, and T3.39 in the Appendix):

- (8.78) [kue *kome-ki*]_S oo-mo faka-di-kue²⁴⁶_{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 ‘headless’ nominal modifier that consists of the bound number word *da-* ‘alone, one’ followed by ‘derivational’ animate classifiers *-ma* (masculine), *-ño* (feminine), or *-ni* (group) (see §3.2.3 and §4.2.2.2).²⁴⁷ As such, they are included in the O NP argument (always preposed to the head noun, the NP has the 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers that occur in such positions are given in (8.79). Examples are illustrated in (8.80-82) below.

- (8.79) *da-ma* (one-CLF:DR.M) ‘own, (male) alone’
da-ño (one-CLF:DR.F) ‘own, (female) alone’
da-ni (one-CLF:DR.GR) ‘own, (group of humans) alone’

- (8.80) *nai-mie_A* [da-ma *abi*]_{NP:O} *fa-t-ē_{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).’

²⁴⁶ The verbal root *faka-* has many meanings including ‘think, contemplate, try, count, experience’.

²⁴⁷ 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)’.

- (8.81) nai-ñaiño_A [[da-ño ie]_R abi_D]_{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}
 black.dye-INS one-CLF:DR.F body-N.S/A.TOP paint-LK-2sg
 ‘You painted yourself (lit. own body).’

- (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 dance ritual)

The ‘headless’ 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-mak_{IPRED}
 one-CLF:DR.GR wash-LK-3pl
 ‘(They) wash themselves.’ or ‘(They) washed alone.’
- (8.86) da-ño_S 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 Murui reflexive constructions the most frequent controller is usually human and animate, Murui has no constraints concerning the identity of the controller. This is illustrated in (8.88-89) where *dama* is used for inanimate participants.²⁴⁸

(8.88) [bai-e radio da-ma]_s roo~ro-d-e_{PREP}
 that.FSH-CLF:G radio.Sp one-CLF:DR.M sing~RED-LK-3
 ‘That radio is playing (and playing) on its own (lit. alone).’

(8.89) [bi-e nokae da-ma]_s fairi-yai-kai-d-e_{PREP} joraida ie
 this.CTS-CLF:G canoe one-CLF:DR.M float-?-INCP-LK-3 lake CONN
 dane abido rii-zai-bi-d-e_{PREP}
 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’.²⁴⁹ A reciprocal clause consists of an ambitransitive/strictly transitive verb and an A NP as an argument. The reciprocal *koni-* agrees in gender with A NPs by means of animate classifiers (and, in that respect, it is similar to the ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with *da-* used in reflexive clauses, §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):

²⁴⁸ Note that the nouns with inanimate referents agree with the ‘headless’ nominal modifiers in masculine gender (masculine is in Murui is a functionally unmarked gender, see §3.1.1).

²⁴⁹ 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 ‘bunch of objects, things’, see §4.2.2.1).

(8.90) [Jose [Maria diga]]_{NP:A} koni-ma_O jide-d-e_{CPRED} i-aimaiaia_A
 Jose Maria WITH RECIP-CLF:DR.M paint-LK-3 ANA.NSP-3du.m
 koni-ma_O=ua jide-d-e_{CPRED}
 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_{CPRED}
 EACH person RECIP-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP admire-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘Everybody loves each other.’

(8.92) dakaiño [ñeni-ño [yai-ño diga]]_S
 ONE.TIME armadillo-CLF:DR.F chucha-CLF:DR.F WITH
 koni-ma-mo rii-d-e_{CPRED}
 RECIP-CLF:DR.M-LOC arrive-LK-3
 ‘One time the armadillo and the *chucha* met (each other).’

The noun *abi* can be optionally used in reciprocal constructions. In such cases, the reciprocal marker functions as a modifier within an NP, with *abi* as the head, as in (8.93-94).

(8.93) bai-ziaimaiaia_A [koni-ma abi]_O joko-di-aimaiaia_{CPRED}
 that.FSH-3du.m RECIP-CLF:DR.M body wash-LK-3du.m
 ‘They (two) washed one another.’

(8.94) [bai-e ue-ñuui]_A [koni-ño abi]_O joko-d-e_{CPRED}
 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 ‘headless’ 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_{CPRED}
 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.²⁵⁰ This is illustrated in (8.96-97):

(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.’

8.3.3 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions – a summary

A summary of structures expressing 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	$[N/Pro/NomMod\ abi(-case)]_o$	(73, 74, 75)
	$da+classifier_{S/A}$	(85, 86, 87)
	$N/Pro/NomMod_A [da+classifier\ abi(-case)]_o$	(76, 77, 80, 81, 82)
	$[N/Pro/NomMod\ da+classifier]_{S/A}$	(84, 88, 89)
RECIPROCAL	$N/Pro/NomMod_A\ koni+classifier(-case)_o$	(90, 91, 92, 96, 97)
	$N/Pro/NomMod_A [koni+classifier\ abi(-case)]_o$	(93, 94)
	$[N/Pro/NomMod\ da+classifier]_A [koni+classifier\ abi(-case)]_o$	(95)

* The abbreviations used here are: N for noun, Pro for pronoun, NomMod for ‘headless’ nominal modifier

²⁵⁰ 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 ‘derivational’ animate classifier to have non-singular readings, as in example (8.96-97) where *koni-* is marked with the animate classifier -ma for masculine referents.

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 passive makes a binary tense distinction: non-future vs. future. 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 are 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 are derived from an open word class. Derived adjectives have various meanings such as physical dimension, value, property, human propensity, color, and others (see §9.1.1).²⁵¹ Spanish loanwords do not occur in either 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 ‘headless’ 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 a ‘headless’ nominal modifier relates to temporality (‘temporal’ vs. ‘timeless’; examples (3.15-16) in §3.1.3 are a case in point). Out of the two construction types, the former can be negated; the latter can be negated only when used as heads of intransitive predicates. Murui adjectives have a number of

²⁵¹ 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).

features on their own, such as the obligatory co-occurrence with the attributive markers (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’ (see also §3.2.1).

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 generic classifier *-e* when they be used as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, as in *aiyue* ‘big (unspecified object)’ and *komue* ‘new (unspecified object)’.²⁵²

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_{PREP}
 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 ‘headless’ 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 generic classifier *-e* takes the predicate marking:

- (9.2) [[komue jaai-ra] Walter ie]_s aiyue-d-e_{PREP}
 new.CLF:G go-CLF:NEUT Walter CONN big.CLF:G-LK-3
 ‘Walter’s new ladder 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 aiyo 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 – two underived adjectives that are bound forms, and have to take the generic classifier *-e* to

²⁵² In some dialects of Murui (e.g. as spoken by the *Monanizai* clan), *komue* is pronounced as *komoie*.

function as a modifier within an NP, e.g. [*eo jakai-e jaai-ra*]_{NP} (very old-CLF:G go-CLF:G)

‘very old ladder’:

DIMENSION: *jedaki-* ‘thick’

AGE: *jakai-* ‘old’

Similarly to underived adjectives A1, underived adjectives A2 take the generic 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 be used as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, e.g.

jedaki-roi (thick-CLF:CLOTHES) ‘thick (clothes)’. When the adjective *jakai-* ‘old’ functions as a nominal modifier, its form is reduced to *jaka-*, as in *jaka-ko* (old-CLF.REP:DOG) ‘old (dog)’.²⁵³

A3. NOUN-LIKE LEXICALIZED ADJECTIVES – Synchronically, there are two adjectives which obligatorily contain the positive attributive 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 generic classifier *-e*). Two adjectives belong to this class:

VALUE: *mare* ‘good’

PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *aare* ‘long, far’

²⁵³ The fact that the form *jaka-* is used when it occurs in a ‘headless’ nominal modifier suggests that *jakaie* ‘old’ might be related to the time word *jaka* ‘always, never’ (possibly followed by either the connective *ie*, as in *jaka ie* (lit. relating to the time), or the generic classifier *-e*).

The adjective *mare* ‘good’ is unusual in that under negation, it undergoes a unique phonological change – rather than **mare-ñe-d-e*, the negated form of *mare* is *maraiñe-d-e* (good.ATT.NEG-LK-3) (see §10.3).

Similarly to underived adjectives A1 and A2, noun-like adjectives A3 function as modifiers within an NP but take no generic 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifier *mare-za* (good.ATT-CLF:IMMAT) ‘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 on this (canoe) deck.’

(9.5) bi-mona-do [aare 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 topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*, e.g. *mare-na ii!* (good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP exist) ‘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’.²⁵⁴ This class includes:

DIMENSION: *ianori-* ‘short’,
 HUMAN PROPENSITY: *mairi-* ‘strong’, *uairi-* ‘moody’

Out of these adjectives, only *ianori* can function as an adverb, e.g. *ianori i-t-e* (close exist-LK-3) ‘(it’s) close (in terms of distance)’.

C. VERB-LIKE ADJECTIVES CONTAINING THE POSITIVE ATTRIBUTIVE *-re* – they form an open class, and distinguish the following sematic types (for each type, I provide a sample of members):

DIMENSION: *jano-* ‘small’
 VALUE: *ebi-* ‘nice, amusing’, *jea-* ‘dirty, ugly’
 COLOR: *moko-* ‘green/blue’, *uze-* ‘white’, *jiti-* ‘black’, *jiai-* ‘red’
 HUMAN PROPENSITY: *uri-* ‘jealous’, *jaki-* ‘scared’, *zuu-* ‘sad’, *kaïma-* ‘happy, tasty’, *mei-* ‘ashamed’, *rii-* ‘angry, strong’, *jerai-* ‘greedy’
 PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *mee-* ‘heavy’, *uzi-* ‘hot’, *rozi-* ‘cold’, *eri-* ‘bitter’, *kue-* ‘salty’
naiime- ‘sweet’, *izi-* ‘spicy’, *kairi-* ‘acidic’, *riji-* ‘slippery’, *eri-* ‘bitter’,
fare- ‘fatty’; *mana-* ‘cold’, *mara-* ‘sticky’; *izi-* ‘painful’
 SPEED: *jari-* ‘quick’
 OTHER: *feei-* ‘difficult’

²⁵⁴ Although on verbs *-ri* has durative meaning, it is most probable that *-ri* on adjectives is a variant of the positive 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 analysis is the co-existence of the expressions *ianori i-t-e* (close exist-LK-3) and *iano-re i-t-e* (close-ATT EXIST-LK-3) both meaning ‘(it’s) close (in terms of distance)’ (pronunciation depends on a speaker). Additionally, there is also an adjective *ia-* ‘short’, as in *ia-mie* (short-CLF:PR.M) ‘short (male)’. The form *ianori* is synchronically one word. The adjective root *mairi-* ‘strong’ may be related to the verb *maiiji(de)* ‘work’.

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).²⁵⁵

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)’. 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 as a separate word class in Murui. These are discussed in turn.²⁵⁶

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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers. In addition, the attribution of property can be either ‘timeless’ or ‘temporal’ (see §3.1.3 and §9.2).

²⁵⁵ Polyfunctionality of such verbal roots requires further investigation.

²⁵⁶ The discussion follows Dixon (2010a: 62-114).

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_{CPRED}
 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-_{CPRED}
 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 (§9.2).

B. GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA – based on their grammatical properties, adjectives share features with nouns and with intransitive verbs. Since both verb-like adjectives and verbs can fill the 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with adjectives is the same as that of other ‘headless’ nominal modifiers, but not that with verbs,
- B5. The occurrence with the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ with adjectives but not with nouns,
- B6. Different morphological possibilities for ‘headless’ nominal modifiers and nouns.

B1. DIFFERENT POSSIBILITIES WITHIN THE PREDICATE SLOT – verb-like adjectives can occur only with a limited number of verbal suffixes (see Scheme 3.3 in §3.1.3). Unlike verbs,

adjectives obligatorily occur with the attributive *-re* and *-ni*, and the markers meaning ‘become’, 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 is different from 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) (the O NP argument is not stated). 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_A* *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_s* *eo* *kaima-re-d-e-na_o*]
 this.CTS-CLF:G *cahuana.drink-CLF:SUB* very *tasty-ATT-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP*
kue_o *jiro-ta!_{PRED}*
 1sg drink-CAUS
 ‘Give me (lit. make me drink) this tasty *cahuana* drink!’

Unlike verbs, (verb-like) adjectives can be marked with the suffix *-oi* to denote ‘half, a little bit’. There is a homophonous durative *-oi* on verbs but it occurs in a different structural position (see Scheme 3.2 in §3.1.3) and has different semantics. On adjectives *-oi* follows the positive attributive *-re*, e.g. *kaima-re-oi-d-e* (happy-ATT-HALF-LK-3) ‘half-happy’, *naime-re-oi-d-e* (sweet-ATT-HALF-LK-3) ‘half-sweet’. There is no marker for verbs that would mean ‘half, a little bit’ (see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1). An example is given in (9.10):

(9.10) [*kai* *jo-fo_s*] *jea-re-oi-d-e-mo* *nai-makis*
 1pl house-CLF:CAV dirty-ATT-HALF-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 the form of nominalizers. In addition to the attributive markers, adjectives are nominalized with *-na*, as illustrated in (9.11). Nominalizers on verbs have the forms *-a*, *-ja*, and *-ya* (*-na* on verbs occurs only when it follows the standard negative *-ñe*, see §3.1.4 on nominalizations):

- (9.11) [Kata_A [izi-do izi-re-na]] okui-d-e_{PREL}
 Kata tooth-CLF:POINTED painful-ATT-E.NMLZ endure-LK-3
 ‘Kata endures the pain of the tooth.’

Adjectives have also a number of specific inchoative markers of sorts (*-nai*, *-tai*, and *-dai*) which do not occur on verbs (see Scheme 3.3 in §3.1.3). All of them refer to ‘becoming’ (in terms of having characteristics of a feature denoted by the semantics of the root) that often translates into English as ‘getting’.²⁵⁷ Examples are given below:

- (9.12) jaki-nai-za!_{PREL}
 scared-BECOME₁-APPR
 ‘Watch out (you will) get scared!’
- (9.13) nai-mie_O kue_A jaki-do-ga_{PREL} ie iadi
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M 1sg scare-CAUS-PASS CONN but
 jaki-nai-ñe-d-e_{PREL}
 scared-BECOME₁-NEG-LK-3
 ‘I made him scared but he didn’t get scared.’
- (9.14) ri-ai-ya-ri rozi-nai-t-e_{PREL}
 wet-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS cold-BECOME₁-LK-3
 ‘Because of being wet (after the rain), she got cold.’
- (9.15) [kue uru-e]_S ua ebi-re komui-d-e_{PREL} monai_O jiro-a fakai
 1sg child-CLF:G really nice-ATT grow-LK-3 breast drink-E.NMLZ TIME
 ie-mona_{ABL} [kue_S baiyi-a-mona]_{ABL} ira-tai-d-e_{PREL}
 CONN-ABL 1sg stop.feed-E.NMLZ-ABL sick-BECOME₂-LK-3
 ‘My child was growing nicely when I was feeding him. From (the moment), I stopped feeding him, (the child) became sick.’

²⁵⁷ The exact differences in meaning of the ‘become’ markers require further investigation.

- (9.16) *Katas* [nainño zapato]_o ana bai-ya-ri
 Kata CLF:PR.F shoe.Sp below find-E.NMLZ-BENEF.CAUS
 rii-tai-d-e_{PR}_{ED}
 angry-BECOME₂-LK-3
 ‘Kata became angry for having found her shoe down here.’

- (9.17) *koni-ma=diga* jai kio-ñeiye-mona_{ABL}
 RECIP-CLF:DR.M=WITH already see-NEG.FUT.E.NMLZ-ABL
 zuu-dai-ti-aimie_{PR}_{ED}
 sad-BECOME₃-LK-3du.m
 ‘Not seeing each other in the future will make them (two of them) become sad.’

A few affixes have the same meaning 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 7.1 in §7.1 and the manner *-rui* with adjectival roots, Scheme 3.3 in §3.1.3):

- (9.18) [[*kue moo*] airijj]_o raize dobe-i-ñe-d-e_{PR}_{ED}
 1sg father cassava-CLF:CASSAVA well.SIMIL crush-EMPH-NEG-LK-3
 nia nai-mies eo naize-rui-t-e_{PR}_{ED}
 STILL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M very rubbery-MANNER-LK-3
 ‘(She) doesn’t crush my father’s cassava well. (It still feels to him) bery rubber-like.’

B2. FORMATION OF ADVERBS – most of the adverbs have adjectival origin. Such adverbs consist just of an adjectival root and the positive attributive *-re*, and obligatorily occur in the pre-verbal position, as in (9.19). Such formations are not possible for the majority of Murui verbs.

- (9.19) [*kue tooi*]_s jano-re i-t-e_{PR}_{ED}
 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 in Murui is the occurrence of verbs in imperative, passive, and causative constructions. This also includes the standard negative marker *-ñe* and clause linking markers that are not available for adjectives. Verbs can be negated by both the standard negative marker *-ñe* and by the negative attributive *-ni* (for ‘lack of ability’). Verb-

like adjectives can only be negated by suffixing the negative attributive marker *-ni* to the root. That is, *bora-re-d-e* (yellow-ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s) yellow’ becomes *bora-ni-d-e* (yellow-NEG.ATT-LK-3) ‘(it’s not) yellow’ (but see §10.2.1.2 for differences between younger and older Murui speakers). Adjectives do not occur with the majority of clause linking markers such as the future event nominalizer *-ye* (followed by the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*) that normally occur on verbs in purposive clauses (see §12.3.1).

B4. THE STRUCTURE OF ‘HEADLESS’ NOMINAL MODIFIERS WITH ADJECTIVES IS THE SAME AS THAT OF OTHER ‘HEADLESS’ NOMINAL MODIFIERS – ‘headless’ 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 and adjectival roots require a linker position to be able to take on a classifier, e.g. *maka-di-mie* (walk-LK-CLF:PR.M) ‘(male) who walks’.

B5. THE OCCURRENCE WITH THE INTENSIFIER *eo* ‘very’ – the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ occurs as a pre-modifier with adjectives and those ‘headless’ nominal modifiers that contain an adjective (see §3.3.1 on Murui intensifiers). An example of *eo* occurring in the adverbial position with the ‘headless’ 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with adjectival roots (see §3.3.1).

B6. DIFFERENT MORPHOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES – derived adjectives cannot take the generic 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 similar 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 (for crushing unprocessed yuca)’.

9.2 Comparative constructions – general remarks

Murui has a number of dedicated comparative constructions that are characterized by the occurrence of special forms of standard markers of comparative construction, as well as by their specific structure.²⁵⁸ The majority of Murui comparative constructions are monoclausal.

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	noun, ‘headless’ nominal modifier, pronoun
STANDARD	noun, ‘headless’ nominal modifier, pronoun
PARAMETER	noun, ‘headless’ nominal modifier, verb
STANDARD MARKER (S-MARK)	adverb followed by <i>-fe</i> ‘side’ and the locative <i>-mo</i>
PARAMETER MARKER (P-MARK)	the intensifier <i>eo</i> ‘very’

²⁵⁸ The terminology used throughout this paper follows 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 (S-MARK) of grammatical function of the STANDARD – ‘than’. In terms of Dixon’s (2012) classification of prototypical comparative constructions, Murui comparatives are of the A and B types.

As mentioned in §3.1.3, the semantic difference between ‘headless’ nominal modifiers with adjectives and adjectives functioning as heads of intransitive predicates relates to the temporality of attribution (the former refers to ‘timeless attribution’, the latter to ‘temporal attribution’) (Wojtylak, 2018a). A similar two-fold division can be made for the Murui comparative constructions:

A. ‘TIMELESS’ ATTRIBUTION (TIME-STABLE REFERENCE) COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS – those comparative constructions that involve verbless clauses, and have those grammatical properties similar to nouns.

B. ‘TEMPORAL’ ATTRIBUTION (NON-TIME-STABLE REFERENCE) 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
 bai-ñaiño_{VCS} (eo) jano-ñaiño_{VCC} [kue baai-fe-mo]_{OBLIQUE}
 that.FSH-CLF:PR.F very small-CLF:PR.F 1sg THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘She is smaller than I am (lit. she – very small (female), I on the over there side (i.e. ahead of me)).’

