

Some notes on aspects of Nonuya (Witotoan) grammar

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1 The *People of the Centre* and the Nonuya

- 8 ethnolinguistic groups from the **Caquetá-Putumayo region** form part of a cultural complex known in Colombia and Peru as the **People of the Centre** (Echeverri 1997).¹

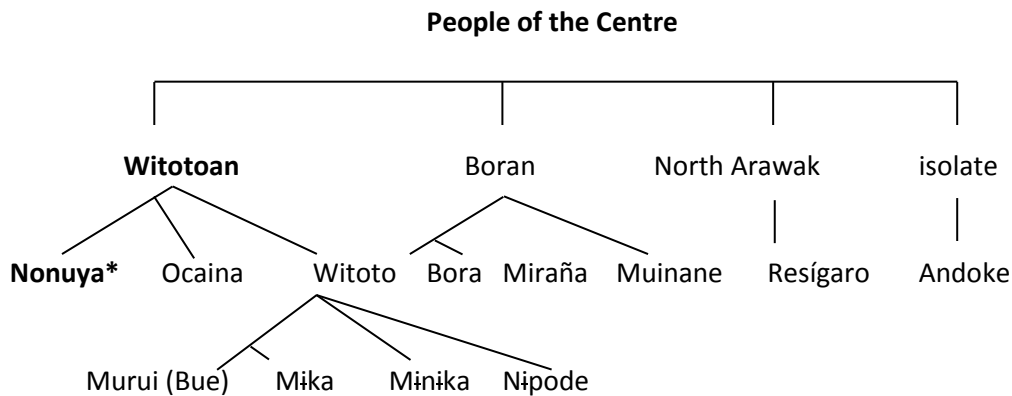


Figure 1. Ethnolinguistic groups of the *People of the Centre* complex (see further this section on *possible* genetic affiliation of Nonuya)

- The ancestral territory of the *People of the Centre* is the area between the **Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers** spanning across southern parts of Colombia and northern Peru (Echeverri 1997). Traditionally, they were hinterland groups who lived in remote areas away from the banks of major rivers (Map 1).²
- The *People of the Centre* share relative **cultural homogeneity**, including, among others:
 - trade specifications,
 - intermarriage,
 - multilingualism,
 - common practises, e.g. signal drums (Wojtylak 2016c),
 - ritual activities that relate to the consumption of pounded coca and liquid tobacco.³
- At the beginning of the 20th century, the population of the *People of the Centre* might have been as much as 46,000 (Whiffen 1915: 247). Today it numbers about 10,200 people (Table 1).

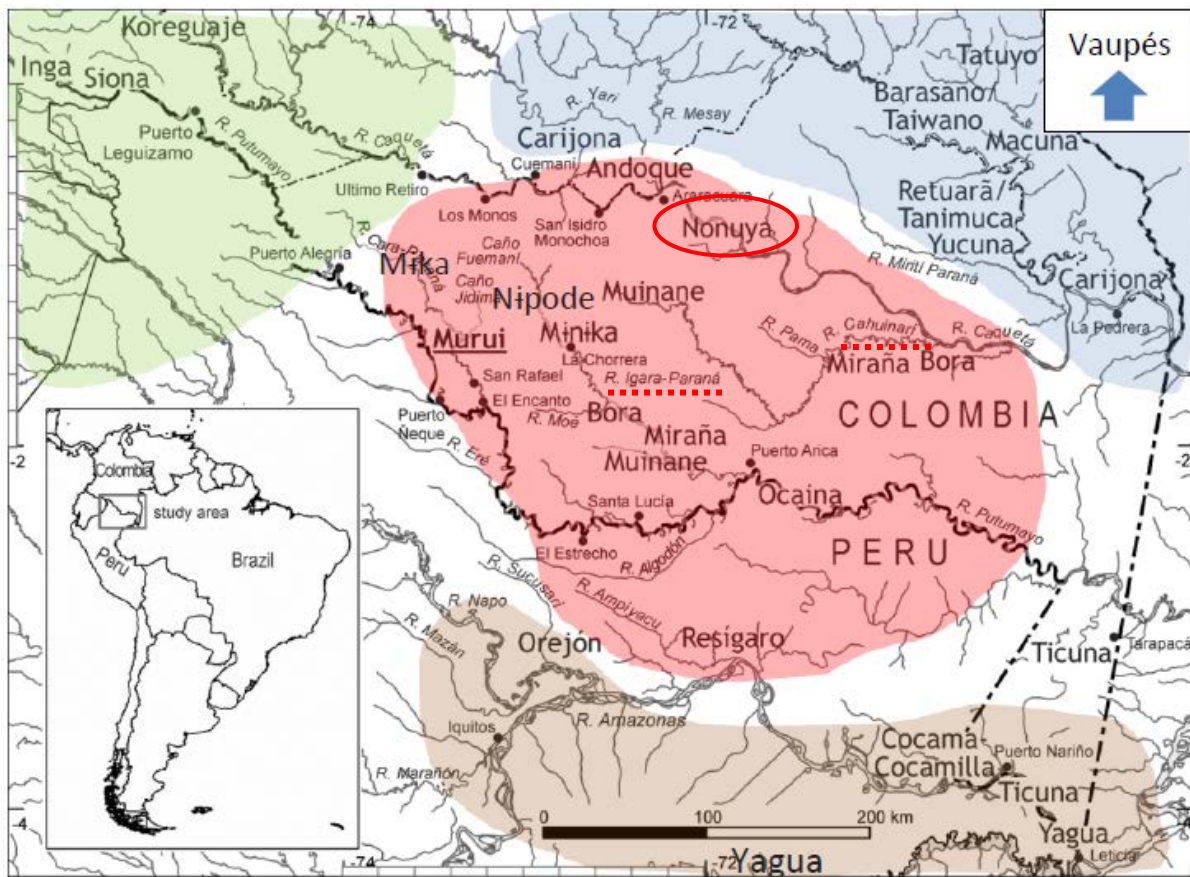
¹ The name 'People of the Centre' (Spanish *Gente del Centro*) refers to the common mythical origin, the 'Hole of Awakening' located on the Igara-Paraná River (according to the Witoto narratives). *Children of Tobacco, Coca, and Sweet Yuca* is their auto-denomination (Sp. *Hijos del tabaco, la coca y la yuca dulce*) (Echeverri and Candre 2008).