(9.22) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD S-MARK
 nai-ñaiño_S (eo) jano-re-d-e_{EPRED} [kue baai-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, I on the over there side (i.e. ahead 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 an adverb/adverbial demonstrative followed by the classifier *-fe* ‘side’ and the locative *-mo* (see Table 9.2 and §9.2.1),
- ii) Comparatives with *emodo* ‘back’ followed by the locative *-mo* (Table 9.3 and §9.2.2), and
- iii) Comparatives with the locative *-mo* (Table 9.4 and §9.2.3).

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 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 ‘side’ followed by locative

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
	kues	[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, 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.

(9.24)	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	STANDARD	S-MARK
	Jose _s	uaiki-ma-ñe-d-e _{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 an aged (man), Carlos on the over there side (i.e. ahead of Carlos)).’			

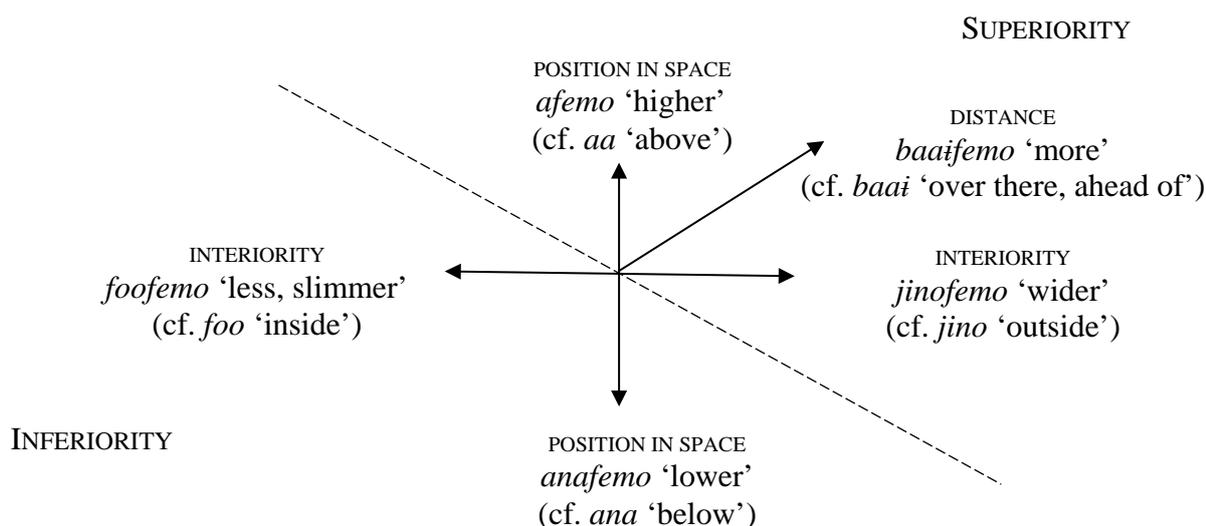
The S-MARK of comparison is a noun originating in the adverbial demonstrative *baai* ‘over there, ahead’ (§3.3.3) and the adverbs *foo* ‘inside’, *aa* ‘above’, *ana* ‘below’, and *jino* ‘outside’ (§3.2.1), and further followed by the classifier *-fe* ‘side’ and the locative *-mo*. Its meanings, therefore, are related to distance (*baai* ‘over there, ahead’), interiority (*foo* ‘inside’, *jino* ‘outside’), and position in space (*aa* ‘high’, *ana* ‘low’).²⁵⁹ By far, the most common form of the S-MARK *-femo* is *baaifemo* ‘on the over there side (i.e. ahead of)’ (expressing relative superiority ‘more’) and its ‘negative’ equivalent *foofemo* ‘on the inside side (of)’ used for expression of relative inferiority ‘less’. The forms of S-MARK in Murui are given in Table 9.5.

²⁵⁹ Such a semantic division of the S-MARK could possibly be related to the importance of the object’s physical properties in terms of their shape and position in space in Murui.

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 over there side (i.e. ahead of)’	‘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 above side’	‘higher’
<i>ana-fe-mo</i>	below-CLF:SIDE-LOC	‘on the below side’	‘lower’
<i>jino-fe-mo</i>	outside-CLF:SIDE-LOC	‘on the outside’	‘wider’

The semantics of the S-MARK forms allow a division between two parallel types of comparative constructions, those that express superiority, and those that convey the notions of inferiority, as illustrated in Diagram 9.1 below.²⁶⁰ The S-MARKS that express superiority make more formal distinctions than those which refer to inferiority.

Diagram 9.1 Semantics of the S-MARK *-femo* in comparative constructions

²⁶⁰ Superiority and inferiority are understood here in terms of the position in space, rather than expressing ‘more’ and ‘less’. 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* ‘over there, ahead of’ 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 and quantity (Wojtylak, 2018a).

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
	kues	eo	aare-ñaiño-di-kue ^{PRED}	[nai-maki
	1sg	very	long-CLF:PR.F-LK-1sg	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, they on the above side).’			

Marking of interiority in comparative constructions is to indicate that 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:CYLINDRICAL
	‘The white man is bulkier than us (lit. white man, we on the outside, fatty-ball-like).’			

The use of S-MARKS referring to position in space and interiority is almost exclusively a feature of the speech of Murui elders. Young Murui speakers predominantly use the form *baaifemo* for all types of comparison.

II. COMPARISON OF INFERIORITY – the comparison of inferiority in Murui relates to interiority (*foo* ‘inside’) and position in space (*ana* ‘low’). The interiority is by far 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=di _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, the lighter on the inside, it’s small).’			

(9.28)	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	STANDARD	S-MARK
	nai-ñaiños	jano-re	kio-d-e _{PRED}	[kue
	ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F	small-ATT	see-LK-3	foo-fe-mo] _{OBLIQUE}
			1sg	inside-CLF:SIDE-LOC
	‘She (can) see less than I (can) (lit. she sees little, I on the inside).’			

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.

(9.29)	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	STANDARD	S-MARK
	kue _s	ia-ñaiño-di-kue _{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, Sandriela on the below side).’			

(9.32)	COMPAREE	STANDARD	S-MARK	PARAMETER
	Jose _{vcs}	[Pedro	emodo-mo]	aare-mie _{vcc}
	Jose	Pedro	over-LOC	long-CLF:PR.M
	‘Jose is taller than Pedro (lit. Jose, over Pedro, big (male)).’			

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.²⁶²

9.2.3 Comparatives with the locative

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 two verbless clauses, where the first clause is marked with the locative *-mo*.²⁶³ In such constructions, the pre-posed NP is the STANDARD of comparison, and it is marked by the locative *-mo*. Such comparative constructions are similar to other comparative construction types in that they all take the locative marker, but they differ in that they are biclausal, and have only inanimate objects as referents of the arguments. An example is given in (9.33):²⁶⁴

(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).’					

²⁶² Whether such constructions have their origin in Minika, remains a topic for further investigation.

²⁶³ Those types of biclausal constructions might in fact be a comparative strategy, which readings may impute opposite properties to two participants.

²⁶⁴ 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*.

9.2.4 Superlative strategies

Murui has two independent strategies to indicate a superlative reading. One is contextual, where an adjective, a noun, or a verb is always followed by the intensifier *eo* ‘very’ and 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* ‘very’. Depending on the situation and context, they have implicit superlative readings. In (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 (female)).’

Such constructions can also be accompanied by an oblique argument (i.e. noun, ‘headless’ nominal modifier, or a pronoun) followed the ablative *-mona* meaning ‘as for (in the opinion of)’. This is illustrated in (9.35-36). Again, depending on the context, such clauses can have superlative readings.²⁶⁵ Depending on the emphasis, the oblique argument can be pre-posed or postposed to the main clause.

²⁶⁵ The ablative case appears to be derived with the locative case *-mo* and the multifunctional suffix *-na*. There is a restricted set of a closed class of adverbial demonstratives with locative meaning which cannot take on the marker *-mona*. To express ablative meanings, they are followed by non-subject marker *-na* instead of *-mona*, e.g. *bene-na* (HERE.LOC:NSP-ABL) ‘from here’.

- (9.38) COMPAREE P-MARK PARAMETER STANDARD
 kue_s eo mare-ñaiño-di-kue_{PRED} [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}
 THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC
 ‘I am the most beautiful (female) out of all women (lit. I am very good (female), all
 the women on the over there side (i.e. 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 THERE-CLF:SIDE-LOC very big-CLF:PR.F
 ‘Kata is the biggest (female) of all (lit. Kata, other (females) on the over there side
 (i.e. ahead of other (female)) - very big (female)).’

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 equative 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]_E
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F very good.ATT-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]_E raize ro-t-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F 1sg similar well.SIMIL sing-LK-3
 ‘She sings as well as me (lit. she, similarly 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 a similar fashion, that is, *izoi-ñe-di-kue* (similar-NEG-LK-1sg) ‘I’m not 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 verbs, which express similitive and transformative-like meanings. These are *jaai(de)* ‘go, become (in shamanic practices)’, *i(te)* ‘exist’, and *janai(de)* ‘behave similarly’ (cf. *izoi(de)* ‘be similar’ in (3.79) and (13.21)), as in (9.42-44). They are frequently used in the context of physical and spiritual transformations. The object of transformation is always obligatorily marked with the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*, as in (9.42):

- (9.42) *uzu-ma_A* *janayari-na_O* *jaai-d-e_{PRED}*
 grandparent-CLF:DR.M jaguar-N.S/A.TOP go-LK-3
 ‘Grandfather became a jaguar.’ (meaning: he transformed into a jaguar)
- (9.43) *uzu-ma_A* *janayari-na_O* *i-t-e_{PRED}*
 grandparent-CLF:DR.M jaguar-N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3
 ‘Grandfather was like a jaguar.’ (meaning: he turned into to a jaguar)
- (9.44) Alexis_A *iyai-ma-na_O* *janai-d-e_{PRED}*
 Alexis chief-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A behave.similar-LK-3
 ‘Alexis behaves like a chief.’ (meaning: he behaves like a wanna-be-chief)

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*.²⁶⁷ For example, *ananeko* ‘maloca (communal roundhouse)’ marked with *-ze* has the equal size meaning of ‘an object Y being

²⁶⁷ The Murui similitive marker does not occur in other contexts such as nominalized verbs.

like/as a *maloca*, having the size of a *maloca* (communal roundhouse)'.²⁶⁸ Examples are given in (9.45-46):

(9.45) ua maloka-ze bai-re-d-e_{PRED} kue-mona_{OBLIQUE}
 really maloca.Sp-SIMIL find-ATT-LK-3 1sg-ABL
 'As for me, it looks like a *maloca*.' (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'. NPs marked with the simulative *-ze* cannot take nominal morphology (such as case or number) but can head an intransitive predicate, as in (9.47):²⁶⁹

(9.47) [bi-e ame-na]_S jo-fo-ze-ñe-d-e=d_{IPRED}
 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 question word *ni-e-ze* (Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL) 'how', and the connective *ie-ze* (CONN-SIMIL) 'like

²⁶⁸ 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, and 'depictive', 'secondary predication', and grammaticalized aspectual meanings (Carlin, 2006: 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 arrival of the colonizers and took by force many Carijona women with them (Wojtylak, forthcoming-a).

²⁶⁹ A few adverbs contain what might have been at some stage the simulative marker *-ze*, e.g. *raize* 'well', *feekuize* 'slowly' (see §3.2.1).

that'.²⁷⁰ 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 in (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 equality-like meanings. *Dieze* 'this much' in (9.50) 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 AT.CLF:G-SIMIL lay.TH
 '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 to form 'headless' nominal modifiers – 'noun-like adjectives'), but have also a number of features on their own. The semantic difference between verb-like adjectives and noun-like adjectives relates to temporality (the former is

²⁷⁰ 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-3), and *aki-e izoi i-t-e* (AUDIT-CLF:G similar exist-LK-3) meaning 'it's like that' when ending a narration. This is common among all speakers.

‘temporal’; the latter is ‘timeless’).

Murui has several ‘dedicated’ means for expressing comparison, the majority of which are monoclausal constructions that can be realized as verbless (‘timeless’) and intransitive clauses (‘temporal’). There are three types of comparative constructions in Murui: i) those monoclausal construction where the standard marker (S-MARK) of comparison is a adverbial demonstrative/adverb followed by a classifier and the locative, ii) those monoclausal constructions where the S-MARK has a form of *emodo* ‘back’ followed by the locative, and iii) those biclausal 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 have ‘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 (§10.2.4). Clausal negation with the privative 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). This is followed by a brief summary in section §10.4.

10.1 Negation – general characteristics

Negation in Murui involves the morphological process of affixation, where a negative marker is added to a corresponding positive in main and subordinate clauses. Negation of predicates is expressed in two different ways: with the standard negative marker *-ñe* (slot 10 on the verb structure, see Scheme 7.1 in §7.1) and with the negative attributive *-ni* ‘lack of attribution (ability, property, possession)’ (slot 11, cf. the mutually exclusive positive attributive *-re* for having ‘attribution (ability, property, possession)’). 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 *ɨi(de)* ‘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} - $d\dot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-LK-1sg
 ‘I swim’
- b. \ddot{i} - $\tilde{n}e$ - $d\dot{i}$ - 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 - $d\dot{i}$ - kue_{PRED}
 swim-ATT-LK-1sg
 ‘I can swim (e.g. I am feeling healthy enough to swim)’
- b. \ddot{i} - ni - $d\dot{i}$ - 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 positive attributive *-re* occurs in the same structural slot as the negative attributive *-ni* (see §3.1.3). Nowadays, younger speakers of Murui occasionally negate the positive 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*). 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 (see the privative §10.2.5). 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_{PRED}
 Kata Maria WITH never come-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Neither Katarina nor Maria came (lit. Kata with Maria never came).’

A constituent of a negated clause may bear additional stress. Additionally, the topical S/A and non-S/A subject markers are present on a constituent that is in contrastive focus. To express meanings such as ‘it wasn’t the man we met, it was the spirit’, speakers say ‘we didn’t meet THE MAN; we met THE SPIRIT’, as in (10.4) below (cf. *jiko=di* (dog=S/A.TOP) ‘dog’ in example (6.10) in §6.2.1.1):

- (10.4) ñi-ma-nao bai-ñe-di-koko_{OPRED} taife-nao bai-ti-koko_{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) THE MAN; we met THE SPIRIT.’

have inherently negative words. A few positive words however, such as *mare* ‘good, beautiful’, do not have dedicated negative counterparts; the only way to say ‘bad’ is to negate *mare*, as in *maraiñede* ‘bad (lit. not good)’.²⁷²

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.²⁷³ 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 a Murui predicate (see §7.1) 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 positive attributive marker *-re* cannot be negated (the negative attributive is used instead). Some younger speakers do however negate *-re* with the standard 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

²⁷² *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.

²⁷³ Murui has an independent word *ñee* used as a pause marker that functions as a ‘filler’ (see §13.4).

interrogatives. 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 §2.4 and Table 11.1 in §11.1).

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

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*,²⁷⁴ pronominal subject markers, and epistemic/evidentiality markers (see §7.1 on the structure of a Murui predicate). The form of the standard negative *-ñe* is always the same, regardless of verb's transitivity, marking, etc. Examples (10.6-10) illustrate verbs negated with the standard negative marker:

(10.6) [Maria jiza]_{NP:S} jo-fo-m_{LOC} jaai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 Maria daughter house-CLF:CAV-LOC go-NEG-LK-3
 'The daughter of Maria did not go home.'

(10.7) [bi-e jiko]_S iye-m_{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.'

²⁷⁴ 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).

- (10.8) *maka-ñe-di-kuiii!*_{PRD}
walk-NEG-LK-1sg.CALL²⁷⁵
'I didn't go hunting! (lit. walk)!' (shouted over distance)
- (10.9) [*kue abi*]_S *ua uiño-ñe-ga*_{PRD}
1sg body really know-NEG-PASS
'I am not feeling well (lit. it's not known by my body).'
- (10.10) *Pedro=di*_{OBLIQUE} *fa-ñe-ga*_{PRD} *unekis Joachina*_{OBLIQUE} *fa-ga*_{PRD}
Pedro=S/A.TOP *kill-NEG-PASS* *wasp Joachina* *kill-PASS*
'The wasp was not killed by Pedro. It was killed by Joachina.'

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 §7.1).

- (10.11) *bai-mie*_A *yiki-ai*_O *kue-na*_O *fata-ta-ñe-d*_{EPRED}
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* *diga*] *i-aka-ñe-di-kue*_{PRD}
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=di*]_S [*bi-e* *nokae-na*]_O *fino-ñe-ga*_{PRD}
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} *monas*
some.time.ago *night* *1pl-LOC* *river-LOC* *sky*
*bori-bi-kai-ñe-d*_{EPRED}
struck.lighting-TERM-INCP-NEG-LK-3
'Last night the lighting (lit. the sky) did not strike the river near (lit. at) us.'
- (10.15) [*Adam* [*Eu diga*]]_S *bi-mona-do* *nokae-na*
Adam *Eu* *WITH* *this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS* *canoe-N/S.A.TOP*
*fino-ñe-iti-maki*_{PRD}

²⁷⁵ Word final vowel centralization (V > /i/) and vowel lengthening (/i/ > /iii/) occurs in songs, ritual narrations and calling (in the distance) but not in everyday 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 §2.4).

make-NEG.FUT.LK-3pl
 ‘Adam and Eulogio will not make a canoe today.’

- (10.16) *kio-ñe-iti-kue*^{PRED} [Kata *jidoro-do jide-yi-na*]_o
 see-NEG-FUT.LK-1sg Kata black.dye-INS paint-FUT.E.NMLZ-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 topical non-S/A subject *-na* (see §6.2.1), in their negative counterparts *-na* is almost frequently present, as in (10.17-18) 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) Walters *iyi-mo*_{LOC} *jiibi-e-na*_o *ri-ñe-d-e*^{PRED}
 Walter jungle.garden-LOC coca-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP plant-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Walter didn’t plant coca in the jungle garden.’

Identity in Murui is expressed by means of an intransitive predicate when S arguments are pronominal subjects (see Table 7.1 in §7.1). 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) [Español *yofue-rai-ño*]_{NP}-ñe-di-omuiño^{PRED}
 Spanish teach-AGT-CLF:DR.F-NEG-LK-2du.f
 ‘You (two female) are not Spanish teachers.’

For 3rd person singular, dual, and plural, identity is typically expressed by juxtaposition of two NP's, as in (10.21) (see also §12.1.1 on verbless clauses). As Murui verbless clauses cannot express 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. Compare the 'positive' verbless clauses with the negated ones 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-it*-e_{PRD}
 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_{PRD}
 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

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*_{PRD} [*kue ei-yi* *i-ko*
 river-LOC go-DES-NEG-LK-1sg 1sg foot-CLF:BUSHY ANA.NSP-CLF:COVER
diga] *i-ti-kue=za*_{PRD} *ii-ni-di-kue*_{PRD}
 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 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 her son that he has to stay home as he was hurt in a fight a night before:

- (10.26) oos bi-mona-do maka-ni-di-^{OPRED} [oos
 2sg this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS walk-NEG.ATT-LK-2sg 2sg
 fuiri-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 positive 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 his son:

- (10.27) a. gui-re-ñe-itì-kue^{PRED}
 eat-ATT-NEG-FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘I won’t be able to eat.’ (says a child)
- b. gui-ni-tì-o!^{PRED}
 eat-NEG.ATT-FUT.LK-2sg
 ‘You won’t be able to eat!’ (the elder corrects his son)

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 §3.1.3 and §9.1 on verb-like and noun-like functions of adjectives and their ‘temporal’ vs. ‘timeless property’ semantics). (10.28-29) below are examples of the adjective *rozi-* ‘cold’ and *ebi-* ‘nice’ followed by the negative attribution marker *-ni*:

- (10.28) *bi-rui-do* *rozi-ni-d-e_{PRED}*
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY-INS cold-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘It isn’t cold today (lit. not having the property of being cold).’
- (10.29) [*nai-mie* *rai-ya*]_s *ebi-ni-d-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M talk-E.NMLZ nice-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘What he says is not amusing (lit. his saying doesn’t have the property of being nice).’

Those examples can be compared with the adjective *kaïma-* ‘tasty’ followed by the positive attributive *-re* in (10.30):

- (10.30) [*bi-e* *yiki-ai*]_s *eo* *kaïma-re-d-e_{PRED}*
 this.CTS-CLF:G fish-PL very tasty-ATT-LK-3
 ‘This fish is tasty (lit. having the property of being tasty).’

Occasionally, *ebi-ni-d-e* (nice-NEG.ATT-LK-3) ‘not nice, amusing’, as in (10.29), can also be negated with the standard negative marker *-ñe* following the positive attributive *-re*. Uses such as *ebi-re-ñe-d-e* (nice-ATT-NEG-LK-3) for ‘not nice, amusing’ are characteristic of the speech of young Murui, and are considered to be incorrect by Murui elders.

Murui does not have a separate verb meaning ‘have’. As shown in (10.19), identity in Murui can be expressed by intransitive predicates with nominal heads. This is further illustrated in (10.31a-b):

- (10.31) a. *uru-e-di-kue_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G-LK-1sg
 ‘I am a child.’
- b. *uru-e-ñe-di-kue_{PRED}*
 child-CLF:G-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I am not a child (lit. I am non-child).’

The expression of possession in the language is similar to that of identity in that nouns function as intransitive predicates. Such predicatively functioning nouns are marked with the positive 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 positive attributive *-re* with the standard negative marker *-ñe*.

Compare (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* *terefono-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 ‘headless’ 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 generic classifier *-e*, see §3.3.4). This is similar in (10.38) to the function of the ‘headless’ nominal modifier formed with the demonstrative *bi-* ‘this’ followed by the generic classifier *-e*.

- (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]Cl:Comp: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-kos* *i-ñe-na-no*]Cl:Comp: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’ve brought 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-3
 ‘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.’

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) its scope extends over the complement clause. 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*]_{Cl:Comp:O} *kio-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC 2sg exist-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP see-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘I didn’t see that you were in this place.’

- (10.47) *uiño-ti-kue*_{PRED} [*oo jaai-ñe-na-na*]_{Cl:Comp: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*]_{Cl:Comp: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 their 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 marking.

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 §2.4). 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 diga] 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 (10.51), a girl was inquiring about her uncle; she asked her cousin if he was making a canoe at the moment of speaking. 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 (and 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-mo_{LOC} fiebi-ñe-no!^{PRED} [kai 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 home! You do not want to go with us? (Yes or no?)’

B. NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE CLAUSES USED FOR 3rd PERSON WITHOUT PREDICATE MARKERS – structures of predicates referring to 3rd person present a peculiarity – the omission of predicate markers. They are used exclusively for 3rd 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 (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 Lucio to his wife Clementina. Clementina asked Lucio where he left the basket with fruit he brought in the morning.

(10.54) anane-ko-mo_{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 3rd person singular, dual, and plural (see §11.2). Positive interrogatives with the omitted predicate markers have the same ‘yes or no?’ readings as those which bear such markers. An example of a positive interrogative with omitted predicate markers is given in (10.58):

(10.58) motos boo?_{PRED}
 motor.Sp burn
 ‘Is the motor burning? (Yes or no?)’

If the answer to the negative question is negative, the independent word *jhi* 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 positive attributive *-re* is followed by the standard negative *-ñe*, cf. examples (10.27a), (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 out 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 it does occasionally occur. Example (10.62) comes from the negated declarative clause ‘it’s not a house’; the head of the negated predicate is the noun *jofo* ‘house’, 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 example (10.63), Maria asked Flor if Adam had children. Compare the semantics of (10.63) with that of (10.64) which takes the predicate marking:

- (10.63) Adams 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 2nd person, and are marked on verbs by the standard negative *-ñe* obligatorily followed by the privative *-no*. With adjectives and nouns, such structures have no prohibitive reading. 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) ñaaí-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 íbai-ñe-no!_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come door close-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Come here! Do not close the door!’

Negative imperatives, just as the positive ones, refer only to 1st and 2nd person (see also §11.1). An example of a negative imperative used for 2nd person plural is illustrated in (10.68):

- (10.68) [omoi miri-ño-ni-no] gui-ni-dí-omoi!_{PRED} gui-ñe-no!_{PRED}
 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 §2.4). 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) maiji-ñe-no bi-ti-kue_{PRED}
 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 of such clauses. The prohibitive might have been a command strategy at first. That is, the privative 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), which the privative does not have. The privative has a normal declarative intonation.

Murui negative imperatives express fewer categories than their positive counterparts.²⁷⁶ While positive imperatives can take all aspectual markers and make distinction between ‘delayed’ vs. ‘immediate’ imperative, prohibitives make no such 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) *fuirĩ* *jaai-do=za* [*kue nokae*]_o *mai-no-kai!*_{PRED}
 downstream go-LK.2sg=UNCERT 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 this.CTS-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.²⁷⁷ This is illustrated in (10.72) where a woman ‘gave an order’ to a pot of soup she just cooked not to get cold:

²⁷⁶ 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.

²⁷⁷ There is no difference between positive and negative imperatives with adjectives – all types of adjectives have to take the ‘become’ markers to occur in imperative constructions.

- (10.72) *rozi-nai-ñe-no!*_{PRED}
 cold-BECOME₁-NEG-PRIV.PROH
 ‘Do not get cold!’

Structurally, this is somewhat similar to negated apprehensive (see §7.2.3.1) (negated apprehensive is rarely used). (10.73) is a warning by an elder to a boy who wanted to go to the jungle on his own:

- (10.73) *jaki-nai-ñe-iza!*_{PRED}
 scared-BECOME₁-NEG-APPR
 ‘Be careful with not getting scared!’ (meaning: get scared)

Constructions with the standard negative *-ñe* followed by *-no* which do not involve such suffixes are not considered to have prohibitive meanings. In (10.74), the adjective *uzi-* ‘hot’ is marked with the negative attributive followed by the privative *-ni*. The meaning of *uzinino* does not have command-like connotations.

- (10.74) *uzi-ni-no* *bee-i-d-e*_{PRED}
 hot-NEG.ATT-PRIV toast-LK-3
 ‘He is toasting (coca leaves), without (the baking tin) being hot.’

(10.75) was uttered by a daughter to her mother. Note that in this example, the positive 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 §10.2.5 further in this chapter.

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 marking.²⁷⁸ 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. Examples are given below:

(10.76) [oo ini]_{vcs} mano-ri-rai-ma=*di*]_{vcc}
 2sg husband heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:DR.M=S/A.TOP
 ‘Your husband is a shaman (lit. your husband - healer).’

(10.77) buu_{vcs} [bai-e ïïï-ma?]_{vcc}
 Q1 that.CTS-CLF:G man-CLF:DR.M
 ‘Who is that man? (lit. who - this man)’

(10.78) [bi-e kiri-gai]_{vcs} jea-gai_{vcc}
 this.CTS-CLF:G basket-CLF:BASKET ugly-CLF:BASKET
 ‘This is an ugly basket (lit. this basket - ugly (basket)).’

To negate a verbless clause and to express it the future tense, former VCC’s have to function as head of an intransitive predicate. This is illustrated in (10.79-80). Compare (10.76) above with (10.79) below. To negate the verbless clause expressing identity with the noun in the non-S function in (10.76) becomes a head of an intransitive predicate in (10.79), and to be negated, it is followed by the negation marker *-ñe* and further predicate marking. This is similar in (10.80):

(10.79) [oo ini]_s mano-ri-rai-ma-ñe-d-_ePRED
 2sg husband heal-DUR-AGT-CLF:PR.M-NEG-LK-3
 ‘Your husband is not a shaman (lit. your husband is non-shaman).’

(10.80) [bai-e kiri-gai]_s mare-gai-ñe-d-_ePRED
 that-CLF:G basket-CLF:BASKET good.ATT-CLF:BASKET-NEG-LK-3
 ‘That is not a good basket (lit. that basket – non-good-basket).’

²⁷⁸ VCC cannot be marked by the usual topical non-S/A subject marker *-na* but can occur with the topical S/A subject marker *=di*.

In verbless clauses expressing possession and benefaction, VCC's are possessive phrases which are either left unmarked, as in (10.81), or marked with the genitive *-ie*, as illustrated in (10.82):

(10.81) [bai-e ra-be-niḡi]vcs [Pedro jito ie]vcc
 that.FSH-CLF:G thing-CLF:LEAF-CLF:PLAIN.THICK Pedro son CONN
 '(The) book is Pedro's son('s). OR (The) book is for Pedro's son('s).'

(10.82) [bi-e mare jiko]vcs kue-ievcc
 this.CTS-CLF:G good.ATT dog 1sg-GEN
 'This good dog is mine.'

To negate such verbless clauses the VCC element must function as head of the predicate, as in (10.83-85):

(10.83) [bi-e jo-fo aare-ko]NP:S oo-ie-ñe-d-ePRED
 this.CTS-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV long-CLF:COVER 2sg-GEN-NEG-LK-3
 'This long house is not yours (lit. this long house non-yours).'

(10.84) ie-ñe-d-ePRED
 CONN-NEG-LK-3
 'It's not (lit. non-that).'

(10.85) kue-ie-ñe-iti-OPRED
 1sg-GEN-NEG-FUT.LK-2sg
 'You will not be mine (lit. non-mine you will be).'

10.2.5 Clausal negation with the privative case marker

NP's that function as arguments (nouns and nominalized verbs and adjectives) take the negative attributive marker *-ni*, always followed by privative case marker *-no*. An NP marked this way has then the privative meaning 'without', as illustrated in (10.86-88) (see also §6.2.2.5 on the privative case marker):

(10.86) [kue jiza-nino] erai-mo_{LOC} bi-ti-kue_{PRED} [ira-re-na
 1sg daughter-NEG.ATT.PRIV estuary-LOC come-LK-1sg sick-ATT-E.NMLZ
 jira-ri] kue_S ati-ñe-ga_{PRED}
 REASON-BENEF.CAUS 1sg bring-NEG-PASS
 'I came to El Encanto (lit. the estuary) without my daughter. I didn't bring her because she was sick.'

(10.87) [kue ini]_S [kue jito]_O ui-ga_{PRED} ie jira
 1sg husband 1sg son take.away-PASS CONN REASON
 jito-ni-no i-ti-kue_{PRED}
 son-NEG.ATT-PRIV exist-LK-1sg
 ‘My husband took my son away and that’s why I live without my son.’

(10.88) mairi-ki-ni-no bi-t-e_{PRED}
 strong-CLF:INHER-NEG.ATT-PRIV come-LK-3
 ‘He came without strength.’

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:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP thing-CLF:STICK-NEG.ATT-PRIV
 ki-o-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)’.²⁷⁹ *Maraiñede* is the only occurrence of the standard negative-*ñe* which triggers an unusual phonological (and possibly

²⁷⁹ Murui has no word for ‘bad’. *Maraiñede* ‘(it’s) not good’ is the nearest approximation of the English ‘bad’, the antonym of ‘good’.

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.

10.3.1 Negative answers

Murui lacks independent positive and negative words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’.²⁸⁰ The language has three ways to respond to positive and negative questions. They involve:

- the interjection *j#i* 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 interjection *j#i* can be interpreted as some type of agreement rather than a full-fledged positive or negative response item. Examples (10.90-91) illustrate the reading of *j#i*, 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. j#i!
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

(10.91) a. irai bono-ñe-di-o?_{PRED}
 fire burn.SMLF-LK-2sg
 ‘Didn’t you set the fire?’

b. j#i!
 no
 ‘No.’

²⁸⁰ Murui has also an independent positive response form *iji* ‘uh-huh/yes’ used by hearers and speakers mainly as a type of an acknowledgment during narration of traditional stories.

Frequently, as an answer to a negative question, as in (15.91a), the independent word *jii* is emphasized, the predicate has a slightly higher pitch, and the expression is accompanied by a firm headshake. A negative answer can also be a full clause. (10.92-93) could 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 interjection *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) *Katas* *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.’

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-1sg*
 ‘No! I don’t have children.’

The young speakers of Murui negate the ‘positive possession’ expressed with the positive attributive *-re* with the standard negative *-ñe*, as in (10.103a-b). The elders consider this to be incorrect. Once a Murui elder Lucio asked Walter whether he had a boat motor. Walter answered with (10.103a). Lucio corrected him with (10.103b):

- (10.103) a. W: *jii!* *moto-re-ñe-di-kue*_{PRED}
no *motor-ATT-NEG-LK-1sg*
 ‘No, I don’t have the motor.’
- b. 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 content words *buu* ‘who’ and *bu-e* (Q₁-CLF:G) ‘what’ that are used in content questions (see §3.3.4 and §11.2.1) can have indefinite readings. If the sentence contains a negative predicate, their meaning is ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’; if the predicate’s polarity is ‘positive’, they mean ‘someone’ and ‘something’. 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 La.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 (10.107), which comes from 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 request-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 (10.108-109):

(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’.

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’ (for which *j#* is used). Question words can function as indefinites. Their positive and negative readings depend on the predicate’s polarity.

11 Commands and questions

Statements, questions, and commands constitute the three main types of speech acts.

Declarative, interrogative, and imperative are the most common sentence types (also referred to as a system of mood) that are used for expressing the main speech acts. Many languages employ specific structures for these: declarative mood is used for statements, imperative for commands, and interrogative for questions (Dixon, 2012: 376):

SPEECH ACT	GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY
statement	declarative (or indicative)
command	imperative
question	interrogative

This chapter discusses Murui commands (§11.1) and questions (§11.2) (see also §12.1 on Murui sentence types). This is followed by a brief summary in §11.3.

11.1 Commands – general characteristics

Imperative always implies a command to 2nd person, the addressee. Such addressee-oriented ‘canonical’ imperatives stand apart from other verbal forms Murui (discussed in §11.1.1).

Imperatives may be oriented towards 1st person, and are referred to as ‘non-canonical’ (hortative) imperatives (Aikhenvald, 2010) (§11.1.2). The language has no commands to 3rd person. The usage of imperative forms is very common among the Murui, much more common than the usage of command strategies (§11.1.4). Responses to commands are the topic of §11.1.3.

Murui imperatives are either marked with a suffix or they can be expressed by plain verbal roots without any marking. Imperative forms can have special features such as distinct intonation (sharply rising-falling intonation) and facial expressions (stern looks, especially

among the elders who in public rarely utter prohibitives 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 contours 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	‘did he come?’
imperative	B3. ʔʔbii!	come	‘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)* ‘request’, *jikano(te)* ‘ask’, *jitai(de)* ‘need, want, desire’, and *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 2nd person, belong to one verbal paradigm. They consist a verbal root that can be followed by the imperative suffix *-no* (with the allomorph *-ño* when a root ends with the high front vowel /i/, see §2.5). 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’, *fñebi!* ‘stay’, *boyi!* ‘urinate!’.²⁸¹ 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 fñi-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. Three monosyllabic verbs have irregular forms for the 2nd person commands that do not take the otherwise obligatory imperative marker. Those are: *bii!* ‘come’, *ii!* ‘exist! (meaning ‘be!’)’, and *jaai!* ‘go!’. One form, *ine!* ‘give!’, contains the formative *-ne* (cf. *ii!* ‘exist’). This is illustrated in (11.2) with the irregular form of the verb *bii!* ‘come!’, the disyllabic verb *kano!* ‘help’ is a verbal 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_{IO} kano!_{PRED}
 HERE.LOC:NSP come 1pl help
 ‘(You) come here! Help us!’

- (11.3) uri ii!_{PRED} gui-ño!_{PRED}
 calm exist 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):²⁸²

- (11.4) mai oos jaai!_{PRED}
 LET 2sg go
 ‘You go, off you go!’

²⁸¹ Canonical imperatives consisting of just a root are quite common cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald, 2010).

²⁸² When the adverb *mai* can occur on its own in discourse, it is better translated as ‘fine, right’.

Pragmatically, those Murui imperatives that consist of verbal roots, and those that are marked with imperative *-no* indicate compliance after some time, and have delayed imperative-like 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 §7.3), as in (11.7). Roots followed by directional markers are considered by the speakers to have ‘stronger’ meanings (see further in this section).

(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 wash.ANDTV
‘You wash! (...) GO wash!’

In Murui canonical imperatives, the 2nd person singular pronoun *oo* is often not stated. It is present if the speaker wants to draw extra attention of the hearer, as in (11.7) above. If the imperative is directed to 2nd person dual and plural, overt pronouns are usually present (unless the plurality of referents is very salient in the context). This is shown in (11.8):

(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 inchoative markers meaning ‘become’ (slot 2 on the adjective, see Scheme 3.3 in §3.1.3), e.g. *uzi-nai!*

(hot-BECOME₁) ‘warm up!’ (see §9.1). Murui allows the imperative formation with most of the verbs indicating states as in *raai!* ‘sit!’. However, not all verbs can occur in the imperative constructions without a further derivation. For instance, the verb *boo(de)* ‘burn’ can only be expressed in an imperative form when it is followed by the semelfactive *-no*, as in *bo-no!* (burn-SMLF) ‘set fire, burn!’.²⁸³

Murui has a marker *-kai* which co-occurs with the imperative suffix.²⁸⁴ It has a unique meaning – it has immediate imperative-like meaning. The marker *-kai* indicates urgency and expectation of an immediate response. Examples are given in (11.9-11):

(11.9) [oo moo dine]_{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 become.evening-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!’

Such forms cannot co-occur with adverbs such as ‘slowly’. For instance, *jaaiñokai* ‘go quickly’ from example (11.9) cannot be followed by the adverb *feekuize* ‘slowly’. The marker of rapid action *-kai* is special in that it obligatorily derives imperative forms from

²⁸³ It is possible that verbs with stative meanings or low agentivity of the S/A argument might not be used in imperative imperatives. This requires further investigation.

²⁸⁴ Elsewhere on the verbal structure, the marker *-kai* has inceptive meanings (see §7.2.2.5). The marker of rapid action *-kai* and the inceptive *-kai* are different types of markers that occur in different slots on the verb.

irregular verbs. That is, verbs which have irregular imperative forms cannot occur with the imperative *-no* unless they take *-kai*, as illustrated in (11.12):

- (11.12) *bii!* (come) ‘come’ (irregular form)
bii-ño-kai (come-IMP-RAPID) ‘come quickly!’
 **bii-ño!* (come-IMP)
 **bii-kai!* (come-RAPID)

There is no dedicated negative counterpart of the canonical imperative. There is a single prohibitive form for all negative imperatives, which are expressed on the verb by the standard negative *-ñe* followed by the privative marker *-no*; such constructions have prohibitive readings (see also §10.2.3 on negative imperatives). Negative imperatives show no delayed–immediate imperative distinction. An example of a negative imperative is given in (11.13):

- (11.13) *uai-ñe-no*_{OPRED} *oo-ie-ñe-d-e=za*_{PRED}
 get.ANDTV-NEG-PRIV.PROH 2sg-GEN-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘Don’t take (lit. get it) away! It’s not yours.’

Canonical imperatives display variation in their ‘strength’. The imperatives which are expressed by verbal roots, followed by the imperative *-no*, and aspectual markers, are considered to be the ‘weakest’ in their strength. Those which occur with imperative, directional, and rapid action markers are understood as more coercive. A brief overview Murui canonical imperatives and their ‘strength’ is given in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2 Examples of Murui canonical imperative and their strength

VERBAL ROOT, OR VERBAL ROOT FOLLOWED BY THE IMPERATIVE MARKER	ASPECTUAL MARKERS	DIRECTIONAL MARKERS	IMPERATIVE, RAPID ACTION MARKER	IMPERATIVE, DIRECTIONAL, AND RAPID ACTION MARKERS
joko! wash 'wash!' gui-ño! eat-IMP 'eat!'	joko-ri! wash-DUR 'keep washing!'	gui-zaibi! eat-VENTV 'come to eat!' gui-zai! eat-ANDTV 'go 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!'



- coercive, weaker

coercive, stronger +

11.1.2 Murui non-canonical imperatives

Murui has hortative imperative forms for 1st person but it lacks jussive (those for 3rd person).

Murui hortatives lack abrupt meaning, and 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 1st person dual and plural pronouns. The hortative 'let's' construction consists of either a verbal root or a verbal root followed by the dedicated

imperative *-no*, and, as such it belongs to the same paradigm as the canonical imperative (cf. §11.1.1). An example is given in (11.14). Usually, the hortative of this kind 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
 ‘Let’s (us two female) gather here.’