² Echeverri (1997: 52).

³ Among the *People of the Centre* tobacco is licked (by men), and not inhaled like among groups to the north, or smoked among the groups to the west, east and south (see Echeverri (2015: 108-109), (Echeverri 1997)). Some Tariana (Arawak) groups from Vaupés used to have a ritual custom where tobacco would be licked from a partner's tongue (Aikhenvald 2003: 271).

Table 1. Current population and speakers estimates of *the People of the Centre*⁴

Language family	Language (language variety)	~ Ethnic population	~ Speakers (semi-speakers)	Location
Witotoan	Witoto (Murui)	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	90	0 (6)	Colombia
	Ocaina	300	50	Colombia, Peru
Boran	Bora	2,560	700	Colombia, Peru, Brazil
	Bora (Miraña)	400	400	Colombia
	Muinane	260	90	Colombia
Arawak	Resígaro	37	2	Peru
isolate	Andoque	520	370	Colombia
Totals		10,217	5,462	



Map 1. Approximate location of the *People of the Centre* (in light red, Nonuya circled in red), Carib, East and Central Tukanoan, and Arawak (in blue), West Tukanoan and Kichwa (in green), West Tucanoan, Peba-Yaguan, Tupí-Guaraní, and Ticuna (in brown) (author's map)

⁴ See comparative data in Fagua Rincón (2015: 137) who gives 11,604 as an estimate of the population of the *People of the Centre* and 4,634 as the number of speakers. For references on numbers of ethnic population and speakers (Vengoechea 2012: 1.1, Crevels 2007, Fagua Rincón 2015, Griffiths, Coleman, and Morales 2001, Wojtylak forthcoming-c, Echeverri 2014, 1992, OIMA 2008, Seifart 2005, Thiesen and Weber 2012, Romero Cruz 2015a: 1.1).

1.1 Nonuya - a Witotoan language

Historical context

- The Nonuya people were traditionally located between **Igara-Paraná and Cahuarí Rivers** (Romero Cruz 2015a: §2) (Map 1, rivers marked with dashed lines).
- In the early 1900's, numerous indigenous groups lived in the Caquetá-Putumayo region. For instance, the Witoto people dominated the area with a population of about 15,000 and the Nonuya with 1,000 (Whiffen 1915: 247).
- At the beginning of the 20th century, the Caquetá-Putumayo area was hit by the **rubber exploitation of Casa Arana** (a Peruvian/British rubber-collecting company which colonized the area between 1900-1930) (Casement 1912, Hardenburg 1912). As direct result of disease, forced labour, torture, murder and displacements, the Nonuya people (among other groups of *People of the Centre* complex) were decimated and transported by force to Peru (Echeverri 2014, Echeverri and Landaburu 1995).
- The last transport of the Nonuya took place at the beginning on 1930's.⁵ The transport consisted mainly of the last Nonuya chiefs and *sabedores*. The tugboat sunk and only one Nonuya woman and two boys survived (the Nonuya were being transported in cages). About 60 years later, those boys and their children would play a big part in the 'recovery' of the Nonuya language and culture. They were (ones of) the last speakers of Nonuya (Echeverri and Landaburu 1995: 49).
- Only a few of the Nonuya people were able to return from Peru in 1930's; they settled in the Andoque village. Later, they would go on to live in the Villa Azul village (Caquetá River, Colombia) with the Muinane speakers.
- In the 1990s, Nonuya split from Villa Azul and established a village of Peña Roja (downriver to Araracuara, the Caquetá River). Currently, they share it with some members of the Witoto (mostly Nipode and Minika), Muinane, Andoque, Miraña, Yukuna, Tukano, Tanimuka and Tikuna groups (Romero Cruz 2015a: 42-43, 49).
- Since the 1930s, the population of the Nonuya has grown. The current number of the Nonuya amounts about to 90 individuals (Echeverri 2014: 2) (Table 1).

Genetic affiliation - a brief comparison

- **Lexicon.** There are seemingly **more cognate word forms between Nonuya and Ocaina**, rather than between Nonuya and Witoto (based on the comparative list in Seifart and Echeverri (2011)).

Nonuya	Ocaina	Witoto	Meaning	Source
okká	ooʔu	u.í(ma)	'man'	(SE:53) ⁶

- **Phonology.** Out of these **cognate words, Nonuya tends to 'resemble' more Witoto word forms**, rather than the Ocaina ones. These could be archaic forms.

⁵ From the La Chorrera village, where the 'base' of Casa Arana was located.