(11.15) *kiifo! ooi! mai kokos jenuai-ri!_{PRED}*
 honey wife’s.husband.VOC LET 1du.m search.for.ANDTV-DUR
 ‘A bee hive! Brother-in-law! We go away to search for (a bee hive)!’

Sporadically, the hortative can be used for the 1st person singular. In (11.16) the elder Lucio was talking to himself, considering whether he should attend a dance ritual he has been invited to the other day:

(11.16) *yo-ga-kue-za_{PRED} mai kues feeiñuai!_{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 of the hortative ‘let’s’ with verbal markers, including aspectual and spatial markers, as well as the rapid action *-kai* and the causative. 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 *finuai* ‘go make’ with the andative marker is therefore considered to be a ‘stronger’ suggestion.

(11.17) *noka-e-nao 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 obligatorily 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-mas 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 – an overview

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 ‘(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 ‘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) ‘*pelikula_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!’

The hortative ‘strong let’s’ construction is available only for 1st person dual and plural; it is never used for the 1st person singular. Examples (11.21-22) show the hortative ‘strong let’s’ with the dual masculine and feminine pronouns.

- (11.21) naga-za jai ro-t-e_{PRED} mai kokos ro-yi!_{!PRED}
 EACH-CLF:IMMAT already sing-LK-3 LET 1du.m sing-LETS
 ‘Every child has already sung. Let’s (us, two men) sing as well!’

- (11.22) yiki-zi-nao mai kaiñais roko-yi!_{!PRED}
 fish-CLF:MEAT-N.S/A.TOP LET 1du.f cook-LETS
 ‘Let’s (us, two females) cook the meat of fish.’

The hortative ‘strong let’s’ is a rarely occurring construction in Murui. It never seems to occur with any other verbal morphology.

Similarly to Murui canonical imperatives, depending on the type of hortative construction, non-canonical imperatives display a variation in how strong the encouragement/suggestion is. This is shown in Table 11.4. Additionally, the hortative ‘let’s’ can vary in its ‘strength’ depending on the type of additional marker verbs occurs with (such as directional markers, cf. Table 11.3).

Table 11.4 Murui non-canonical imperative and their strength

HORTATIVE ‘let’s’	HORTATIVE ‘strong let’s’
(mai) kai joko! _{!PRED} LET 1pl wash ‘let’s wash!’	(mai) kai joko-yi! _{!PRED} LET 1pl wash-LETS ‘LET’S wash!’



- encouragement, weaker

encouragement, stronger +

11.1.3 Responses to commands and commands at a distance

There is no standard response to a command in Murui. It is perhaps most common to reply in kind. For instance, to respond to the command *gui-ño!* ‘eat!’ one frequently says *gui-ti-kue* (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).²⁸⁵ 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}
 grandparent-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 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 dance rituals. They are also used for calling from a distance, especially those calls that involve shouted commands. Such calls are always accompanied by the special type of rising intonation contour (of the type C, see Table 11.1 and §2.4). Examples (11.24-25) show imperatives constructions used for calling from a distance:

- (11.24) *jadi-eo* [*jo-fo* *jerei-mo*]_{LOC} *oo_A* *jooʔniiii!*_{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)!’

²⁸⁵ The meaning of *jii* depends on the 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_o gui-ye_A 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 a sort of directive one answers to promptly; it serves as a weak command. Bare nouns seem to be highly elliptical directives, with omitted verb. For instance, shouting *di-o-kai!* (tobacco-CLF:STEM) ‘cigarette’ when entering maloca at night, wanting to

be given a cigarette. The usual way is to ask *dio-kai kue ine!* (tobacco-CLF:STEM 1sg give) ‘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 2nd person where the linker and the pronominal subject markers are fused, and those used for 1st and 2nd person with fully inflected verbs.

C1. FULLY INFLECTED VERB AND REDUCED LINKER – such constructions have overtones of kind advice when offering a delicate suggestion. They are used for the 2nd person singular, dual, and plural, and are usually expressed with an intonation of a question. The syllabic structure of the pronominal subject markers are reduced: *-dio* > *-do* and *-tio* > *-to*, as in *atido* ‘bring’ in (11.28):

(11.28) reei-eo 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 1st and 2nd 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...! ñee [kue diga] jaziki-mo_{LOC} rauai-ti-_{OPRED}
 son FILLER 1sg WITH forest-LOC hunt.ANDTV-LK-2sg
 ‘Grandchild, you will go with me to the forest to hunt.’

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).²⁸⁶ There are two types of command strategies with fully inflected verbs cast in future tense: those used for 2nd person where the linker and the pronominal subject markers are fused and used for 1st and 2nd 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 stronger type of suggestion. The pronominal subject marker on the verb is reduced *-t̄io* > *-to*, as in (11.30):

(11.30) bene_{LOC} iñi-ito_{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 home and watch other children while she would go away. Her utterances are casted in the future tense:

(11.31) kue_S [Ismael=dine]_{LOC} jaai-di-kue=za_{PRED} oo_S jo-fo-mo_{LOC}
 1sg Ismael=AT.LOC:NSP go-LK-1sg=UNCERT 2sg house-CLF:CAV-LOC
 iiti-_{OPRED} uru-iaio zada-iti-_{OPRED} ni-ne uri
 exist.FUT.LK-2sg child-CLF:G.PL take.care-FUT.LK-2sg Q₂-LOC:NSP calm
 jaai-ñe-iti-omo_{IPRED} 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 Ismael’s, you WILL stay home. You WILL watch the children.
 You (plural) WILL not go anywhere. You (plural) WILL stay home quietly. Do
 you understand?’

²⁸⁶ 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 <i>-ye</i>	both	impersonal, indirect, stern	–
E2. VERBAL ROOT FOLLOWED BY THE FUTURE EVENT NOMINALIZER <i>-ye</i> AND EMPHATIC MARKER <i>-za</i>	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, 2010a: 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 for them (i.e. different intonation patterns, presence of a tag, and special kind of morphological elisions). Murui interrogative content words are discussed in §3.3.4.

From the phonological point of view polar and content questions have a distinct

intonation.²⁸⁷ Generally, Murui has three intonation types: *falling* (A) for declarative sentences, *rising-falling* (B) for questions and commands, and *rising intonation* (C) for calling from a 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.²⁸⁸ Polar questions differ from content questions in the optionality of verbal marking for 3rd person. Murui tag questions are characterized by the 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 content word (Dixon, 2012: 400). Generally, interrogative content words specify a part of the proposition for which specific knowledge is sought (see §3.3.4). In Murui, an interrogative content word 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

²⁸⁷ 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).

²⁸⁸ This is the case in many languages. As 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”.

(11.34) where 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 content word followed by a fall (see intonation contour B1 in §2.4). This is illustrated in (11.36):

(11.36) *bi-e_{VCS}* ↗↗**bu-*ʌ*e?**_{VCC}
 this.CTS-CLF:G Q₁-CLF:G
 ‘What is this (lit. this – what)?’

There is the same kind of intonation pattern as in negated content questions. An interrogative content 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-*ʌ*rui-do** *ñaiños* *riit-e?_{PRED}*
 Q₂-CLF: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 (beside the absence of the interrogative content 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 content 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-m_{LOC} uzu-mas ↗↗jaai-ɲd-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-m_{LOC} ↗↗gui-ɲñe-di-o?_{PRED}
hungry-BECOME₂-LK-2sg jungle.garden-LOC eat-NEG-LK-2sg
‘You are hungry, you didn’t eat at the jungle garden?’

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 3rd 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 characterized 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.²⁸⁹ 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} ↗↗e↘rua?
 this.CTS-CLF:PR.M Pedro first-CLF.REP:SON son see.really
 ‘This is Pedro’s first son, isn’t it?’

(11.41) ies jarire fui-t-e_{IPRED} ↗↗u↘a?
 CONN quick.ATT finish-LK-CLF:G really
 ‘It’s finished quickly, hasn’t it?’

The origin of *erua* is likely to be the nominalized *eru-a* (see-E.NMLZ) ‘seeing’ (cf. the verb *ero(de)* ‘see’). However, the two tag words can also be used in contexts where ‘seeing’ is not involved:²⁹⁰

(11.42) [ziyi-na jaziki-mo ñai-a-na]_o kaka-di-_{OPRED} 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-_{IPRED} ↗↗eru↘a?
 Pedro canoe-INS go-NEG-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘You did not go by Pedro’s canoe, didn’t you?’

²⁸⁹ Elsewhere in the language the free form *ua* is an intensifier (see §3.3.1). *Erua* does not have such a function.

²⁹⁰ 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 final element in the alternative question is always a negated verb, with rising-falling intonation. This is illustrated in (11.44-46):

(11.44) Pedros_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_{OPRED} 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). 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). See (3.99) in §3.3.4 for an example of an exclamative sentence containing *buu-ka* (Q1-FOC).

- (11.47) *nii-ka raifi-ya*_{PRED} [nai-e dine]_{LOC} erua?
 Q2-FOC have.value-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 focused 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) *ñaiños jo-fo-mo*_{LOC} i-t-*e*_{PRED}
 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. Examples are given in (11.50-51):

- (11.50) Question: *uzu-ños 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: **ji!**
 ‘No.’
- Answer 2: **ji!** **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-ti-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-ti-o?_{PRED} uzu!
 Q2-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-2sg grandfather.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 for a visit, a visitor always states that they have come to visit, as in

(11.53), and, often, gives a reason for their arrival, as in (11.54):

(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 (around, from house to house, visiting people).’

When a visitor is entering the house, it is polite to offer them a place to sit or lie down, and something to eat or drink. The last who receives them, then always says (11.55-57):

(11.55) *beno-mo* *raai-di*-*o*_{PRED} *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
 ‘Sit down! (Go) eat!’

(11.57) *beno* *fii*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE lie.in.hammock
 ‘(You) lie down in a hammock here!’

When meeting on the path in the forest, people greet each other by saying:

(11.58) *beno-na* *jaai~jai-kai-di-o?*_{PRED}
 HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-N.S/A.TOP go~RED-INCP-LK-2sg
 ‘Are you going (and going) here?’

In such situations, one usually answers:

(11.59) *benoi*²⁹¹-*kai-di-kue*_{PRED}
 go.here-INCP-LK-2sg
 ‘I am going through here.’

²⁹¹ The verbal root *benoi-* might be related to 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.

The following example is used when leaving as a kind of ‘goodbye’. A person always bids farewell in the same way, that is by saying (11.60):

(11.60) jai jaai-di-kue_{PRED}
 already go-LK-1sg
 ‘I go already.’

11.3 Summary

While the declarative is the formally and functionally unmarked sentence type in Murui; the imperative is formally and functionally marked. The interrogative is formally unmarked, but functionally marked. Murui imperatives are either marked with a suffix or 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.

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 certain special 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.²⁹² 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.

²⁹² 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, 2010).

12.1.1 Declarative

The most frequent clause type is the declarative (affirmative). This is the ‘default’ (functionally unmarked) clause type in the language. Similarly 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 in 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 §6.1-2). 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 (either unmarked or marked with the locative, ablative, benefactive-causal, instrumental, or privative, see §6.2.2). Another 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.’

Nouns and ‘headless’ nominal modifiers formed with adjectives can head an intransitive predicate. This is illustrated below with an adjective in (12.2), a noun in (12.3), and a ‘headless’ nominal modifier in (12.4) used as heads of an intransitive predicate:

(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 ‘headless’ nominal modifiers as heads are akin to verbless clauses expressing identity (see further in this section).

B. EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES OF LOCATION, POSSESSION, AND E – 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 the 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 a similar fashion to an intransitive predicate. Compare (12.5) with a negated intransitive predicate with an adjective as head in (12.6):

(12.5) erai=d_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*_{EPRED}
 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 occurs 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*_{LOC} *i-t-e*_{EPRED}
 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*_{LOC} [*da-za uru-e*]_S *i-t-e*_{EPRED}
 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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs as their predicates. Murui ambitransitive verbs can be used in both intransitive and transitive clauses (see §3.1.2). In both types of clauses, the S/A argument of the verb can be marked with the topical S/A subject marker *=di* (see §6.2.1.2 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 ‘headless’ nominal modifier *naie* ‘that’ takes the topical non-S/A subject marker *-na*:

- (12.10) *nai-e-nao kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e*_{EPRED} *aki...*
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP listen.TH-DES-NEG-LK-3 AUDIT
 ‘She doesn’t want to listen to that...’

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 ambitransitive and strictly transitive verbs can be passivized. The constituent order in transitive clauses follows the overall AOV tendency (see §6.3).

D. EXTENDED TRANSITIVE CLAUSES contain a strictly transitive verb with transitive subject (S) and two transitive objects (O) and (E) as core arguments. Similarly to transitive clauses, strictly transitive 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 take the second O NP (Recipient/Addressee) marked with the dative/locative *-mo*. An example of an extended transitive clause is given in (12.12) where the O NP argument is gift *guiye* ‘food’ and the second (extended) argument is recipient *gato* ‘cat’:

- (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 for covering identity and equation, attribution, and possession.²⁹³ 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 are expressed via juxtaposition.²⁹⁴ VCS and VCC arguments do not bear any distinctive marking (i.e. VCC cannot be marked by the usual O NP marking). The preferred order for the constituents in verbless clauses is generally VCS – VCC (carried

²⁹³ Cross-linguistically, such meanings are typically associated with copula clauses, see (Dixon, 2010a: 160).

²⁹⁴ This is a feature also of many Arawak languages (Aikhenvald, 2012: 329). Murui has no copula verb.

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.

Additionally, imperative markers do not occur in verbless clauses. 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 moneky).'

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 often expressed through verbless clauses with adjectives functioning as ‘headless’ nominal modifiers (see §9.1). 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* *aare-ñaiño*_{VCC}
 1sg very long-CLF:PR.F
 ‘I am very tall (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*_{EPRED}
 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* 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).

(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 to have benefactive meanings, as (12.22), where the VCC is marked with the topical non-S/A subject *-na*. Under negation, a possessive NP functions as a head of a negated intransitive predicate, as in (12.23):

(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.’

- (12.23) bai-e_s [naiño ie]-ñe-d-e_{PREP}
 that.FSH-CLF:G CLF:FR.F CONN-NEG-LK-3
 ‘That is not (for her) hers.’

12.1.2 Interrogative

Interrogative clauses have a typical rising-falling intonation (§2.4) as well as special properties available to them (see the optionality of verbal marking for 3rd person in polar questions in §11.2.2). Polar questions do not contain interrogative content 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; the value depends on the 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 verbal 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 – the prohibitive (see §10.2.3). Imperatives express fewer grammatical meanings than do the corresponding declaratives and interrogatives (such as the tense distinction). 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-m_o:ADDRESSEE* *i-ti-kue_{PRED}*
 this.CTS-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP 2pl-LOC give-LK-1sg
 ‘I give this to you (plural).’
- (12.25) *dio-go_i-na_o* *kue_o:ADDRESSEE* *ine!_{PRED}*
 tobacco-CLF-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give
 ‘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 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* (a form of *iadi* followed by the topical S/A subject marker =*di*), as in (12.29):

- (12.26) *kio-do!_{PRED}* *mai_i-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-nia_i_o* *da-ño* *ro-t-e_{PRED}* *Polaco-do* *ni-nia_i_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_i_o* *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* *diga*] *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. But they said “We really arrived at 8pm”.’

- (12.29) *jai* *eo* *aare* *ñai-ti-kue*_{PREL} ***iade=di*** *maquina-mo*
 already very long speak-LK-1sg but=S/A.TOP machine.Sp-LOC
*kaka-i-ñe-na*_{PREL}
 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 ‘so, even so’. Example (12.30) shows overlap with cause and result, followed by a purposive clause (marked with the future event nominalizer *-ye*):

- (12.30) *ki*_o-*do*_{PREL} *mai**ji*-*iti-kue*..._{PREL} ***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*_{PREL}
 hand-CLF:BUSHY inside 1sg lay.TH-FUT.N.NMLZ
 ‘Look! I will work to put something in the hands of the children.’

Iadi is a multifunctional form that can be used within a single clause (independently of it being coordinated). This is shown (12.31); the meaning of (12.31) is that of counter-expectation:

- (12.31) *nii-ka* *uzi-re-na*_{PREL} *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.²⁹⁵ 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 same verb is obligatorily used in both clauses. The linker *oo* occurs in the clause-initial position introducing the second clause. For example:

²⁹⁵ 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) $\text{jiibi-e}_{\text{O}}$ $\text{duuiti-mak}_{\text{IPRED}}$ oo $\text{du-ñe-iti-mak}_{\text{IPRED}}$
 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 independent clauses by means of dependent ones. 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 grammatical markers and postpositions within a dependent clause. 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 focusing on their morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties.

Murui clause linking constructions are summarized in Table 12.1 below.

Table 12.1 Murui (established) clause linking constructions

Semantic type	Subtype and meaning	Marker	Position of dependent clause (vs. independent clause)	Directly following verbal roots	Form	Same Subject/ Different Subject
A	A1. SEQUENTIAL	<i>-no</i>	initial, medial	no	event nominalization	SS
	A2. SEQUENTIAL COMPLETIVE	<i>-ta</i> <i>-da</i>	initial	yes	inflected verb	SS
B	B1. 'SAME TIME'	<i>-mo</i>	initial	no	inflected verb	SS/DS
	B2. 'TIME OF'	<i>fakai</i>	initial	no	event nominalization	SS/DS
C	C1. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY 'FROM'	<i>-mona</i>	initial	no	event nominalization	SS/DS
	C2. RELATIVE POSTERIORITY 'AFTER'	<i>=mei</i> <i>meino</i>	initial	no	inflected verb, event nominalization	SS
	C3. RELATIVE ANTERIORITY	<i>uiekodo</i>	initial	no	event nominalization	SS/DS
D	D. OVERLAP	<i>-kana</i>	initial, medial	yes	inflected verb	SS/DS
E	E1. CONDITIONAL (REAL)	<i>-ia</i>	initial	yes	inflected verb	SS/DS
	E2. CONDITIONAL (HYPOTETIC)	<i>-na</i>	initial	yes	inflected verb	SS/DS
F	F. PURPOSIVE	<i>-ye(-na)</i>	initial, final	yes	event nominalization	SS/DS
G	G1. REASON 'BECAUSE'	<i>jira</i>	initial, final	no	event nominalization	SS/DS
	G2. REASON 'FOR REASON'	<i>muidona</i>	initial, final	no	event nominalization	SS/DS
	G3. REASON 'IN NAME OF'	<i>mamedo</i> <i>mamekido</i>	initial, final	no	event nominalization	SS/DS

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:SPHERICAL-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-EMPH
 ‘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
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 markers *-ta* (following verbal roots) and *-da* (following verbal roots that take 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^{PREL} ua raire monoi-na kue=di*
 child-CLF:G cry~RED-E.NMLZ really fast.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-ñeiyena 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^{PREL}
 face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC go-NEG-LK-1sg
 ‘The child was crying (and crying). After having quickly given 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 examples (12.42-44). The subject of the verb in sequential completive clauses is the same as that of the following clause.

- (12.42) *yero-da jerei-mo joone-kai-da ini*
 jar-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT inside-LOC lay.TH-RAPID-SEQ.COMPL husband
mame-ki-do ui-zoi-d-e^{PREL}
 name-CLF:INHER-INS take.away-REM.HAB-LK-3
 ‘Having quickly put (it) inside the *tinaja* (an earthenware long jar), (she) took it away in the name of (her) husband.’
- (12.43) *ñai-ño-kai-da jaai-d-e^{PREL}*
 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-nao*
 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^{PREL}*
 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 allow 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_{PRD}
 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 independent clause in temporal perspective with regard to the dependent clause. They differ in terms of their semantics as well as their 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 7.1 in §7.1).²⁹⁶ The marker *-mo* is best translated as ‘when, while’, as in (12.46-47):

- (12.46) gairi-d-e-mo jiai-kinos rii-ya_{PRD}
 gather-LK-3-TEMP other-CLF:STORY arrive-E.NMLZ
 ‘While (the people) were gathering, another message arrived.’

- (12.47) kue_A fuma-di-kue-mo Eu_S bi-t-e_{PRD} ie-ra dane abido
 1sg smoke.Sp-LK-1sg-TEMP Eu come-LK-3 CONN-REASON ONCE AGAIN
 kue fuma-ta-ga_{PRD}
 1sg smoke.Sp-CAUS-PASS
 ‘While I was smoking, Eulogio came. And that’s the reason why I was made to smoke once 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_{PRD}
 path-INS go-LK-3-TEMP jaguar=S/A.TOP CONN grab-LK-3
 ‘While (she) was walking on the path, a jaguar grabbed her.’

²⁹⁶ 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*_{PRED}
 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 (12.46-48) 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 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*_{PRED} *ñai-ti-maki-mo*
 arrive-LK-1sg speak-LK-1pl-TEMP
 ‘I came when they were speaking.’ (the speaker imagines the situation)

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.²⁹⁷ 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*_{PRED} *nanao*
 take.communion.Sp-E.NMLZ time sing-E.NMLZ ALL
 ‘At the time of receiving communion (lit. time of receiving communion), she sung everything (all songs).’

²⁹⁷ The function of a nominalized verb in Murui is to background an action expressed by that verb (Wojtylak, 2018c).

(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 T3.22 and T5.18 in the Appendix.

- (12.52) ku_A Nofiko-mo_{LOC} i-ya fakai beno-mo_{LOC}
 1sg La.Chorrera-LOC exist-E.NMLZ time HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
ku_A bi-aka-di-ku_{PRED} [aki ku-kino]
 1sg come-DES-LK-1sg AUDIT 1sg-CLF:STORY
 ‘During my life (lit. living) in La Chorrera, I really wanted to come 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 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 NP typically precedes the main clause. Examples are given in (12.53-54):

- (12.53) jai-os aini-ya-mona nai-mie_A
 snake-CLF:FLEX bite-E.NMLZ-ABL ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
aidai-ma-nao jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 deformed-CLF:DR.M-N.S/A.TOP go-LK-3
 ‘From when (he) was bitten (lit. from 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_{OPRED}
 bother-MANNER-LK-2sg
 ‘A person stays a 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. These forms can be used interchangeably.

(12.55) *kue*_A *jaa* [*kue jito*]_S *ini-a=mei* *mai**ji*-*ai*-*ti*-*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**ri*-*ya=mei* *ñai**ño*_A *nai*-*mie*-*nao* *jee**iki*-*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 *mai**ji*-*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 *baai*-*d*-*e*_{PRED}
 CONN later ONCE exist-LK-1pl-TEMP 1sg mother die-LK-3
 ‘After this, when we were (together) once more, 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).²⁹⁸

(12.59) *kue*_S *jaai*-*aka*-*na* *uiekodo* *boy**iti*-*kue*_{PRED}
 1sg go-DES-E.NMLZ BEFORE urinate.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘Before wanting to leave, I will pee.’

D. CLAUSES OF OVERLAP *-kana* – clauses with *-kana* describe the length of time of an event expressed in the subordinate clause with regard to an event happening at the time of

²⁹⁸ That the primarily meaning of *uiekodo* here is in fact ‘in front’ is illustrated by the frequent phrase used when walking in the forest *uie-ko-do jaaiti-kue* (face-CLF:SPHERICAL-INS go.FUT.LK-1sg) ‘I will go up front.’

event/state described in the main clause. Semantically, an action expressed by a verb marked with *-kana* in the dependent clause is understood as part of the action of a verb of the main clause. Examples are given in (12.60-64):

- (12.60) maka-kana bi-ti-kue_{PRD} aare-na
 walk-OVERLAP come-LK-1sg far-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).’

Unlike other dependent clauses that include a fully inflected verb, clauses of ‘overlap’ 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 main verbs.

E. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES – Murui has two conditional constructions: those marked with *-ia* and those marked with *-na*.

E1. REAL 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-BECOME₂-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) dīo-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-OPRED
 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 lie.on.ground.TH-BODY-LK-1sg
 ‘When I get tired, I always lie 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) dee-i-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 kīkue-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 sugare.cane-CLF:STEM ANA.NSP-CLF:WATERY
 jiro-di-kue_{PRED}
 drink-LK-1sg
 ‘When my body is painful, I drink the sugar cane juice.’

- (12.74) *kue uru-e-nia aiyo aigiro-na_o gui-zoi-di-kue_{PRED}*
 1sg child-CLF:G-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, 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 wet grass would be much easier than through dry grassland. This was during the rainy season during which 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. HYPOTETHICAL CONDITIONAL *-na* ‘if’ – clauses with *-na* are usually used for expressing statements about a hypothetical unreal situation, as illustrated in (12.76-77).²⁹⁹ 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.

- (12.76) *jaziki-mo_{LOC} bu-es kue-mo zuui-d-e-na*
 forest-LOC Q₁-CLF:G 1sg-LOC occur-LK-3-COND₂
Nofiko-mo_{LOC} jaai-di-kue-mo Elvers eo zuu-nai-t-e_{PRED}
 La.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.’

²⁹⁹ The topical non-S/A marker *-na* suggests that the conditional ‘if’ clauses are treated as topical in Murui (cf. Haiman (1978)). This is similar to Tariana (Arawak) (Aikhenvald, 2003b: 529-530).

- (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 an elder who was apologizing for not having come to a community meeting. (12.79) was uttered by a young woman who did not wish to have kids at a 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-CLF:G-ATT-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 had 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
rri-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 are marked with the future event nominalizer *-ye*, often followed by the topical non-S/A

marker *-na*.³⁰⁰ 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).³⁰¹ 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*³⁰² *kue*_A
 ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV-INS say-LK-3 2sg-ATTENTION niece.ENDEAR 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-es* *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 are fighting (and 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):

³⁰⁰ The use of *-na* in such context is reminiscent of Tariana purposive *-karu* followed by the topical *-nuku* (Aikhenvald, 2003b).

³⁰¹ The future event nominalizer *-ye* is also used as a command strategy (§11.1.4).

³⁰² The ‘derivational’ feminine animate classifier can be used as an endearment term for female referents, meaning ‘mother, daughter, sister, niece’. The masculine equivalent is the lexical noun *moo* ‘father’ also meaning ‘son, brother, nephew, etc.’.

- (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
 ruui-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 plant-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*).

- (12.87) ‘bai-e jiibi-e etu-ñei-ye-na oni
 that.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’, *mamedo* ‘in the name of’, and the noun *mame-ki-do* (name-CLF:INHER-INS) ‘in the name of, due to’.³⁰³

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) *abido 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
 ‘aa-ma!’ rei-t-e_{PRED}
 brother-CLF:DR.M say-LK-3
 ‘Somewhere (a bird) announced bad news once again. Because of (its) singing, once more *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* ‘getting 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 getting very cold (outside), he said: “Grandfather, grandfather! Calm yourself! I am your son!”.’

In 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):

³⁰³ 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-FUT-LK-1sg
 ‘For the reason of not understanding (lit. hearing), I will try once more.’ (regarding recording a narrative)

G2. CLAUSES OF REASON MARKED WITH POSTPOSITION *muidona* ‘for reason, because of, as a result’ – these are 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=dis fa-ga_{PRED} [kai muido-na]
 ANA.SP-S/A.TOP hit-PASS 1pl FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘He was punished because of us.’
- (12.94) [[kue moo]_A kue_O zeda-ja muido-na]
 1sg father 1sg take.care-E.NMLZ FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP
komui-di-kue_{PRED}
 grow-LK-1sg
 ‘I lived because my father took care of me.’
- (12.95) jii! ie jiai! [ie-mo [ñaiño jĩnui]_O
 yes CONN too CONN-LOC CLF:PR.F water
jiro-i-aka-na muido-na [nai-e
 drink-EMPH-DES-E.NMLZ FOR.REASON-N.S/A.TOP ANA.SP-CLF:G
dine]_{LOC} rii-di-kañai_{PRED}
 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’, as in examples (12.96-97); cf. *mame-ki-do* (name-CLF:INHER-INS). In (12.97) *mamekido* occurs as an NP:

- (12.96) *nooi-ya* *mame-do* *bi-ti-kue*_{PRED}
 wash-E.NMLZ name-INS come-LK-1sg
 ‘I went there due to (lit. in the name of) 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 (lit. in the name of) 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 (Dixon, 2010a: 370).³⁰⁴ 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 (lit. I need seeing you once again).’

Murui nominalizations can be used with verbs of perception (seeing, hearing) and cognition (knowing), as in (12.99-102):

- (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)’

³⁰⁴ Nominalizations used as complementation strategies are characteristic of many languages in South America (Overall & Wojtylak, 2018).

- (12.100) **oo ñai-a-na**_{PRED} **kaka-d-e**_{PRED}
 2sg speak-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP hear-LK-3
 ‘I hear you speaking.’
- (12.101) **jjai-mie**_A [**jjai-e duiko**]_O **manua-na** **uiño-t-e**_{PRED}
 other-CLF:PR.M other-CLF:G illness heal.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-3
 ‘Another (man) knows how to heal (lit. the healing) other illnesses.’
- (12.102) **kue**_A **uiño-ti-ku**_{PRED} **Sama** **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):³⁰⁵

- (12.103) **oo jaai-a-na** **kai-mo** **yo-no!**_{PRED}
 2sg go-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP 1pl-LOC tell-IMP
 ‘Tell me about your travel!’

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).³⁰⁶ The common argument is stated in the RC filling the RC slot which normally the common argument would 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
 ‘(Male) 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 doesn’t know where Kata lives (lit. Kara’s place of living).’

³⁰⁵ 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).

³⁰⁶ Cross-linguistically, there seems to be a rather ‘intimate relationship’ between nominalization and relativization (Yap, Grunow-Hårsta, & Wrona, 2011: 27).

- (12.107) [**komini** **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** **uru-iaí**]_O **jo-fo-mo**_{LOC} **fiébi-di-no-mo**]
 1sg child-CLF:G.PL house-CLF:CAV-LOC stay-LK-CLF:PR.GR-LOC
komekii-di-kue_{PRED}
 remember-LK-1sg
 ‘I think of (lit. remember) my children who stayed 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) **fuiri-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 take.away-REIT-INCP-LK-CLF:PR.F come-REIT-HAB-LK-3
 ‘(Female) who has cigarettes, keeps coming.’

The nature of the common argument in Murui is rather limited: as a bound animate classifier on a ‘headless’ adjective, it may refer to the 3rd 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.TOP 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 3rd person cross-referencing marker on the verb *-e* has the same form as the generic classifier *-e*):

- (12.112) **maraiñe-d-e-na**_{PRED} **ati-ñe-no!**_{PRED}
 good.ATT.NEG-LK-3-N.S/A.TOP bring-NEG-IMP
 ‘Do not bring one that isn’t 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.TOP 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* ‘(male) who has children’ occurs pre-verbally in the S function restricting the meaning of the NP. In (12.115), *urueredimie* occurs 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, (male) 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 VCS 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. An example of verbatim repetitions is presented in (13.1), a textual excerpt from a story about preparations for traditional dance rituals 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 dance ritual 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 ïï-ñiaï]_A kobeda_o ui-t-e_{PRE} nai-do
 this.CTS-CLF:G man-COLL shotgun.Sp take-LK-3 path-INS
 do-ri-ta-kana jaai-d-e_{PRE} **nai-do** **do-ri-ta-kana**
 shoot-DUR-CAUS-OVERLAP go-LK-3 path-INS shoot-DUR-CAUS-OVERLAP
jaai-d-e_{PRE} **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_{PRE}
 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 on 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 characterized 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_{PRE} **noki** **rii-ya_{PRE}**
 CONN-LOC ANA.SP-du.m-LOC rain arrive-E.NMLZ rain arrive-E.NMLZ
 deei-d-e_{PRE} ua nai-e-mo **deei-d-e_{PRE}** **ua** **deei-d-e_{PRE}**
 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.’

Example (13.3) is taken from the same story of the *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 Wojtylak (2018c) 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 [aa-ma
 CONN=REP really go-LK-3 go-LK-3 EACH-du.m brother-CLF:DR.M
 digal]]_s ie-mo aifi_s bi-t-e_{PRE}D **aifi_s** **bi-ya_{PRE}D** **aifi_s** **bi-ya_{PRE}D**
 WITH 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 the 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] raa_o-ti-kai_{PRE}D aare jiai-kaño
 CONN REASON 1pl that.FSH-CLF:G similar hunt-LK-1pl far 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).³⁰⁷ Both types of bridging constructions involve sentence-initial sequential dependent clauses. Bridging clauses are in boldface, reference clauses are underlined:

³⁰⁷ See de Vries (2005) on recapitulative and summary linkage.

(13.5) RECAPITULATIVE LINKAGE

juiyi-jj_o ti-iti-kue kore_o o-ye-na
 yuca-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.NMLZ-SEQ two-CLF:DAY exist-E.NMLZ-SEQ
 juiyi-jj_s jini-ye [kue farie]_o bee-iti-kue_{PREP}
 yuca-CLF:TUBER ripe-FUT.E.NMLZ 1sg farina.Sp toast-FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘I will grate the yuca, 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-_{EPRED}
 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) are
 playing (and playing) at home (with it).’

Although both types of bridging constructions involve sequential clauses (that is, those marked with the sequential marker *-no*, see §12.3.1), 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 clauses has falling intonation (sentence-final; used typically for declarative clauses), followed usually by *ji* ‘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* refers 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 (13.3) and (13.4) in §13.1). In (13.7), the connective *ie* anaphorically refers 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_{PRD}
 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_{PRD} [kai i-ya-no
 1pl HERE.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC exist-LK-3 1pl exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:SP.PLACE
 mame-ki] [kai ini-a-no-mo]]]_{vcs} [Tersera 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.

- (13.8) a. juzi-e-mo=mei jiibi-es uai-ga_{PRD} jmm...
 manioc-CLF:G-LOC=so coca-CLF:G bring.on.back-PASS INTERJ
 ‘Later, in the garden coca is brought.’
- b. ati-a-no-na jmm... zibe-gi-mo bee-ka_{PRD}
 bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP INTERJ pot-CLF:OVAL-LOC toast-PASS
 ‘After bringing it, (it) is toasted in the pot.’

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 the previous example (13.8) above. (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 plant-PASS CONN person bring.on.back-LK-3
 ‘Tobacco is planted 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.’
- c. ***rokua-no-na*** *jai* *raize* *yota-no-na*
 cook.E.NMLZ-SEQ-N.S/A.TOP already well.SIMIL 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-nao* *fai-ga_{PRED}*
 distill-E.NMLZ-SEQ plant.type-CLF:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP flavour.mix.tobacco-PASS
jmm...
 INTERJ
 ‘After distilling (it), it is flavoured with the *maraki* plant.’
- e. *jai* *yera-nao* *raina-d-e_{PRED}* *yera* *jmm...*
 already liquid.tobacco-N.S/A.TOP sit.TH 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
yerao *ii-ka_{PRED}*
 liquid.tobacco mix.with.salt-PASS
 ‘After bringing the salt of the forest, the liquid tobacco mixed with salt.’

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.³⁰⁸

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’.³⁰⁹ 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.

- (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.’

³⁰⁸ In Murui there is a general tendency to ‘omit’ both core and oblique arguments, if these are clear from the immediate context (see §6.1).

³⁰⁹ 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 (cf. Tariana, the verb ‘do’ has the form of *ni-* ‘do’).

- 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-es jerei-mo_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED}]_S nanas 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 ‘summarizes’ 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 forest-LOC fall.down-LK-3
 ‘Seeds of the *jororoño* plant fall in the jungle.’
- b. ie bai-es 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-LK-3
 ‘A person consumes the seeds. They takes (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’-like connective

There is one very prominent strategy of discourse organization in Murui, the use of the ‘bridging’-like connective *ie* (see §3.3.5). It has a fixed morphological form, and makes reference to information given in the preceding context. Unlike the bridging constructions described in §13.2.1-2, the connective *ie* is always part of the clause, and can never form a clause on its own. The connective *ie* is especially salient in Murui narratives but generally

occurs in all types of Murui genres. One can argue that in terms of its function, *ie* parallels similar in function to that of the neighboring Bora language (Seifart, 2010).

Morphologically, *ie* is derived with the anaphoric demonstrative *i-* and the generic classifier *-e* (see §3.3.3). As the generic classifier 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.³¹⁰ *Ie* has a range of syntactic functions. It can be a linker in a possessive construction (see §5.1.1), 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-ePRED
 yugo.plant-CLF:DR.F seed-CLF:POINTED CONN forest-LOC fall.down-lk-3
 ‘Seeds of the *jororoño* plant fall in the jungle.’

(13.13) misa...s ies jari-re fui-t-ePRED 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 =*ta* (*ie=ta* ‘so (as told)’ 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.

³¹⁰ 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*_{PREP} **ie-mo** *rii-d-e*_{PREP} *moo-tia*_{IS}
 eat-LK-1sg CONN-LOC arrive-LK-3 father-KIN.PL
 ‘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 open. *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.³¹¹

- (13.15) a. *Jitomas dine-na* *rei-t-e*_{PREP} *Kecha-nao* *‘jaai-ñe-no!’*_{PREP}
Jitoma AT.LOC:NSP-ABL say-LK-3 *Kechatoma-N.S/A.TOP* go-NEG-PRIV.PROH
*rei-t-e*_{PREP} *‘bi-e*_{OBLIQUE} *kokos ore-ka-mo*_{TEMP} *‘jaaiti-koko!’*_{PREP}
 say-LK-3 this.CTS-CLF:G 1du.m send-PASS-LOC go.FUT.LK-1du.m
*rei-t-e*_{PREP}
 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*_{PREP} *jaai-d-e*_{PREP} *naga-ziaimiai*_{IS}
 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** *aifis bi-t-e*_{PREP} *aifis bi-ya*_{PREP} *aifis bi-ya*_{PREP}
 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.’

³¹¹ 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 (13.15c), could also be interpreted as ‘in this, in this situation’.

- d. **ie** *nai-mies*_s *rei-t-e*_{PR}ED ‘[uzu-ma Jobai]_A
 CONN ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M say-LK-3 grandparent-CLF:DR.M Jobai
bu-e-nao *joone-ñe-d-e=di*_{PR}ED *jamei koko*_O *jifue-t-e!*_{PR}ED
 Q2-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP lay.TH-NEG-lk-3=CERT ONLY 1du.m cheat-LK-3
*rei-t-e*_{PR}ED
 say-LK-3
 ‘And then, he said: “Grandfather Jobai did not put anything (in the package).
 He cheated us!” (he) said.’
- e. **ie** *nai-mies*_s *rei-t-e*_{PR}ED ‘*jaaiti-koko*’_{PR}ED *rei-t-e*_{PR}ED
 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), and (13.15d-e). In (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 the procedural vs. narrative genre distinction, 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 on certain occasions. For instance, the elder Lucio Agga Calderón 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 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 (2.1) in §2.1.1), 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 use of the remote habitual

marker (see §7.2.2.4). 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 §7.2.4). 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
 uiz_{io} ibai!’_{PRED} rei-t-e_{PRED} uiz_{io} ibai-diaimie_{PRED}
 eyes close 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 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 examples T1.15, T1.16, and T1.19 in the Appendix):

- (13.18) jai nabais i-ga_{PRED} jmm...
 already neighbor give-PASS INTERJ
 ‘Friends are given it.’

The interjections *jii* and *jmm* help the speaker to collect their thoughts and proceed with the narration. Although the *rafue* and *bakaki* genres are primarily monologues, they do require

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 jiai
 CONN breath-CLF:INHER=S/A.TOP always=so really also
 zai-bi-ñe-d-e!_{PREL} **jmm**
 rot-NEG-LK-3 INTERJ
 'The spirit never gets old! Hm...'

Men: **jii!**
 yes
 'Yes!'

Lucio: **jii!** aki-e kai ua ua ñi 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 a 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_{PREL}
 already ATTENTION alone-CLF:DR.M always arrive-VENTV-LK-3
 'He always comes alone!'