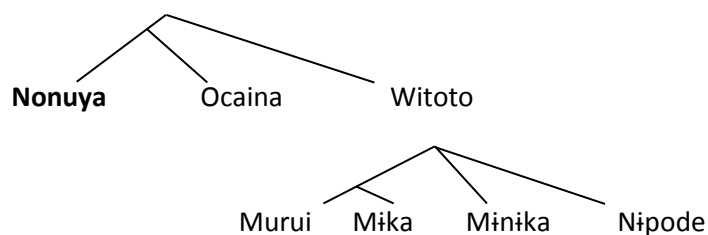
⁶ Abbreviation for data sources: SE (Seifart and Echeverri 2011), RW (Rivet and Wavrin 1953), IL (Leach 1969); the acronyms for speaker's names (Echeverri 2014): MR - Mamerto Ríos (recorded 1991), HA - Humberto Ayarce (1994-1995), RG - Rafael Grande (1996-1997). All data for Witoto (Murui) is taken from my grammar (Wojtylak forthcoming-c).

- **Morphology.** The grammatical structures of **Nonuya** are more similar to those of **Ocaina**, rather than to those of **Witoto**. One of such ‘similarities’ is cross-referencing on verb:

Nonuya	Ocaina	Witoto
S/A (O?) (prefix)	S/A, O (prefix)	S/A (suffix)

- Similarities found throughout lexical items and the morphological structures are suggestive, allowing the assumption that Nonuya and Ocaina are closely related. Given the phonological similarities between Nonuya and Witoto, it can be hypothesised that these are ‘archaic’ forms. This would suggest that in fact, Nonuya and Witoto have originated in a proto language, and Ocaina split from Nonuya at some later stage. This hypothesis certainly requires further investigation.⁷
- Possible genetic affiliation based on a brief comparison of lexical, phonological and morphological data (a mere hypothesis).

Witotoan language family



The *Nonuya* language - the language of the *People of Achiote*

- The Nonuya people refer to their language as *nononota*.
- The names *nonuya* and *nononota* are derived from the Witoto word *nono-* for ‘*achiote* plant [*Bixa orellana*]’ (Figure 1) which is a shrub or small tree the seeds of which various Amazonian groups originally used to make red body paint. Traditionally, the *achiote* plant has had an important significance, as it was used mainly during rituals, healings, tribal wars, and by the people to protect themselves from witchcraft (Echeverri and Landaburu 1995: 43).



Figure 1. *Bixa orellana* - the *achiote* plant

⁷ Future research will also have to take into account historical narratives about origin and contact relations between Nonuya, Ocaina and Witoto peoples, as well as the population size in the past. Note also that population-wise, both Ocaina and Nonuya groups were quite small. Whiffen estimated that in 1915 there were about 2,000 Ocaina and 1,000 Nonuya. The Witoto people were much more populous, and their number in 1915 could have been as much as 15,000 (Whiffen, 1915). It could also have been the case that in fact the Nonuya, given their small number in 1915, were in fact a group that split from the Ocaina and under an intense contact with the Witoto people (if such existed), they adopted Witoto phonological characteristics.

- Nonuya, the language of the *People of Achiote*, is a **moribund language**. The last of the 3 remaining speakers of Nonuya passed on in 2003. As for 2015, there are only 6 semi-speakers remaining (Romero Cruz 2015a: §1.1)
- Since 1991, as a result of long term search for last remaining speakers of Nonuya, there has been a slow process meant to recover the language and cultural practices (through e.g. songs) (Echeverri and Landaburu 1995: 49).⁸

What we know of the *nononota* language?

- The first wordlist of the Nonuya language (394 words and expressions) was compiled by the marquis Robert de Wavrin in 1931-32 (Rivet and Wavrin 1953). Rivet and Wavrin note that the language seems to be related with Ocaina, rather than with Witoto:

‘Les comparaisons lexicales que nous avons faites prouvent surabondamment la parenté du Nonuya el de l’Okáina avec le Witóto.’ (Rivet and Wavrin 1953: 334)

- Thanks to documentation efforts of anthropologists Juan Alvaro Echeverri and Jorge Gaché, linguist Jon Landaburu, the Nonuya community and the few remaining speakers, the last three decades of documentation efforts resulted in recordings of numerous Nonuya words and expressions (recorded in 1973 and between 1991-2007) (Echeverri 2014).⁹ It is the biggest known source on the Nonuya language, given that the last remaining speaker died in recent years.
- With an exception of two brief phonetic/phonological analyses of Nonuya (Orjuela Salinas 2010, Romero Cruz 2015a), there are no other studies on the language. Therefore, we do not know anything about the Nonuya grammatical structures.¹⁰ This talk presents the first preliminary analysis of a number of grammatical features of the language, based on the word lists found in Echeverri (2014).

Who were the Nonuya people? - confusion in the literature

- Various ‘languages’ and groups in the area were referred to with the same name - *People of Achiote* or ‘Nonuya’: the ‘actual’ Nonuya people, and those which were not ‘Nonuya’.
- The problem was caused by the fact that other groups in the area (Witoto and Bora) had also *achiote* clans, all referred to as ‘People of Achiote’: *nonuiaí* (achiote-pl) in Witoto (Echeverri and Landaburu 1995: 44-48).¹¹
- At the time of the early travellers in the Caquetá-Putumayo region (Robuchon 1907, Rocha 1905: 112), the Witoto people were commonly used as ‘guides’ leading travel parties around the area. The Witoto referred to all the types of *People of Achiote* with one term - the *nonuiaí* (achiote-pl).¹²
- Whiffen (1915: 248), a fine British ethnographer and traveller, may possibly have been the first one to note that the Nonuyas were distinct from the Witoto and Bora people.

⁸ The search was initiated by the Nonuya from the village of Peña Roja. See also other works (Romero Cruz 2013, 2015b, a, Rodríguez 1997, Orjuela Salinas 2010).

⁹ Transcribed in 199 pages and compiled by Juan Alvaro (Echeverri) (Echeverri 2014).

¹⁰ Doris Fagua, Isabel Romero Cruz and Juan Echeverri have been intending to analyse some grammatical structures of the Nonuya language (Fagua and Echeverri p.c.) and hopefully, we will be able to know more about the language in the near future.

¹¹ For instance, four ‘Nonuya’ words found in (Tessmann 1930: 583) are analysed as being of the *achiote* people who were Bora (Echeverri and Landaburu 1995: 45-47).

¹² *Neevaje* in Bora.

2 Typological features of the Witotoan languages¹³

- In terms of the language structure, all Witotoan languages are **nominative-accusative** with head marking with some elements of dependent marking.
- The languages are largely **agglutinating** with some fusion and predominantly **suffixing**. There are only a few prefixes (Witotoan languages differ in terms of number of prefixes).
- Grammatical relations are expressed through **cross-referencing on the verb** (number of cross-referencing position depends on the language).
- All Witotoan languages have directional suffixes on verbs.
- Syntactic functions are expressed through case marking.
- Typical clause structure is **predicate final** (SV/AOV) but ordering can be determined by pragmatic factors permitting VS and AVO constituent orders (constituent order in Ocaina is somewhat more 'rigid' than in other Witotoan languages).
- Pronouns and pronominal markers have a tripartite number system that distinguishes three numbers, singular (male vs. female), dual (male vs. female) and plural.

Witotoan languages share **numerous areally spread patterns** (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998: 8-9, Aikhenvald and Dixon 1999, Aikhenvald 2001). These include, among others:¹⁴

- complex classifier systems,
- differential case marking,
- grammatical category of evidentiality (at least one evidential - reported).

3 Some aspects of Nonuya grammar - what can we say?

Some preliminary comments on a few features of Nonuya grammar:

- phonology (§3.1),
- pronouns and pronominal marking (§3.2),
- possession (§3.3),
- classifier system (§3.4),
- grammatical relations (§3.5),
- number words (§3.6),
- negation (§3.7),
- imperative (§3.8).

Aim of the talk:

To illustrate some basic characteristics of Nonuya and see how 'Witotoan' they are.

¹³ See also Fagua Rincón and Seifart (2010: 235).

¹⁴ See Wojtylak (forthcoming-b) on evidentiality in Bora-Witotoan languages, Wojtylak (2016a), Seifart and Payne (2007) on (Witoto) Murui classifier system and classifier systems in languages spoken around the Caquetá-Putumayo area, Wojtylak (forthcoming-a) on Witoto (Murui) differential case marking.

3.1 Phonology

- Nonuya has two tonal distinctions (similar to Ocaina, but distinct from Witoto¹⁵).
- No nasal vowels (similar to Witoto, but distinct from Ocaina).
- Complex rules of stress assignment (there are no unified stress patterns across Witotoan languages).
- Nonuya has a typical Northwest Amazonian six vowel inventory (as have Ocaina and Witoto).
- The language has two implosive sounds: alveolar voiced [ɖ] and bilabial voiced [ɓ] (no other Witotoan language has implosives).

Table 2. Nonuya consonant phonemes (Romero Cruz 2015a: §4.3.1)

	Bilabial	Apico-dental	Apico-alveolar	Apico-postalveolar	Retroflex	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	*p		t				k	
Voiced stop	b		d		ɖ		*g	
Voiced implosive	ɓ / ɓ ^w				ɖ			
Voiceless fricative	ɸ	f	*s	*ʃ			x	ʔ
Voiced fricative		*v	*ɗ	ʒ		ɟ		
Voiceless affricate			ts			tʃ		
Voiced affricate			dz	dʒ				
Nasal	m / m ^w	n				ɲ		
Flap			r		ɽ			
Rhotic			r					

*Marginally occurring phonemes

Table 3. Vowel correspondences (Seifart and Echeverri 2011)

Nonuya	Ocaina	Witoto	Proto-Witoto-Ocaina-Nonuya
i	i	i	*i
ɪ	a	ɪ	
ɨ	u	ɨ	
e	u	e	*e
o	o	o	*o
ɔ	o	u	
u	o	o	
ɔ	o	u	*u
ʉ	o	ʉ	
a	a	a	*a

¹⁵ Witoto Murui and M̄ika have fixed accent. Witoto M̄in̄ika and N̄ipode appear to have different patterns of accent placement which some suggest could indicate tonal contrasts (Seifart and Fagua Rincón 2009), (Youlin Avila, p.c.).

Table 4. Summary of consonant correspondences (Seifart and Echeverri 2011)

Nonuya	Ocaina	Witoto	Proto-Witoto-Ocaina-Nonuya
ϕ	ϕ	p / ϕ	*p / ϕ
b	b	b	*b
β	β	b	
d	tʰ	d	*t
t	t	t	
d,d	ʔtʰ	d	*ʔt
t	ʔt	t	
d,d	dʰ	r	*d
ts	r	r	*r
r	r	r	
dʒ	dʒ	dʒ	*(dʒ)
d	dʒ	d	*(dʒ)
m	m	m	*m
m̥	m̥	m̥	
n	n	n	*n
n̥	n̥	n̥	
n̥	ɲ	n̥	*ɲ
n	ɲ	ɲ	
n̥	ɲ	n̥	
t	x, ʔx	k	*tʰ
h	x, ʔx	k	*x
k	x	k	*(x)
k	ʔ	^	*k
h	h	h	*h
ʔ	-	^	*ʔ
ʔ	x, ʔx	k	

3.2 Pronouns and pronominal marking

- Witotoan languages differ considerably in terms of cross-referencing on the verb:
 - Nonuya has at least one position: **S/A** (and possibly **O**) marked with **pronominal prefixes**,
 - Ocaina has two positions: pronominal **prefixes** for **O and S/A** (O-A-verb),
 - Witoto has one position: S/A pronominal **suffixes**.
- Nonuya has one cross-referencing position: the subject S/A (prefix) (but see ex (17a-b) §3.5).
 - (1) [jamokó]s [ji-kichi]PRED [nu'uvi-ña]o
 3sg.m 3sg-give[TAM]¹⁶ water-O.TOP
 'He gave me water.' ('él le dió agua') (HA135)
 - (2) [nu'uví-ña]o [jo-kí]ADDRESSEE [ji'-aáni]PRED
 water-O.TOP 1sg-DAT 3sg-ask[TAM]
 'He asked me for water.' ('él me pidió agua') (HA135)

¹⁶ It is unclear if an unmarked verbal root carries any TAM specification. It is further more unclear what the TAM categories are in Nonuya. All Nonuya verbs thus are glossed as containing the [TAM] affix.