Lucio: **da-ma** **rii-zaibi-d-e_{PREL}**
 one-CLF:DR.M arrive-VENTV-LK-3
 'He comes alone, 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 coming to an 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_E izoi-d-e_{PRED} [moo m̩kori]_S yo-vui-d-e_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G similar-LK-3 father late tell-REM.HAB-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 'aai!' 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 T1.81 and T4.41 in the Appendix):

(13.22) *aki-e i-t-e* (AUDIT-CLF:G exist-LK-3) 'it is so (as heard)'
aki d̩no-mo (AUDIT AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC) 'till there (as heard)'
aki=d̩no 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 §11.2.7 on formulaic greetings):

(13.23) (ni-e-ze) i-t̩-o?_{PRED}
 Q₂-CLF:G-SIMIL exist-LK-3
 'How are you (lit. (how) do you exist)?'

(13.24) jai jaai-d̩-kue_{PRED}
 already go-LK-1sg
 'Goodbye (lit. I go already)'

Murui conversations are characterized by:

- 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-OP_{RED} 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 nĩi mare
 one.moment 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}
 empty-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘We don’t know where... Nowhere.’

Monika: aa! **taai-no-mo!**_{LOC}
 INTERJ empty-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘Ah! Nowhere!’

Sandriela: jii! **taai-no-mo** ie jiai-rui-do dane
 yes empty-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. Some other time we came once more. 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' (similarly 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 Virgilia'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* is used to express a sign of agreement and back channeling, as well as surprise (see §2.7.3 and §3.3.7),

viii) frequent ellipsis of arguments (see §6.2 on argument omission and rare usage of clauses containing two core arguments, and §4.5 on classifiers used as the main referent tracking mechanism in the language),

ix) paralinguistic features, such as gestures, eye gaze, and lip pointing (see §2.9),

x) 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.

Conversations, especially those among younger speakers of Murui, are full of code switching and code mixing (see §13.5). Texts 2 and 5 in the Appendix are examples of 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 them the Carijona (for the dance ritual of the *riai rua* ‘non-Witoto Songs’), the Andoke, the Ocaina, and the Bora (Urbina Rangel, 1997). Murui songs are characterized by frequently occurring fixed structures and common patterns (Wojtylak, 2017). For instance, songs from the *muruiiki* 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-b). An example of a Mika formulaic song ending is given in (13.29). Although, as a whole, it is difficult to translate.³¹² Note the occurrence of the Mika interrogative content word *mika* meaning ‘what, something/nothing’ and *mookei* for ‘father’ in Mika.³¹³ A part of the expression *nifo reiñededĩ* can be translated as ‘he didn’t say anything’, with the interrogative content word *nifo* ‘what’, which points to its origin in one of the Mika clans.³¹⁴

³¹² 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.

³¹³ 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’.

³¹⁴ Speech varieties of ‘Witoto’, including clanolects, are distinguished by their expression of the interrogative content word meaning ‘what’ (see §1.4).

(13.29) ↑hii! ↓mi↑ka ↓ri↑ka ↓ku↑chi ↓ku↑chi ↑renoga ↑jai ↑jiih!
 ↑jadi ↑mookeiii! ↑nifo ↑reiñededí! ↑nii mei jai ↑jii↑jii↑jii!
 (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 last vowel in *jirima* ‘bird (type)’ is centralized and becomes *jirimi* (in bold).

(13.30) nana kai kiona uu uu uu (4x)
 jaa afaidi muido menimo
 raa uide
 jirima jirima **jirimi** (2x)
 nana kai kiona uu? uu? uu?
 jaa afaidi 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 (13.31). The song is called *jai bite uru-etiru* ‘Baby Jesus (lit. child) has come’, written by an anonymous author from San Rafael for Christmas celebrations:³¹⁵

³¹⁵ 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 the 1950s and 1970s. 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 the 1970s, some of which she still remembers until this day.

(13.31) excerpt from ‘*jai vite uruetiru*’ (sic.) ‘Baby Jesus has come’³¹⁶

jai *vi-t-e*_{PRED} *uru-e-tirus*
 already come-LK-3 child-CLF:G-CLF:SMALL
 ‘Baby Jesus has come’

*safi-a*_{PRED} *moto-do* *jifano-kana*
 flourish-E.NMLZ middle-INS play.SMLF-OVERLAP
 ‘while the flowers are playing’

ie-mo *silli-nia* *ro-t-e*_{PRED}
 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 loanwords 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. At speaker's whim, they function as either independent words or enclitics. Throughout this section, focus and pause markers are in bold.

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 is often used throughout all types of Murui genres. It can occur in various positions within a

³¹⁶ I have retained the original orthography.

clause. In (13.42), (partially repeated from (13.27) in §13.3.2), the intensifier 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 empty-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. Some other time we came once more. We slept (a lot).’ (stressing how tired they were)

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 intensifier *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?*_{PRED}
 really Q2-QUANT-CLF:PR.M=SO take-LK-3
 ‘Really? How many (fish) did he catch?’

Ua can also be used marking surprise. (13.35) 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!_{PRED}
 mother.Sp 1sg four.Sp WITH type.fish get-LK-1sg
 ‘Mother! I got four fish!’

Sandriela: **ua!**? jmm! ni-e-ze o-ga?!_{PRED}
 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!_{PRED}
 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 from there (i.e. because of this), nowadays, we continue living (lit. going) unsatisfactorily (lit. poorly).’

- (13.38) ***ua*** *komini* *nana* ***ua*** *kaima-re* *i-t*-_{EPRED}
 really people.CLF:DR.GR ALL really happy-ATT exist-LK-3
 ‘The people, everybody, lives really happily.’

Ua frequently co-occurs as a clitic with adverbs, such as *mei* ‘so’. In (13.39), *ua* occurs following *mei*; in (13.40) *mei* cliticizes to *ua*:

- (13.39) [*beno-mo* *mei* *mano-rai-ma* *i-t*-_{EPRED} *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:PR.GR
 ‘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 one-CLF:DR.M
 [*uru-e* *diga*]]_s *i-t*-_{EPRED}
 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 as a tag question (see §11.2.3).

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. *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-KIN.PL so that.CTS-CLF:G PAST woman-CLF:DR.F
 jitai-a=d_i_{PR}_{ED}
 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-_e_{PR}_{ED}
 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) at 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 (see §12.3.1), e.g.

ini-a mei (sleep-E.NMLZ later) ‘after sleeping’, or following the connective *ie* as in (13.45)

below:

- (13.45) ie=**mei** jaai-d-_e_{PR}_{ED}
 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). *Jamei* can occasionally be pronounced as *jamai*.

- (13.46) *jamei* *kokoo* *jifue-t-e_{PRED}*
 ONLY 1du.m cheat-LK-3
 ‘He only (no more than that) cheated us!’

In Murui, as well as in Mika, Minika, and Nipode, Murui, there is an expression *mai!* for ‘let’s’, as in *mai oo jaai!* ‘let you go!’ (used for farewells). *Mai* can also be used when a speaker ‘agrees’ with something, as in *mai, jai jaaidikue* ‘fine, I go’. The form *mai*, as well as *jamai*, seems to be related to *mei*. Given that in other ‘Witoto’ varieties, the Murui *mei* is pronounced as *mai*, suggests that the form *mai* is a much older form than *mei*.³¹⁷

A3. THE TIME WORD *jaka* ‘always/never’ – the time word *jaka* occurs in a variety of contexts, and has always some temporal reading to it; additionally, it also stresses the meaning of the predicate. 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-REIT-LK-3-COND₂ never cold-BECOME₁-NEG-LK-3
 ‘If (the bull ant) kept throwing the water (at the firefly), (the firefly) would not get cold (at all).’

Often, *jaka* co-occurs with other types of focus and pause markers, such as *ua* in (13.49):

- (13.49) *ie* *ati-ka=d_{IPRED}* *nai-mie_S* *yu_{APRED}* **ua** **jaka**
 CONN bring-PASS=CERT ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M tell.E.NMLZ really always
bajerikos *nai-mie_S* *ati-d-e=z_{APRED}*
 evangelist.Sp ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M bring-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘(She) was brought by him, according to him, the evangelist. He brought her.’

³¹⁷ Note that Murui (as well as Mika and Minika) 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)’.

B. PAUSE MARKERS – these are the interrogative content word *nii* meaning ‘which’ and ‘where’ (§3.3.4), the filler *nee*, and the attention getting *baa* (§3.3.3).

B1. THE INTERROGATIVE CONTENT WORD *nii* can mean ‘oh what, where, how, which’. It functions as a filler but has also somewhat demonstrative overtones referring to something as definite 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, *ni-* is a bound interrogative content word meaning ‘which, where’ (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-iai*]_O
 1pl fast.ATT 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 neighbor other-TIME 1pl
maiai-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 neighbors.’

(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-nao* *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*]_{PUR}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘(...) 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-nao*
 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*
 lay.TH-NEG-LK-3 ONLY 1du.m cheat-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 cheated 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. Example (13.56) comes from a dialogue between two women and 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 marker *ñee* can also be used in the sentence-initial position. Example (13.57) 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_{PRED}
 FILLER water=so=really strength-CLF:INHER-N.S/A.TOP go.FUT.LK-3
 mairi-ki iadi kai_s jaki-rui-ti-kai_{PRED}
 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.³¹⁸ It is mainly used to attract the hearer’s attention. Examples (13.58-59) come from a conversation between Murui speakers 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_{PRED}
 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_{PRED}
 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).’

The marker *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:

³¹⁸ The attention getting marker *baa* occurs also in the neighboring Tucano (Ramirez, 1997: 341-342) (see also §13.4). Tariana has the ‘urging’ particle *ne* to attract attention (Aikhenvald, p.c.).

(13.60) **baa!** [komes [uru-ia_i diga] jaaia]s jaki-re-d-e!^{PRED}
 FRUSTRATION person child-CLF:G.PL WITH go.COND₁ scary-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Bah! When one goes with children, it’s 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-tomo_i^{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!
 empty-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 ‘Where... That! One will never know! In the middle of nowhere!’

The attention getting marker *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) comes from a narration about the village of El Encanto:

(13.62) mai! **baa** ua feka-di-nos i-t-e!^{PRED}
 LET THERE really distribute-LK-CLF:PR.GR exist-LK-3
 ‘Fine! The sellers (lit. those who sell) are there!’

This is similar to (13.63), where the marker *baa* draws attention to the place ‘there’ where people arrived at:

(13.63) bu-e_o kai_A ati-ñe-di-kai_i^{PRED} ie gui-ye-na
 Q₂-CLF:G 1pl bring-NEG-LK-1pl CONN eat-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 dino-mona_{ABL} **baa** bi-ti-kai_i^{PRED}
 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 (here)!’

13.5 Contact-induced language change: Spanish influence on Murui

The 'Witoto' groups were contacted in the second half of the 19th century, in the first instance by travelers, and later on, in the first half of the 20th century, by missionaries and the rubber barons. The mostly violent contact with White settlers as well as military groups 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 their language (§1.5). The brutality of forceful 'acculturation' of the 'Witoto' has resulted in many cases in their prejudice towards speaking the Murui language. Consequently, 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 many mixed marriages (such as between the Murui and the Bora) where wives are not required to learn their husband's languages anymore. In the last few decades, Spanish has become the language of everyday life. This situation has resulted in the overall 'language shift', which will possibly lead to 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 the 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 the 1940s and 1960s, 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 the 1930s) where speaking other languages than Spanish was

forbidden and heavily punished (Bonilla, 1972).³¹⁹ 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, would they 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 a single 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, but only a few children are able to speak the language, all with difficulty. Spanish is the 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 of Spanish (changes in grammar, §13.5.1), loanwords 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).

³¹⁹ As put by Echeverri (1997: 64): “The boarding schools of La Chorrera and La Pedrera are the two oldest of the Amazonas Department (founded in 1933 and 1934, respectively)”. According to 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 Cortes 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 (Cara-Paraná 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 §2.1.1). 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 *Ismael* is often 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 of 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 a stage of change. An example of this is the negation of the positive 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 §5.1.3.1). The use of Murui ‘dedicated’ comparative constructions (§9.2) 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 Center* cultural area.³²⁰ 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*.³²¹

(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 13.1.³²² 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

³²⁰ See also works on multilingualism practices in Amazonia by Sorensen (1967); Stenzel (2005), Aikhenvald (2002) and Aikhenvald (2012: 89-93).

³²¹ Phonological adoption of loanwords depends not only on speakers’ age but often function in the community (§2.6).

³²² It is often difficult to determine the exact difference 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 NATIVE EQUIVALENTS
	YOUNG SPEAKERS	ELDERS	MEANING	
NOUNS	<i>misa</i>	<i>misa</i>	‘mass’	no
	<i>kamara</i>	<i>kamara</i>	‘camera’	no (cf. <i>jore-ño o-ra</i> (picture-CLF:DR.F.PL take-CLF:NEUT) ‘thing to take pictures’ only occasionally used)
	<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>ra-fue</i> (thing-CLF:STORY)
	<i>maloca</i>	<i>maroka</i>	‘maloca’	<i>anane-ko</i> (maloca-CLF:COVER)
	<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 names are replaced, e.g. <i>Gi-ra</i> > <i>Ra-gi</i> (§1.3.11)
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 relate 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, or their competence. In the following example (13.65), Eulogio, a 22 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.³²³ 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 emphasizing how helpless the current situation has become. Sentences in Spanish are in bold.

³²³ Eulogio himself speaks an already somewhat 'simplified' version of the Murui language.

- (13.65) [mei kome-ki_s yo-i-a=di_{PRED} mei i-maki_s
 so heart-CLF:ROUND tell-EMPH-E.NMLZ=CERT so ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 jaai-oi-kai-a=di_{PRED} mei jaait-e_{PRED} kue=mei... **no... digamos...**
 go-REIT-INCP-E.NMLZ=CERT so go.FUT.LK-3 1sg=so no.Sp we.say.Sp
no puedo como detenerlos sabe?
 no.Sp can.1sg.Sp how.Sp stop.INFINITIVE.3pl.Sp know.2sg.Sp
 ‘(When) their hearts (of the children) tell them, they will keep going, I... [In
 Spanish] No... Let’s say... No, I cannot stop them, you know?’

The last clause of example (13.65) contains also the Spanish *sabe* ‘you know’ that draws hearer’s attention to the situation, and indicates that the speaker and the hearer share the same information (or at least a great part of it).

Code switching is the most common in direct speech reports in Murui, primarily those of third parties; it signals the person shift (cf. Aikhenvald (2011: 293). This is illustrated in (13.66):³²⁴

- (13.66) **imagine!** nai-ñaiños bi-t-e=di_{PRED} beno-mo_{LOC} jii!
 imagine.Sp ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F come-LK-3=CERT here.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC yes
 ‘**regalame aros**’] naiños yua_{PRED}
 give.me.Sp rice.Sp CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ
 ‘[In Spanish: Imagine]! She came! Here, yes! [Spanish: ‘Give me rice!'] she said.’

B. CODE MIXING – these are momentary intra-clausal and intra-sentential switches or insertions (so-called ‘islands’) which do not change the language of interaction. Spanish insertions occur in similar structural position as the slots of their Murui counterparts. In Murui, code mixing is especially common for discourse markers and interjections.

³²⁴ Compare with example (13.15) that illustrates direct speech reports in narratives with no code-switching.

B1. CODE MIXING AND INTERJECTIONS – the Spanish negative word *no* is frequently used in Murui, as illustrated in (13.67). The positive *sí* ‘yes’ is almost never ‘switched’ (the interjection *jii!* is used instead).³²⁵

(13.67) Monika: navui i-maki_{OBLIQUE} tie-ka?_{PRED}
 evening ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR.AN 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):³²⁶

(13.68) **i** ati-ñe-domoi?_{PRED} **pero** yiki-zi_E izoi-d-e_{PRED}
 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-omoi_{PRED} erua?
 really but.Sp canoe-INS go-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘Really? But you went by canoe, right?’

(13.70) jaai-di-kue=_{di}_{PRED} nia **pero** ua jaka biiti-kue_{PRED}
 go-LK-1sg=CERT STILL but.Sp really always come.FUT.LK-1sg
 ‘If I go, I leave (lit. go), but I will always go back.’

³²⁵ Note that Murui has no word for ‘no’.

³²⁶ Alternatively, those linkers could be considered as loans (especially those for which equivalents do not exist in Murui) (Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2006: 333-334).

- (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-kue_{PREP} o bu-e o-ye-na jaai-di-kue_{PREP}
 get.ANDTV-LK-1sg or.Sp Q1-CLF:G get-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP go-LK-1sg
 ‘(When) I... I go (from the village to the cities) I (always) bring something back (lit. away from the city) or I go to bring something.’

In (13.72), *entonces* ‘so/then’ is a continuation of speaker’s turn and establishes a cause-result link between the two ideas, ‘having no choice but co-existing with white people’ and ‘beginning to live like white people’:

- (13.72) da-je-mo ñui-di-kai_{PREP} entonces riai
 one-CLF:G-LOC fall.into-LK-1pl so/then.Sp non.Witoto.PL
 di-be-ji-do mei kai eo ua jaai-oi-kai-di-kai_{PREP}
 side-CLF:LEAF-CLF:WATERY-INS so 1pl very really go-REIT-INCP-1pl
 ‘We are put into this (situation of co-existing in the world of the white people). So/then we started following (lit. going by) the ways of the white people.’

In (13.73), there is a specific discourse marker *este* (lit. ‘this’) ‘that is’ that occurs when a speaker takes time to ‘search’ for a word or an expression.³²⁷ Throughout a dialogue, the speaker is very careful to use ‘only Murui language’. In the third clause, *este* is followed by a pause and introduces *komputadora manejaja* ‘operating a computer’ (which on its own is a borrowing from Spanish). The speaker takes time to think if there is a way to express this in Murui.

- (13.73) bi-rui-ai-na=mei kio-kana jaai-di-kai_{PREP} mei
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY.PL-N.S/A.TOP=so see-OVERLAP go-LK-1pl so
 ria-ma bi-ya-mona... este... bi-e mei ua
 non.Witoto-CLF:DR.M come-E.NMLZ-ABL this.Sp this.CTS-CLF:G so really
komputadora maneja-ja kai-mona ua... **este** ua
 computer.Sp operate.Sp-E.NMLZ 1pl-ABL really this.Sp really
 komo-kino
 new-CLF:NEWS
 ‘Nowadays, since the arrival of the white man (into our territory), we learn (lit. go) by looking... This is... working on a computer, as for us... These are new things.’

³²⁷ Alternatively, *este* could be considered a loan as its function in Murui is different from that in Spanish.

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! 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
 ‘Hmm.. 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.³²⁸ In addition to code mixing and code switching (discussed in §13.5.1-3), 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 in Murui,
- 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 markers in and outside the clause (§13.4);
- limited set of verbal suffixes,

³²⁸ See Campbell and Muntzel (1989) on simplification as corollary of language obsolescence.

– use of ungrammatical clauses (whose meaning is understood from the situational context).

Ungrammaticality of clauses is illustrated in (13.75). 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_{PRE}D **mei**
 and.Sp so non.Witoto.PL AT.CLF:SIDE.WATER-INS also differ-LK-3 so
uku-be...
 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 discourse (§13.1), bridging constructions and their functions (§13.2), specific features of various types of Murui genres (narratives, conversations, songs), focus and pause markers (§13.4), and 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, include 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 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 §1.3.8).
- Text 5 (T5) is a life story narrative in the form of a dialogue.

All sentences have been analyzed following four principles (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 labeled for their syntactic function. Additionally, locative and other oblique 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 Murui Origin Myth (Tercera India, 2016)

The Murui origin myth was narrated by elder Lucio Agga Calderón ‘Kaziya Buinaima’ of the *Ereiai* clan, 73 years old, son of Ambrocio Agga (of the *Ereiai* clan) and Irene Calderón (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, and was brought up monolingually in Murui. He acquired Spanish only later in life 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=dinovcs 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-es i-ñe-d-e-na nia ua ‘Uitoto’ rai~rai-na_{PRED}*
 AUDIT-CLF:G exist-NEG-LK-3-COND₁ 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_{IPRED}*
 CONN=so STILL LOCAL₂ get-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_{IPRED}*
 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*³²⁹ created (lit. made grow) this land.’
- 1.6 *ie [bie eni-e=d_{IVCS} [kai ei]_{VCC}*
 CONN this.CTS-CLF:G land-CLF:G=S/A.TOP 1pl mother
 ‘And this land is our mother.’

³²⁹ 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 cave³³⁰, not more than a cave.’
- 1.8 ie-ra kai_S mei nai-fo-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{HPRED}
 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:STUD ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS come-LK-3
 daa-fo-do_{INS} bi-ti-kai_{HPRED} ari ua bi-ti-kai_{HPRED}
 one.EMPH-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} zhi-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.³³¹’
- 1.11 nai-no=koni_{LOC} i-t-e_{PRED} jiai joone-ga_{PRED} [Kuegomas rai-ya]
 ANA.SP-CLF:SP.PLACE=LOCAL₁ exist-LK-3 also lay.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_{HPRED}
 monkey-COLL similar tail-CLF:STICK-CLF:LONGISH.FLEX.PL-LK-1pl
 ‘Like the *churuco* monkey, we had tails (lit. we were tail-y).’

³³⁰ In fact, the literal translation of ‘cave’ is ‘cavity-like, hole-like’.

³³¹ The fundamental structure of a Murui round communal roundhouse (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-es jai-yu-ka_{PREL}
 CONN that.FSH-CLF:G cut-CLF:SACK-PASS
 ‘And they (the tails) were cut (by *Kuegoma*).’
- 1.15 ari bi-t-e_{PREL} die-ze bai-es jaiyu-oi-ga_{PREL}
 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_{PREL}
 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=d_{PREL} 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=d_{PREL} 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-son³³².’
- 1.18 nai-maki=d_{is} aki=dino-mo_{LOC} uai-nino
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN=S/A.TOP AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC word³³³-PRIV
 komui-d-e_{PREL}
 grow-LK-3
 ‘They (all those who came out of the cave) in that moment were born without language.’

³³² *Enirue jito* is regarded to be ‘the first man’ in Murui mythology. According to the origin myth, 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 Petersen de Piñeros (1994c: 50).

³³³ The word *uai* has various meanings: ‘voice’, ‘word’, and ‘language’. I choose a relevant translation depending on the context.

- 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_{IO} eko-ri-ñe-d-e_{PRED} jmm...
 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 uiz_{IO} 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 uiz_{IO} 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
 Jitiruigido] jaai-diaimi_{E_{PRED}} [feei jai feei]_{LOC}
 Jitiruigido³³⁴ 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 *Jitiruigido* 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.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 *Jitiruigido*), 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).’

³³⁴ *Jitiruigido* is another name of the mythological hero *Muruima* that appears further in the narration. The name *Jitiruigido* might be related to the verbal root *jiti-* ‘darken’.

- 1.26 *naa*³³⁵ *Muruima*_A *uai*_O *bota-d-e*_{PR} “*nai-e*_{VCS} *bu-e?*_{VCC}” *rai-t-e*_{PR}
 ANA.SP *Muruima* word cut-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G Q2-CLF:G say-LK-3
 ‘(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*_{PR} [*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 ?CONN³³⁶ 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*_{PR} *ie-mo* [*nai-mie*
 WITH exist-LK-3 CONN-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M
jokome-foro]
 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.’³³⁷
- 1.29 *ie=mei* *Muinama-ka* [*fuir* *ie-mo*]_{LOC} *eruai-d-e*_{PR}
 CONN=so *Muinama-FOC* downriver ANA.NSP-LOC keep.look-LK-3
 ‘And *Muinama* kept looking downriver.’
- 1.30 *mei* ‘*aafe*³³⁸ *minika*³³⁹’ *rai-t-e*_{PR} *jmm...*
 so this what.*Minika* say-LK-3 INTERJ
 ‘So, (he) said “What is this? (lit. this - what)”.’

³³⁵ The word *naa* is an equivalent of *nai-e* (ANA.SP-CLF:G) ‘that’ in this genre.

³³⁶ This possibly is an alternative form of the connective *ie*.

³³⁷ 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.

³³⁸ *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.

³³⁹ 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. *Murui buu-ka* (Q1-FOC) ‘who’).

- 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
 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:STUD WITH
 i-t-e_{PRED}
 exist-LK-3
 ‘And so, soon (this) Muinama was with his *toiroki* pole, with his *toirai* pole³⁴⁰.’
- 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*³⁴¹ tree is tied on him (his head)³⁴².’
- 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-foro_{vcc} bigi_{vcc}
 PAST=so AUDIT-CLF:G 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-foro*) 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:STUD
 ‘From that moment (when Muruima and Muinama expressed their first words), (they) grew. (Other) tribes bathed (later as well).’³⁴³

³⁴⁰ The *toiroki* and *toirai* poles are identifying elements of the Minika people.

³⁴¹ *Nomana* [Sapucaia] is called *coco mono* or *machin mango* (Sp.) tree, and it is similar to the *maní*.

³⁴² The Minika people wear hair bands made out of the *nomana* tree bark during dance rituals and ceremonies.

³⁴³ There was a certain hierarchical order in which particular clans and groups would bathe.

- 1.37 ie=ua [bai-e ribe-o]_{VCS} [bai-e muti-o]_{VCS}
 CONN=really that.FSH-CLF:G placenta-CLF:FLEX that.FSH-CLF:G umbilicus-CLF:FLEX
 [kai ua nai-rai]_{VCC} ribe-o_{VCS} [kai jii nai-rai]_{VCC} [ie
 1pl really clan-CLF:STUD placenta-CLF:FLEX 1pl yes clan-CLF:STUD CONN
 ua muti-o]_{VCS}
 really umbilicus-CLF:FLEX
 ‘So, the placenta, the umbilicus is our tribe, the placenta is our tribe, (it’s) its
 umbilicus.’
- 1.38 bai-e-nao fairi-da-ja_{PREP}
 that.FSH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP float-BODY-E.NMLZ
 ‘With that it floats (similar to a fish, to an anaconda)³⁴⁴.’
- 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_{PREP} 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_{PREP}
 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 once more.’
- 1.40 jaka o-ni-d-e_{PREP}
 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-snake, (it was) twisting-snake, (it was) rotating-snake.’
- 1.42 ni-e-ze mei=ua faia-do-na jaka jabi-ri-kai-d-e_{PREP}
 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_{PREP}
 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...’

³⁴⁴ The mythological name of the anaconda is *Agaro*.

- 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-nao*
 come-E.NMLZ-SEQ step-CAUS-E.NMLZ body-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘Trampling it with *Nuiki*. *Nuiki*, having come from the air, trampled the anaconda’s body.’³⁴⁵
- 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 back-LOC
nai-mies *ei-kobe_O* *fiabi-kai-d-e_{PRED}*
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M foot-CLF:ROUND.LEAF stay-INCP-LK-3
 ‘And beneath the water he turned into the *nuikito*³⁴⁶ 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)³⁴⁷.’

³⁴⁵ A mythological figure *Nuiki*, which previously has a form of a bird, was sent to trample *Agaro* from above.

³⁴⁶ *Nuikito* ‘fish type’ is probably a combination of *nuiki* ‘anaconda’ and the repeater *-to* (from *jito* ‘son’).

³⁴⁷ This is the version according to the *Ereiai* clan.

- 1.50 *Jitoma*-mo_{LOC} *uaifai-ti-maki*_{PREP} [*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*.’³⁴⁸
- 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*_{EPRED}
 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).’
- 1.52 *jaka* *jabi-da-kai-da* *taai-fo-do*_{INS}
 always *rotate-CLF:LONG.STRAIGHT-INCP-SEQ.COMPL* *empty-CLF:CAV-INS*
*jaai-d*_{EPRED}
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*_{EPRED} *jaka*
 ONCE *other-CLF:PR.M* *blow-LK-3-TEMP* *always* *also* *find-NEG-LK-3* *always*
 ‘When the other man shot again, it would also never reach (the anaconda).’
- 1.54 *ie* *jira* *jaa* *jaai-d*_{EPRED} *jaa* *nai-e-mo*_{LOC} *jaai-d*_{EPRED}
 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*_{PREP} *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*_{EPRED}
 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)³⁴⁹.’

³⁴⁸ Known elsewhere as *Kechatoma*, the brother of *Jitoma*, brought up by *Jitoma*. *Jitoma* and *Kechatoma* were very powerful figures.

³⁴⁹ 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*.

- 1.55 ie=mei jano-riza i-t-e_{PR}ED ati-d-e_{PR}ED 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_{PR}ED
 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_{PR}ED [jiai-mies [bai-beji=dine]_{LOC}
 stand.up.BODY-LK-3 other-CLF:DR.M that.FSH-CLF:SIDE.WATER=AT.LOC:NSP
 nainada-t-e_{PR}ED
 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.’
- 1.57 bi-mie-mo eruai-a_{PR}ED 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_{PR}ED 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_{PR}ED
 this.CTH-SP.PLACE-ABL above=AT.LOC:NSP-ABL come-LK-3
 fai-ji-a_{PR}ED [nai-mie emodo-mo]_{LOC}
 throw-?-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-aimiai_A ie=mei jai=mei nai-es meine-ga_{PR}ED
 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_{PR}ED
 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 back-LOC grow-LK-CLF:PR.GR clan-CLF:STUD 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-makis
 1pl really people.CLF:DR.GR ANA.NSP-CLF:CAV=LOCAL₁ that.FSH-CLF:PR.GR.AN
 jai ua jino_{LOC} bai-e-nao jaa
 already really outside.CLF:SP.PLACE that.FSH-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP soon
 nai-es ari ziri-d-e_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G uphill submerged.half.in.water-LK-3
 ‘At the ‘Hole of Humanity’ (after the fight with *Agaro*)³⁵⁰... 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_{PRED} ua ti-bero-zi-d-e_{PRED}
 already really cut-CLF:SACK-PP-LK-3 really slice-CLF:DOUGH-PP-LK-3
 dino=koni nai-makis 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_{PRED}
 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.’
- 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-es
 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-makis 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-makis 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-evcs [[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=dis 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 leaves³⁵¹.’

³⁵⁰ See §1.2 and Echeverri (1997: 100-107).

³⁵¹ The clan *Yoriai* arrived late, after the meat of *Arago* had been eaten.

- 1.67 ie [nai-e juna-d-e]_{PRD} [bure-gi ie]_s mai-ga_{PRD}
 CONN ANA.SP-CLF:G appear-LK-3 wasp.type-CLF:OVAL CONN sting-PASS
 iife-na_{OBLIQUE}
 tongue-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘The wasps appeared, and they stung their 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_{PRD} iifeo [bai-e jai buregi-na]
 speak-LK-3 tongue that.FSH-CLF:G already type.wasp-N.S/A.TOP
 mai-ga=za_{PRD}
 sting-PASS=UNCERT
 ‘And they speak in a swollen manner because wasps stung (their) tongues.’
- 1.69 ie jai [ri-a ua meino] jai jaai-zi-t-e_{PRD}
 CONN already eat.meat-E.NMLZ really after already go-PP-LK-3
 ari=bene_{LOC} [dane jai ari]_{LOC} nai-rai jai
 uphill=HERE.LOC:NSP ONCE already uphill clan-CLF:STUD already
 ‘After having eaten, they all went through the land (together) once more, as one (large) tribe.’
- 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_{PRD} [nai-rai ei-ma]_s
 unite-LK-3 clan-CLF:STUD forefather-CLF:DR.M
 [mena i-du]_{LOC} ua ofi-d-e_{PRD}
 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 hills³⁵².’
- 1.71 dino-mo_{LOC} jai [kai moo]_s ana bi-t-e_{PRD}
 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.’

³⁵² 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 Cahuinari’ (Echeverri, 1997: 26).

- 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:STUD really take.care-FUT.E.NMLZ
 jigui-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 jiibi-roki_o
 1pl really clan-CLF:STUD=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
 ‘The ‘norms’ of our clans. He brought (the gift of) coca. He came with (the gift) of tobacco.’
- 1.74 jadi-no_o bai-e_o fiia-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).’
- 1.75 batine_{LOC} jiai-nos jaai-d-e_{PRED} ua bene_{LOC} jiai-nos
 THERE.LOC:NSP other-CLF:PR.GR go-LK-3 really HERE.LOC:NSP other-CLF:PR.GR
 jaai-d-e_{PRED} [fuiri=dine]_{LOC} jiai-nos 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 I-du]_{VCC}
 ANA.SP-CLF:HILL name-CLF:INHER Bokire ANA.NSP-CLF:HILL
 ‘The name of that hill is *Bokire Idu*³⁵³.’
- 1.77 ‘jai jiibi-es jaka bii! da-je-d-e_{PRED} jiibi-nas
 already coca-CLF:G always THIS.HERE one-CLF:G-LK-3 coca-CLF:TREE
 jiai-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.’’

³⁵³ The direct translation is ‘Hill of Division’.

- 1.78 ‘bi-e-do_{INS} [oo nai-rai]_O zeda-iti-o!_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS 2sg clan-CLF:STUD take.care-FUT.LK-2sg
 bi-e-do_{INS} [oo jiza-kuru]_O zeda-iti-o!_{PRED} bi-e-do_{INS}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS 2sg young.person-?CLF take.care-FUT.LK-2sg this.CTS-CLF:G-INS
 jitaño_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-nao yeta-iti-o!_{PRED}
 this.CTS-CLF:G-INS really clan-CLF:STUD-N.S/A.TOP advise³⁵⁴-FUT.LK-2sg
 rai-ya-no joone-kai-d-e_{PRED} nai-mie_S
 say-E.NMLZ-SEQ lay.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]
 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 ‘origen’, our base of living (lit. growing). It reaches here.’
- 1.81 din_{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, Yudy Amparo Rombariyama Agga, then 21 years old (her father belongs to the *Kanieni* clan and her mother is of the *Ereiai* clan) and Sandriela Agga Arteagga, 23 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. Yudy was brought up bilingually; Sandriela was brought up in Murui, learning Spanish at school at the age of eight.

³⁵⁴ The verbal root *yeta-* can be translated as ‘advise, direct, punish, teach the norms’.

- 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 again up the river to your mother.’
- 2.7 J: ua? pero nokae-do_{INS} jaai-di-omo_{IPRED} erua?
 really but.Sp canoe-INS go-LK-2pl see.really
 ‘Really? But you went by 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_{IPRED} ari-do_{INS}
 already go-LK-1du.f uphill-INS
 ‘I went by canoe. From there, at the (canoe) dock... Rata (went) up the river again,
 we went (by land).’
- 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_o 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 jinui 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_{PRED} [nai-e dine]_{LOC} erua?
Q₂-FOC have.value-E.NMLZ ANA.SP-CLF:G AT.LOC:NSP see.really
'It is expensive there, isn't it?'
- 2.18S: eo raifi-d-e!_{PRED} dino-mona_{ABL} dane bi-ti-kañai_{PRED}
very have.value-LK-3 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL ONCE come-LK-1du.f
baai=bene jifanua_o jibui-zaibi-ti-kañai_{PRED}
THERE=HERE.LOC:NSP play.SMLF.E.NMLZ watch-VENTV-LK-1du.f
'Very expensive. From there we came back once more. We came to see the (football) game.'
- 2.19S: y... estadio-mo_{LOC} rai-di-kañai_{PRED} [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_{PRED}
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_{PRED}
 CONN-LOC uncle.Sp Silva CLF:PR.F AT.LOC.NSP come-LK-3
 [komini uai-do]_{INS} [ñaiño dīga] ñai-t-e_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} jai [baai
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE-ABL one.moment exist-LK-1pl already THERE
 misa-mo]_{LOC} jaai-ya_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} baai jaai-di-kai_{PRED}
 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_{PRED}
 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-omo_{PRED} 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 navuida
 quick-ATT face-CLF:SPHERICAL-LOC go-LK-1sg so evening
 rii-di-kue_{PRED} oo 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 fast.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-ñeie-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 (and 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-ñeie-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... ies 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 fast.ATT finish-LK-3 CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ very
 jariki-na padre_A misao fino-d-e_{PRED}
 quick-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 tiring-BECOME₁-CUST-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} jariki-na
 CONN=REP 1pl AT.LOC:NSP happy-ATT exist-LK-3 quick-N.S/A.TOP
 jino_{LOC} b-i-t-e_{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
 jore-ñoaio 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} nanao
 sing-E.NMLZ all
 ‘She is happy. She went outside (of the church), she took pictures. At the time of
 receiving communion (lit. time of receiving communion), she sang all (songs).’

- 2.36S: roo~ro-d-e_{PRE}D jia_i kue eki naidai-ta_{PRE}D jamei ni-nia_io
 sing~RED-LK-3 also 1sg angle 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-nia_io da-ñ_oA ro-t-e_{PRE}D Polaco-do_{INS} ni-nia_io
 Q2-COLL one.alone-CLF:DR.F sing-LK-3 polish.Sp-INS Q2-COLL
 ro-t-e_{PRE}D iadi jaka jari-re ziga-ka_io jeno-d-e=di
 sing-LK-3 but always quick-ATT cigarette.Sp-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.Sp-CLF:STEM burn-SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP CONN REASON
 eo fuma-i-aka-d-e_{PRE}D
 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_{PRE}D ñee
 CONN REASON always outside.CLF:SP.PLACE run-LK-3 FILLER
 jenuai-d-e_{PRE}D
 search.ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘And that is why (she) ran outside, to go to look for (smokes).’
- 2.40S: jino_{LOC} jenuai-d-e_{PRE}D
 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE search.ANDTV-LK-3
 ‘(She) went to look outside.’
- 2.41J: jai iadi nai-e-nao fie-d-e_{PRE}D
 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_{PRE}D nai-e-nao naiño_s yo-a_{PRE}D
 already leave-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP CLF:PR.F tell-E.NMLZ
 nare [bi-e afai]_{LOC} jaai-d-e_{PRE}D jai iba-ñe-d-e_{PRE}D
 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?_{PRE}D
 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=z_{PRE}D
 tell.E.NMLZ CLF:PR.F money-CLF:LEAF already exist-NEG-LK-3=UNCERT
 ‘nai-e-nao jai iba-ñe-iti-kue!’_{PRE} rai-t-e_{PRE}D
 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-ití-o!_{PRED} [oo jaza-ki]_s rifa-ia_{PRED}
smoke.Sp-NEG-FUT.LK-2sg 2sg breath-CLF:INHER rot-COND₁
oos baai-a!_{PRED}
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_{PRED} 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_{PRED} ie-ze ñai-a_{PRED}
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_{PRED}
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-nao kakarei-aka-ñe-d-e_{PRED} 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^{IPRED} ie bai-e
 CONN=so already outside.CLF:SP.PLACE come-LK-1pl CONN that.FSH-CLF:G
 oni=bat_ILOC jifano-a_o jibui-zai-di-kai^{IPRED}
 LOCAL₂=THERE play.SMLF-E.NMLZ watch-ANDTV-LK-1pl
 ‘So (later) we came outside, and there we went to watch a (football) game.’
- 2.56J: navuida ie jai kai_s bi-ya^{IPRED} ua
 evening CONN already 1pl come-E.NMLZ really
 ‘We came back in the evening.’
- 2.57S: jii y [naiño yua] zefui-nai-t-e^{IPRED} afai
 yes and.Sp CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ tiring-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?^{IPRED}
 CONN=so already go-NEG-FUT.LK-3
 ‘So (she) won’t go (anymore?)’
- 2.59S: [naiño yua] ‘kue kakarei-i-aka-di-kue^{IPRED} afai
 CLF:PR.F tell.E.NMLZ 1sg hear.TH-EMPH-DES-LK-1pl upstream
 i-maki-nao ebi-re ñai-a’^{IPRED}
 ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.AN.GR-N.S/A.TOP nice-ATT speak-E.NMLZ
 naiños yoo~yo-na^{IPRED}
 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 is telling (and telling)...’
- 2.60S: ‘afai jaai-di-kue^{IPRED} zefui-nai-ti-kue^{IPRED} da-no-mo_{LOC}
 upstream go-LK-1sg tiring-BECOME₁-LK-1sg one-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC
 raai-di-kue=za’^{IPRED} rei-t-e^{IPRED}
 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!”^{IPRED} oo=di_s rai-ñe-no^{IPRED}
 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^{IPRED}
 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
 rai-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} komi_{IO}
 walk-LK.2SG-COND₂ 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 (and walking), it’s good.’
- 2.67S: jii
 yes
 ‘Yes.’
- 2.68J: kai_A bai-eo fibi-di-kai=ta_{PRED} dino raii-kana jamei
 1pl that.FSH-CLF:G get.used-LK-1pl=REP AT.CLF:SP.PLACE sit-OVERLAP ONLY
 dino-mona_{ABL} raii-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 tiring-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=aare
 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_{PRE} jaai-ti-kai!_{PRE}
 know-NEG-PASS go-FUT.LK-1pl
 ‘One doesn’t know... We will go!’
- 2.74J: nai-ñaiños nibai jaai-ñe-it-e..._{PRE}
 ANA.SP-CLF:PR.F maybe go-NEG-FUT.LK-3
 ‘She might not go...’
- 2.75S: jaai-ñe-it-e_{PRE} izoi-d-e_{PRE} ebe-na 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) when at once she wants to go...’
- 2.76J: kai bi-e jifano-ai-ti-kai=za_{PRE}
 1pl this.CTS-CLF:G play.SMLF-VENTV-LK-1pl=UNCERT
 ‘We come to play.’
- 2.77S: jii jifanua-m_{LOC} jibui-zai-di-kai_{PRE}
 yes play.SMLF-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=za³⁵⁵_{PRE}
 INTERJ really good.ATT go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ=UNCER
 ‘Ah, really? It’s good to get going (and going).’
- 2.79J: naga ñee naga-rui jo-fo-m_{LOC} i-ti-kai=za_{PRE}
 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-m_{LOC} jamei rai-fi-re-na zefui-re-d-e_{PRE}
 house-CLF:CAV-LOC ONLY lazy-CUST-ATT-E.NMLZ tiring-ATT-LK-3
 ‘Laziness at home is tiring.’
- 2.82S: zefui-re-d-e_{PRE}
 tiring-ATT-LK-3
 ‘(It’s) tiring.’