- Structurally, Nonuya is much more similar to Ocaina, than Witoto.¹⁷

(3) Nonuya

S/A nii-cha [ji-veí-ni]PRED
 Q-COM 3sg-speak-NEG
 ‘S/he doesn’t speak with anybody.’ (‘no habla con nadie’) (HA90)

(4) Ocaina

S/A,O [tʰa-ko-tõ:ʔɸo]PRED
 3.INANIM-1SG-tie
 ‘S/he tied it.’ (‘lo amarro’) (Fagua Rincón 2009: vii:18)

(5) Witoto

S/A be-no-mo (nai-e) [bita-d-e]PRED
 here-CLF:SPECIFIC.PLACE-LOC that.DIST-CLF:G put.down-LINK-3
 ‘(S/he/they) put (it) here.’

Table 5. Pronouns and pronominal marking in Witotoan languages - first approximation

	Nonuya		Witoto		Ocaina ¹⁸		
	pronoun	prefix S/A, O?	pronoun	suffix S/A	pronoun	prefix O	prefix S/A
1sg	jo'é	jo-	kue	-kwe	xõ	xo-	x-, k(V)-
2sg	o'é	o-	oo	-o	õ	o-	- (zero)
3sg.m	ja-mokó		nai-mie i-mie	-mie	ĩ:hã aʔi:βa	ɲa-	ha(ʔ)-
3sg.f	ja-kenó	ji-	nai-ñaiño i-ñaiño	-ñaiño	ĩ:hã aʔi:ko	ɲa-	ha(ʔ)-
3inanim	?	ʔji-	-	-	tja:hũ	tja-	tja(ʔ)-
1du.m	koojó	kó-	koko	-koko	xo:xo	xoxo-	xo(x)-
1du.f	?		kaiñai	-kaiñai	xa:ka	xaka-	xak(a)-
2du.m	moojó	moojó-	omiiko	-(o)miko	mo:ʔxo	mo:ʔxo-	mo:ʔ(x)-
2du.f	?		omiñoi	-omiñoi	mo:ʔka	mo:ʔka-	mo:ʔk(a)-
3du.m	tσαájo jachaá minamokojo	tσα-	-maiai	-(zi)maiai	u:βá	uβa-	uβa(ʔ)-
3du.f	ja-cha'e ja-kenojo	jachaá- jachaá=	-iñuai	-(zi)ñuai	u:ka	u:ka-	wka(ʔ)-
1pl	too	to(o)-	kaɪ	-kaɪ	xa:ho	xaho-	xa(ʔ)-
2pl	moo	mo-	omoi	-(o)moi	mo:ʔto	mo:ʔto-	mo(ʔ)-
3pl	ja-tsiní ja-chiñí (?)	?	-maki -maki	-maki	u:sa (3.pl) tʰahũ (3.inanim)	uʔja- (3.pl) tʰa- (3.inanim)	hã:(ʔ)- (3.pl) tʰa(ʔ)-(3.inanim)

3.3 Possession

- Identity in all Witotoan languages is typically expressed by verbless clauses, that is, juxtapositions of two NP’s (see e.g. Wojtylak (2016b) in Witoto Murui).

(6) Nonuya

[jo-tsod'o bweye]
 1sg-sister this
 ‘This is my sister.’ (‘esa es mi hermana (de mujer a mujer)’) (RG184)

¹⁷ In this talk Murui represents all four dialects of the ‘Witoto language’.

¹⁸ Source: Fagua Rincón (2009).

- In Nonuya, a simple juxtaposition of words within the NP is also the most frequent marking of possession requires the Possessor (R) - Possessed (D) order. In this respect, Nonuya is no different from other Witotoan languages. See also ex (1-3) in the Appendix.

(7)	[jotó tiii] _{NP} jaguar tooth 'jaguar's tooth' ('diente de tigre') (RG185)	(8)	[bweye jotó tiii] _{NP} this jaguar tooth 'this jaguar's tooth' ('este diente de tigre') (RG185)
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- Pronominal prefixes and personal pronouns can function as possessive markers.¹⁹

(9)	[jo-jóvano] _{NP} 1sg-mother.in.law 'my mother in law' ('suegra') (HA93)	(10)	[joé jovanó] _{NP} 1sg mother.in.law 'my mother-in-law' ('mi suegra') (RG184)
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The vast majority of Nonuya nouns appear to be obligatorily possessed (e.g. kinship terms, body parts). This is unlike Witoto, and possibly Ocaina. In the word lists, Nonuya nouns always appear marked with a possessor.²⁰

(11)	[jamoko momi-bi] _O	[ji-do] _S	[ji-dajaivani] _{PRED}
	he woman-LOC	3sg-heart	3sg-think[TAM]
	'He is thinking about a woman.' (él está pensando en una mujer') (HA69)		

(12)	[jí-naame] _O	[ji-ju'i'i] _{PRED}
	3sg-body	3sg-scratch[TAM]
	'He is scratching his body.' ('está rascando el cuerpo') (HA114)	

3.4 Classifiers

- A salient characteristic of the nominal morphology of Nonuya is a **large classifier system**.

Table 6. Some Nonuya classifiers that have the same / different forms across other Witotoan languages

Classifiers	Nonuya	Source	Witoto	Ocaina ²¹	Meaning
-fo 'cavity'	teé-fo	(RG160)	do-fo	t ^h oo-fo	'nose'
	jimiñee-fo	(HA159)	moi-fo	?	'vagina'
	tsai-fo	(SE:19)	raia-fo	(tja)ra-fo	'tomb'
-ti 'small, round'	jime-ti	RG153	jime-ki	?	'peach palm fruit'
	nonoo-ti	MR3	nono-ki	?	'fruit of <i>achiote</i> '
-na 'tree-like'	ámwee-na	MR5	ame-na	aṃũũ- na	'tree'
	fuijuu-ñá	MR4	?	?	' <i>caimo</i> tree'
	d'okuu-ñá	MR	dio-na	tjoʔoo-ko	'tobacco tree' (SE51)
-d'o 'tree type'	nomwee-d'o	MR5	nome-?	?	' <i>aguacate</i> tree'
-i 'bigger, round'	nomwee-i	MR5	nome-do	noñúú-xo	' <i>aguacate</i> fruit' (IL125)
	jato-i	MR5	?	?	' <i>juansoco</i> fruit'
	jó-d'o-i	MR8	kome-ki	?	'heart'
-fué 'tree type'	jato-fué	MR5	?	?	' <i>juansoco</i> tree'

¹⁹ There are a number of 'archaic' forms in Mika, where the form *kei* refers to 'mother' (*ei* Murui and *Minika*), *moo* is 'father'. *Mookei* can be interpreted as 'parents'. Note however that the element *k-* in all Witotoan languages is related to 1sg marker, which suggest that *kei* in fact is an archaic form bearing the possessive prefix *-k*. *Kei* therefore means 'my mother'. Another example is *jofoó* (my house) in Nonuya which in Witoto (Murui) has the lexicalized form *jofo* (*foo* in *Minika*).

²⁰ Most of the Nonuya and Ocaina kinship terms are completely different that from in Witoto.

²¹ The Ocaina words and affixes that are missing throughout all the Tables is my oversight and does not reflect the state of grammatical description of the language as found in Fagua Rincón (2013).

- Nonuya appears to show characteristics of a multiple classifier system (similarly to Witoto and Ocaina), in (13-14) a classifier occurs on a number word.

(13)	d'id'aa- ña one-CLF:TREE.LIKE 'one tree' (RG:152)	(14)	[d'id'a- ki -na]o one-CLF-O.TOP 'I made a coca tube.'	[jibi- ki -na]o coca-CLF-O.TOP '('hize un pilón de coca') (MR20)	[jo-maakachi]PRED 1sg-make[TAM]
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- It has an important discourse function as a reference-tracking device. Multiple classifier systems are a feature Witoto and Ocaina languages. The exact morphosyntactic environments of Nonuya classifiers remain to be seen.

- Nonuya animal classifiers distinguish natural gender (cf. 3sg f/m Table 5):

(15)	mwinaa- mé two-CLF:M 'two men' (MR21)	(16)	mwina- kee two-CLF:F 'two women' (MR21)
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Table 7. Natural gender distinction in animate classifiers in Witotoan languages

Nonuya			Witoto		Ocaina		
CLF:M	CLF:F	Source	CLF:M	CLF:F	CLF:M	CLF:F	Source
-mé	-kee	(MR21)	-mie/-ma	-ño/-ñaiño	-ma	-ko	(IL166)

3.5 Grammatical relations

- Nonuya core cases are: S/A (unmarked), O (unmarked/topical marked) and dative.²²
- Discourse status of O arguments determines whether the arguments receive the overt case marking (differential object marking).
- There are oblique cases in Nonuya: two locative, ablative, comitative (a future analysis will show more case marking distinctions) (Table 8).

Table 8. Core and oblique cases in Nonuya, Witoto and Ocaina

Case	Nonuya		Witoto	Ocaina
S/A	-∅	S/A arguments	-∅ -di	? ?
O	-∅ -na/-ña	O neutral with respect to its discourse status O referent specific and topical; second O NP in ditransitive verbs	-∅ -na	? ?
O addressee/recipient	-∅, -kí (with pronouns)	addressee/recipient	-mo	?
locative	-bi -bi-na -ke	locative 'in' locative 'towards' locative 'in(side)'	-mo	-mó
ablative	-na	motion away 'from'	-mona, -na	-mó
comitative	-tsa	'together with'	-do	?
benefactive-causal	?	?	-ri	?
privative	?	?	-nino	?

²² It remains to be seen if Nonuya distinguishes also the topical subject S/A.TOP case marking, as in Witoto. See Wojtylak (forthcoming-a) on differential case marking in Murui.

- The 3sg prefix *ji-* seems to appear in the O function on the verb:

(17) a. **ji-yaa-ni** jo'é
 3sg-find-NEG 1sg
 'I didn't find (it/him).'²³ ('no lo encontré') (HA/RG138)

b. **ji-yati-ni** jo'e
 3sg-see[DES.TAM]-NEG 1sg
 'I don't want (lit. need) to see (it/him).'²³ ('no lo quiero ver') (HA71)

- I was unable to find an example which would illustrate 2 prefix positions on the verb whereby S/A and O markers would appear simultaneously. This will require more explanation in the future.