³⁵⁵ *Jaaijaikaiya* (with a reduplicated root *jai-*) is an equivalent here of *jaaijikaiya*.

- 2.83J: [afai komini uie-ko]_o jibui-zai-ya_{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: kues oni jaai-d-e-na oki-di-kue_{PRED}
 1sg LOCAL2 go-LK-3-COND2 rest-LK-1sg
 ‘If I go there, I rest.’
- 2.87J: jaai-ñe-di-kue_{PRED} nii nai-mies jaka bita-ni-d-e_{PRED}
 go-NEG-LK-1sg Q2 ANA.SP-CLF.PR.M always lay.TH-NEG.ATT-LK-3
 ‘I don’t go... Oh, he could not go to bed.’ (J is talking of another son)
- 2.88J: jaka ono-yi-mo_{LOC} i-aka-d-e=_{ZAPRED} 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 tiring-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) 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=d_i^{PREP} fui_{ri} aima-jai-d-e^{PREP} 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^{PREP} 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^{PREP} 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
 yokua^{PREP} ie jira nai-e-do^{INS} jaai-d-e^{PREP}
 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 ni_i [[aki-e yiki_{ai}]_s eo fui_{ri} 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^{PREP}
 1sg-LOC tell~RED-E.NMLZ
 ‘And do let (and let) me know if there are any fish downstream (where Elger went to fish today).’
- 2.95J: ie jaka o-ñe-d-e^{PREP} 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 Ereia_i clan, 40 years old, son of Lucio Agga Calderón 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 learnt 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 equal mastery of Spanish and 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_{PRE} omoi-mo_{O: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_{O:ADDRESSEE} kai
 outside.CLF:SP.PLACE 1pl really government.Sp-LOC 1pl
 akata-ye_{PRE}
 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_{PRE}
 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]_{PRE} jaka=mei ua ari jaai-ñe-di-kai_{PRE}
 this.CTS-CLF:DAY 1pl work-E.NMLZ always=so really uphill go-NEG-LK-1pl
 baai jaai-ñe-di-kai_{PRE}
 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 over there).’
- 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_{PRE}
 poor-ATT really go-LK-1pl
 ‘And from there (i.e. because of this), nowadays, we continue living (lit. going) unsatisfactorily (lit. poorly).’
- 3.6 taai-no yo-ti-kai_{PRE} [kai i-ya-kino-do]_{INS}
 empty-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-1pl 1pl exist-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS-INS
 i-ñe-di-kai_{PRE}
 exist-NEG-LK-1pl
 ‘We lie. We don’t live by our traditions.’
- 3.7 dino nii baai fiiebi-ya ie baai-fe=koni
 AT.CLF:SP.PLACE Q2 THERE stay-E.NMLZ CONN THERE-CLF:SIDE=LOCAL₁
 due-re-tai-di-kai_{PRE}
 poor-ATT-BECOME2-LK-1pl
 ‘We’re leaving our ways, and we have become poorer.’

- 3.8 bi-rui ua kai... [kai ua nai-rai]_S ‘dajena
 this.cts-clf:DAY really 1pl 1pl really clan-clf:STUD TOGETHER
 kai ini-ye’ kome-ki-nao ñai-ti-kai_{IPRED}
 1pl sleep-FUT.E.NMLZ heart-clf:ROUND-N.S/A.TOP speak-LK-1pl
 ie iadi jamei ua taai-no yo-t-e_{IPRED}
 CONN but ONLY really empty-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_{IPRED}
 on.own other.side-clf:NEWS 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_{IPRED}
 EACH person thing-N.S/A.TOP need-LK-3
 ‘And from there (i.e. because of this), nowadays, our young generation, everybody,
 wants things for themselves.’
- 3.11 aki-eo ua niki-dua_{IPRED} 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_{IPRED}
 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]_O bi-rui niki-do-ti-kai_{IPRED} [Murui uai]_O ‘bue’_O
 1pl language this.cts-clf:DAY fight-caus-LK-1pl Murui language Bue
 rai-ya_{IPRED}
 say-E.NMLZ
 ‘We fight today for our language, the language of the Murui, the language (we) call
 “Bue”.’
- 3.14 aki-eo 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_{IPRED}
 go~RED-INCP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘This way, if we are fighting (and 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 again from our hearts (meaning that we do it because we want to, nobody forces us).’
- 3.17 ie jira omoi-mo_{Oo:ADDRESSEE} ua kome-ki ua
 CONN REASON 2pl-LOC really heart-CLF:ROUND really
 fai-ti-kai_{PRED}
 throw-LK-1pl
 ‘That’s why we stretch our hearts to you.’
- 3.18 [da-je uai]_O kai yiii-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_{PRED}
 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-ni_O [kai
 CONN but this.CTS-CLF:G time really alone-CLF:DR.GR 1pl
 kome-ki-do]_{INS} kai_O o-ga_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} [ria-ño ‘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_{PRED}
 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_{PRED}
 CONN-INS this.CTS-CLF:DAY really already 1pl language organize-DUR-INCP-LK-3
 jai kio-di-kai_{PRED}
 already see-LK-1pl
 ‘With this our language will be organized well. We already see it.’
- 3.26 jae taai-no yo-t-e_{PRED} antropologo bene
 PAST empty-CLF:SP.PLACE tell-LK-3 anthropologist.Sp HERE.LOC:NSP
 bi-t-e_{PRED} ua jai [kai uai]_o jai ari=dine
 come-LK-3 really already 1pl language already uphill=AT.LOC:NSP
 jooi-d-e_{PRED}
 lie-LK-3
 ‘In the past, anthropologists who came (here) have lied. He put our language out there
 (as a language that is recognized and described).’
- 3.27 ie-ñe-d-e=di! kai_o jifue-t-e_{PRED}
 CONN-NEG-LK-3=CERT 1pl cheat-LK-3
 ‘It is not! They cheated us.’
- 3.28 ie bi-rui jai ua raize [kai uai]_o
 CONN this.CTS-CLF:DAY already really well.SIMIL 1pl voice
 joone-ye-na maiji-kana jaaiti-kai_{PRED}
 lay.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]_o 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 aiye
 ALL really one-CLF:G this.CTS-CLF:G one-CLF:G really big.CLF:G
 ra-fue ei-ma]_o dajena yiii-kai-ye-na_{PRED}
 thing-CLF:STORY ancestor-CLF:DR.M TOGETHER hold-INCP-FUT.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 ‘All united, we will maintain together this great story of our ancestors.’

- 3.32 bi-rui ua kai-mo eo ua izi-re 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_{OO:RECIPIENT} eo bi-rui ua rii-re jooi-ya_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G 1pl-LOC very this.CTS-CLF:DAY really strong-ATT lie-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_{HPRED} 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_{HPRED} [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-ruia_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 dance rituals, 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 when 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 when we don’t teach (lit. advise), we will keep going down.’
- 3.45 ie baai-fe-mona_{ABL} mei=ua i-t-e_{PRED} [diga
 CONN=so THERE-CLF:SIDE-ABL so=really exist-LK-3 MANY
 i-kinuai]
 ANA.NSP-CLF:NEWS.PL
 ‘And from there (i.e. because of this), there are many other things for our young ones to
 deal with here.’
- 3.46 [kai komo-no]_A kai bi-rui=ua eo izi-re
 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR 1pl this.CTS-CLF:DAY=really very painful-ATT
 jooi-di-kino jamei=ua [kai komo-za-ia_i]_A mei=ua ñee [kai
 lie-LK-CLF:NEWS ONLY=really 1pl new-CLF:IMMAT-PL so=really FILLER 1pl
 uai-na]_o jai ñai-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 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 ria-ma uai-do_{INS}
 already really FILLER one-CLF:G really non.Witoto-CLF:DR.M language-INS
 ñai-ga_{PRED} aki=dino=dì mei jaka kai-mo_{LOC}
 speak-PASS AUDIT=AT.CLF:SP.PLACE=S/A.TOP so always 1pl-LOC
 izi-re i-t-e_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} kome=dìs bai-es jai ‘Murui-di-kue’_{PRED}
 speak-NEG-LK-3 person=S/A.TOP that.FSH-CLF:G already Murui-LK-1sg
 rai-t-e_{PRED} iadi=mei jai ie-ñeit-e_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} jai taai-no-do_{INS} jaai-d-e_{PRED}
 name-CLF:INHER-INS exist-LK-3 already empty-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:AMOUNT 1pl new-CLF:PR.GR
 rii-ya-na]Cl:Comp jitai-ñe-di-kai_{PRED}
 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 yñi-kai-za_{PRED}
 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 ei-na-maki] kai=ua ñee nia ua ñai-ti-no
 1pl ancestors-ANA.SP-CLF:PR.GR.AN 1pl=really FILLER STILL really speak-LK-CLF
 mei ua jaka ui-ye
 so 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=dì kai-e=za
 so=ATTENTION really ANA.SP-CLF:G thing-CLF:STORY=S/A.TOP 1pl-GEN=UNCERT
 buu i-ñe-d-e_{PRED}
 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_{PRED}
 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-ni kai ua yïïi-ye_{PRED}
 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 izi-rui-a=dï mei ua baai baa jaaiti-kai_{PRED}
 1pl admire-MANNER-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 izi-rui-ñe-nia=mei kai yïïi-ñe-nia kai
 CONN=so 1pl admire-MANNER -NEG-COND₁=so 1pl hold-NEG-COND₁ 1pl
 ua koni-ma kai kano-ñe-nia=dï mei=ua
 really RECIP-CLF.DR.M 1pl help-NEG-COND₁=CERT so=really
 jaka uai faifi-kana jaait-e_{PRED}
 always language loose-OVERLAP go.FUT.LK-3
 ‘When 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 Calderón, the author of ‘the Murui Origin Myth’ story, 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 90s 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 request-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-t_{OPRED}
 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-t_{OPRED}
 thing-N.S/A.TOP know-LK-2sg
 ‘You know things!’³⁵⁶
- 4.6 ie=ta jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 CONN=REP need-LK-2sg
 ‘And I need it.’
- 4.7 kio-d_{OPRED} 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!’
- 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_{IS} jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED} mei ifo
 PAST really grandparent-KIN.PL go~RED-INCP-E.NMLZ so head
 [ni-no-mo_{LOC} obe-dos 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 (and go) to 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!’

³⁵⁶ 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).

- 4.12 [[kue uru-ki]_o kue_{O:RECIPIENT} eka-ye-za_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ni-no jae [kai ei-na-maki]_s jaai~jai-kai-ya_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE PAST 1pl ancestors-ANA.SP-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 umari.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 and
 pass, where *umari* fruits fall.’
- 4.13 obe-dos ni-no jini-d-e-na_{PRED} kue_{O:RECIPIENT}
 umari.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 *umari* fruits!’
- 4.14 [[kue uru-ki]_o kue_{O:RECIPIENT} eka-ye-za!_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 [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, in the stubble, the *maraca* fruit falls.’
- 4.15 [oo-re moo] muzeyi-nao 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_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘(So) I can feed my children.’
- 4.17 jitai-di-kue_{PRED}
 need-LK-1sg
 ‘I need (*maraca* fruits).’
- 4.18 kio-d_{OPRED} maiji-iti-kue_{PRED} iadi [bu-e-nao [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}]_{Pur}
 hand-CLF:BUSHY inside 1sg lay.TH-FUT.N.NMLZ
 ‘Look! I will work to lay 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-nao kue_{O:RECIPIENT} i-to!_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 ‘Where the rain is falling (and 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}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘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} 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!_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘Where avocado fruits become ripe, give me the avocado fruit to feed my children!’
- 4.22 ni-no ua [moo moni-fue]_A juzi-tofe_o airi-da_o
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really father abundance-CLF:STORY yuca-?CLF cassava-?CLF
 jooi-d-e_{PRED} ie-na_o kue_o:RECIPIENT i-to!_{PRED}
 lie-LK-3 CONN-N.S/A.TOP 1sg give-LK.2sg
 [[kue uru-ki]_o eka-ye_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER feed-FUT.E.NMLZ
 ‘Where the Father of the abundance who gave (lit. put) the yuca, the cassava. 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_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 1sg child-CLF:CLUSTER 1sg feed-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘Where *uibiyi* fruits fall. Listen Father, I need *uibiyi* fruits! to feed my children!’
- 4.24 ni-no-mo_{LOC} ua jemiki-na_o 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!_{PRED}]_{Pur}
 ANA.SP-CLF:ROUND bring-E.NMLZ-SEQ 1pl suck.FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘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 jifi-kog_i ei-nai-t-e_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE-LOC really guamas.fruit-CLF mature-BECOME₁-LK-3
 [oo-re moo] jifi-kog_i-na_o kue_{CO:RECIPIENT} i-t_{PRED}
 2sg-ATTENTION father guamas.fruit-CLF-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-na_o [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-na_o kio-i-ye-za!_{PRED}]_{PUT}
 child-CLF:G walk-DUR-LK-3 ANA.SP-CLF:F-N.S/A.TOP see-EMPH-E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘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 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
 kinekog_i-na_o jooi-ya=za
 type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP lie-E.NMLZ=UNCERT
 ‘Where the story of the *kinekog_i* fruit is still put....’
- 4.30 nia ni-no nai-fue ua yarinigi-na_o
 STILL Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE ANA.SP-CLF:STORY really type.fruit-N.S/A.TOP
 bñi-ya_{PRED}
 lie.on.ground-E.NMLZ
 ‘Where the story of the *yarinigi* fruit is lying on the ground....’
- 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 jii-bi-e_o nai-e-do_{INS} koko bee-i-ye-za_{PRED}
 coca-CLF:G ANA.SP-CLF:G-INS 1du.m toast-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ni-no ua yaurai_E izoi-d-e_{PRED} jooi-a_{PRED}
 Q2-CLF:SP.PLACE really leaf.type similar-LK-3 lie-E.NMLZ
 ati-ye-za!_{PRED}
 bring-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘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!_{!PRED}]_{PUR}
 Idu.m really liquid.tobacco below Idu.m burn.SMLF-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ni-no-mo ua ua kojomas 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}
 leaf.type-N.S/A.TOP bring-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
 ‘To light up (the fire) for our liquid tobacco, where the *koijoma* leaf falls; (we will) bring the *koijoma* 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 (things) done again (lit. get to do once again).’
- 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-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 jiai [kai
 2sg-ATTENTION mother-CLF:DR.F Fareka Buinaño 2sg also 1pl
 konirue-na]_o kano-ito=za_{PRED}
 youngster-N.S/.TOP help-FUT.LK.2SG=UNCERT
 ‘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-e_E 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 Ereiaï 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 kinse año] kues [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=di tenía ua [kinse año-s] 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 sinko año-s]
 1sg=so really small-ATT-ABL really of.Sp five.Sp year-PL
 yo fue huerfano de ei=dibene
 1sg.Sp go.PRETERITE.Sp orphan.Sp of.Sp mother=AT.HERE
 ‘When I was five, I became an orphan when my mother passed away.’
- 5.5 M: [kai moo da-ma]_s 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 aprend-e_{PRED} jaka fuueo-t-e_{PRED}
 one.Sp learn-3sg.Sp always learn-LK-3
 ‘One learns. One learns.’
- 5.11M: uno aprend-e_{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_{PRED}
 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_{PRED} zai-ya-kino_o
 really get.intoxicated-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS exist-LK-3 step-E.NMLZ-CLF:NEWS
 i-t-e_{PRED} ua fiiri-ya-kino_o i-t-e_{PRED} 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_{PRED}
 ALL exist-LK-3
 ‘There is everything.’

- 5.14M: ua jiai-mie faija-ta-kino jiai-mie ua... i-t-ePRED
 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-ePRED jaka... jmm...
 go-NEG-LK-3 always INTERJ
 ‘There is no violence in my heart... Hm...’
- 5.16M: maraiñe-d-ePRED 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=COND₁ well.Sp really MANY-CLF:NEWS.PL
 [mare ra-fue]_o kome_A kio-doPRED
 good.ATT thing-CLF:STORY person see-LK.2sg
 ‘This is not good. Although those things of the White man... Many things, one also
 sees good things.’
- 5.17M: ua maiji-a_o kome_A maiji-d-ePRED uku-be_s i-t-ePRED
 really work-E.NMLZ person work-LK-3 money-CLF:LEAF exist-LK-3
 ua kome maiji-d-ePRED [naga raa]_o iba-d-ePRED ua
 really person work-LK-3 EACH thing buy-LK-3 really
 [mare raa-na]_o kio-d-ePRED 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
 ‘At 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-ePRED 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-_{EPRED}
 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_{EPRED}
 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: riái=díbene mare iadí pero abí uiñua
 non.Witoto.PL=AT.HERE good.ATT but but.Sp body know.E.NMLZ
 díbene 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 celebrate-E.NMLZ below-LOC
 [jirua ana-mo] ua [jifai-ya ana-mo] jai
 drink.E.NMLZ below-LOC really get.intoxicated-E.NMLZ below-LOC already
 kome_A ua fa-t-_{EPRED} jiai-mieo 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 kueo faita-d-_{EPRED} jiai jiai-e-mo kueo kofe-d-_{EPRED}
 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=díbene ua kue kome-ki-do_{INS}
 always=really other=AT.HERE really 1sg heart-CLF:ROUND-INS
 jaai-ñe-d-_{EPRED} entonses...
 go-NEG-LK-3 so.Sp
 ‘My heart never turned that way there. So...’
- 5.29M: ua kai komini=díbene ie izoi-ñe-d-_{EPRED}
 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: [kinse año]=ia da-ño jaai-di-kue_{PRED} [riai
 fifteen.Sp 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 fuueo-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
 fuueo-t-e=za_{PRED} da-kino-rieo 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_E izoi-d-e_{PRED}
 AUDIT-CLF:G similar-LK-3
 ‘That’s how it is.’
- 5.35M: ie_E 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
 ‘When 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-nao
 1sg=so go-LK-1sg=COND₁ go-LK-1sg work-E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP
 yo-ti-kue_{PRED}
 tell-LK-1sg
 ‘I... When I went, I went to work, as I said.’
- 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
 f̄iebi-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 again come back, because my father lives
 here. And this way...’
- 5.42A: nai-e_E izoi-d-e_{PRED} naiño_s jika-no-t-e=ta_{PRED}
 ANA.SP-CLF:G similar-LK-3 CLF:PR.F request-SMLF-LK-3=REP
 ‘This is it, she asked (us to talk about)...’