S/A arguments

- In Nonuya, S/A arguments are unmarked.
- There is no morphological distinction between marking of NPs in S function of intransitive clauses, in A function of transitive clauses, and in VS function of verbless clauses (see ex (6) in §3.3).

(18) **[oká]A** [foó]o [ji-mi'i]PRED
 hombre house 3sg-make[TAM]
 'The man is building (lit. making) the house.'²³ ('el hombre está haciendo la casa') (HA133)

(19) **[jotó]A** jo-tyoki-bani
 dog 1sg-see-[TAM]
 'The dog is looking at me.'²³ ('el perro me está mirando') (HA57)

- See also ex (4-6) in the Appendix.

O arguments

- Core O NPs can be unmarked or take the topical O marker *-na/-ña* (differential object marking).
- Order of constituents is not rigid: AOV, OVA (possibly correlating with DOM?)²³

(20) **AUnmarkedV** [oo'é]A **[jiibí]O** [o-máaka'i]PRED
 2sg coca 2sg-make[TAM]
 'Did you make coca?' ('¿usted hizo coca?') (HA79)

(21) **AOMarkedV** [oo'é]A **[jiye fo'é-ña]o** [o-ipani]PRED
 2sg ?this word.mouth-O.TOP 2sg-think[TAM]
 'Do you agree with it?' ('¿usted está de acuerdo con el idioma?') (HA:84)

(22) **OunmarkedVA** **[adava]o** [ji-achi]PRED [jotó]A
 chicken 3sg-bite[TAM] dog
 'The dog bit the chicken.'²³ ('el perro mordió la gallina') (HA110)

- Marking of arguments of ditransitive verbs - second O NP of a ditransitive verb is always marked.

²³ Note, however, in many cases it remains uncertain what 'real' meanings of Nonuya phrases (based on the available word lists). For instance, given that expression of possession in Nonuya is a salient feature of the language (§3.3), one might interpret examples such as (20) as [oo'é jiibí]o [o-máaka'i]PRED, where the pronoun is in the possessor function, rather than the A argument. The Nonuya word lists contain translation many 'errors', such as in (9) *jojóvano* which is translated as 'mother-in-law' rather than 'my mother-in-law' that contains the prefix *jo-*. Moreover, orthographic conventions used in the word lists are not always clear.

(23) [nu'uví-ña]o [jo-kí]_{ADDRESSEE} [ji'-aáni]PRED
 wáter-O.TOP 1sg-DAT 3sg-ask[TAM]
 'He asked me for water.' ('él me pidió agua') (HA135)

(24) [jose]_A [jo-ki-kiyi] PRED [jibi-ña]o
 Jose 1sg-DAT-give[TAM] coca-O.TOP
 'Jose gave me coca.' ('Jose me dió coca') (MR31)

O arguments - Addressee/Recipient

- Pronouns in O function that refer to addressee/recipient are marked with the dative *-kí* (*-ki* could be related to the locative *-ke*; the locative case marks O addressee/recipient functions in Witoto and Ocaina).

(25) [jamokó] [o-kí]_{RECIPIENT / ADDRESSEE} [naée'i]PRED
 he 2sg-DAT help[TAM]
 'He helped you.' ('él te ayudó') (HA78)

(26) [jo-kí]_{RECIPIENT / ADDRESSEE} [ó-ki'i]PRED
 1sg-DAT 2sg-give
 'Give me!' ('deme') (HA, RG:140)

- Marking of NPs is uncertain at this point. See also other ex (7) in the Appendix.

Locative *-bi*

- The locative *-bi* might be interpreted as 'in, within, at, on'. Locative constituents are simple adjuncts (other ex, (8-9), are in the Appendix).

(27) [jamokó]s [jada-bi]_{loc} [ji-teetyata'i]PRED
 3sg.m forest-LOC 3sg-go.hunt?[TAM]
 'He went to hunt in the forest.' (él fué a cazar al monte) (HA100)

(28) [jotó]a [jo-bi] [tyoki-bani]PRED
 dog 1sg-LOC see-[TAM]
 'The dog is looking at me (lit. in me)' ('el perro me está mirando') (HA57)

- The combination of the locative *-bi* and the O.TOP marker *-na* with motion verbs encodes movement oriented toward a specific goal and can be interpreted as 'towards' (see Stenzel (2008: 5) on Kotiria).

(29) [Bogotá-bi-na] jo-vari
 Bogota-LOC-O.TOP 1sg-go[TAM]
 'I go to Bogotá.' ('yo voy a Bogotá') (HA61)

Locative *-ke*

- The meaning of *-ke* refers to 'in(side)'. (See also ex (10) in the Appendix.)

(30) [maíjo doi-ke] [jí-fojóde'i]PRED
 maloca inside-LOC 3sg-enter[TAM]
 'He entered (lit. enter in heart) the maloca.' ('entró adentro de la maloca') (HA103)

(31) [é] [putumayo-ke] [jo-kiijokí]PRED
 1sg Putumayo-LOC 1sg-?born
 'I was born at the Putumayo (lit. in the Putumayo).' ('yo nació en el río Putumayo') (HA127)

- The morpheme *-ke* can be followed by the topicalizer *-na*.

(32) [foó doi-ke-na] [shod'ari]PRED
 inside inside-LOC-O.TOP put[TAM]
 'I will put (it) inside the house.' ('lo voy a colocar dentro de la casa') (MR13)

Ablative *-na/-ña*

(33) [kemadi'í foé-ña]ABLATIVE [jó-tsi]PRED
 downstream mouth-O[ABL] 1sg-come
 'I come from the estuary' ('vine de la bocana') (HA, RG142)

- See also ex (11-12) in the Appendix.

Comitative *-tsa*²⁴

(34) [joke kivotsai-tsa] [jonuviya'i]PRED
 1sg child-COM 1sg-bath[TAM]
 'I will bathe with my children.' ('nosotros vamos a bañar con mis hijos') (MK199)

- See also ex (13) in the Appendix.

3.6 Number words

Table 9. Number words - Witotoan cognates

Number word	Nonuya			Witoto		Ocaina	
	Form	Source	Derivation	Form	Derivation	Form	Derivation
1	d'id'a-	(MR21)	'one'	da-	'one/alone'	tja-, -ma?	'one'
2	mwinaa	(MR21)	'two'	mena	'two'	hanaa(-ma?) /jaña-	'two'
3	mina- tso-	(RG186)	'two+one'	daje amani	'one without brother'	hanaa-ma? /-tjaa-ma?	'two+one'
4	1. karoti 2. minamwé minamwé	1.(MR27) 2.(RG159)	1.unknown 2.'two+two'	na-ga ama-ga	'both/all brother(s)'	nahi?xanó	?
5	d'a-fwé	(RG187)	'one-?'	da-be-kuiro	'one leaf side'	tja?-fiiforo?	'one leaf (side?)'
10	no data	no data	no data	naga-fe-be-kuiro	'both/all leaf sides'	hana?-fáti	'two-?'

- The forms 'one'/'two' are the underived and unanalyzable words expressing numeral meanings.
- Nonuya forms expressing 'three' and 'four' are a combination of the numbers 'two+one', and 'two+two'. This is similar to Ocaina (at least for 'three') but different from Witoto (Table 9).²⁵

²⁴ It is unclear if the Nonuya comitative marker *-tsa* can also be interpreted as instrumental, as in Murui *-do*.

²⁵ Note that in the neighboring unrelated Bora, 'one' (*tsa-*) and 'two' (*mi-*) are underived forms, that are similar Witotoan forms. The number word 'three' translates as 'piled up' and number 'four' is 'half a hand of' (Thiesen 1996: 214, Wojtylak 2015).

- The diverse etymological origin of Witotoan number words have possibly developed as a contact-induced change (cf. the North Amazonian pattern of 'having a brother' (Epps et al. 2012).

3.7 Negation

- Nonuya has what appears to be a negative copula *jiñi* (derived possibly 3sg-NEG) '(there) is nothing (lit. is not' (RG167). This is similar to Ocaina negative copula *aani* (Fagua Rincón 2016). Witoto has no negative copula.

(35) [jiñí od'a] vs. (36) [yeeñi o'd'á]
 NEG.COP salt COP salt
 'There is no salt' ('no hay sal') (MR16) 'There is salt' ('no hay sal') (RG179)

- Negation in Nonuya is remarkably similar to that in Ocaina:
 - negation is expressed by the suffix *-ni/-ñi* that follows verbal root (+TAM markers),
 - the position of the S/A argument is postposed to the verb.

(37) Nonuya (38) Nonuya
 [nomá-ñi]PRED [jo'é]s [teeja-ni]PRED [jo'é]s
 sing-NEG 1sg listen-NEG 1sg
 'I don't sing.' ('no quiero cantar') (HA/RG136) 'I don't understand.' ('no entiendo') (HA85)

(39) Ocaina (40) Ocaina
 [hoááʔxa]o [d'omiʔí-ni]PRED [xõ]A [boot]o [noxó-ni]PRED [xaaho]A
 work look.for-NEG 1.SG.SUB cahuana drink-NEG 1.PL.SUB
 'I don't look for work.' (Fagua Ricon 2016:11) 'We don't drink cahuana.' (Fagua Ricon 2016:11)

- Negation in Nonuya and Ocaina are different from that in Witoto:

(41) Witoto (42) Witoto
 (kue) [ro-ñe-di-kue]PRED (kue) [nokae-na]o [ati-ñe-di-kue]PRED
 1sg sing-NEG-LINK-1sg 1sg canoe-N.S/A.TOP bring-NEG-LINK-1sg
 'I don't sing.' 'I didn't bring the canoe.'

3.8 Imperative

- Expression of (positive) imperative constructions in Nonuya.

(43) o-kávo'i
 2sg-wake.up[TAM]
 'Wake up!' ('levantese!') (MR21)

(44) jiibí ó-ja'a
 coca 2sg-sieve[TAM]
 'Sieve the coca!' (HA106)

- One construction involves the prefix *ño-* (unlike in Witoto and possibly Ocaina) (ex. (14-15) Appendix).

(45) ño-fajatsaé
 ?IMP.2sg-weigh[TAM]
 'Weigh (it)!' ('peselo!') (HA115)

- This could be a feature of HA's speech but note that Witoto has imperative suffix *-ño* (cf. 46b).

- Nonuya imperative is similar to that in Witoto and Ocaina.

(46) a. Witoto

b. Witoto

(47) Ocaina

(o) ati!
2sg bring
'(You) bring (it)'

(o) gui-ño!
2sg eat-IMP
'(You) eat!'

mo?-a:hi
2pl-come
'(You) come!' (Fagua Ricon 2009:xii)

- It remains to be seen how to express negative imperative in Nonuya. Negative imperative is expressed differently in Ocaina and Witoto (that is, change in the constituent order in Ocaina).

4 Summary

- Nonuya is a Witotoan language, and it is more closely related to Ocaina than to Witoto (Table 10).

Appendix

Table 10. A number of grammatical features of Nonuya, Witoto and Ocaina compared

Grammatical feature		Nonuya		Witoto		Ocaina
-phonology (§2.1)		two tones		no tone		two tones
		two implosive sounds		no implosive sounds		no implosive sounds
		no nasal vowels		no nasal vowels		nasal vowels
-pronouns and pronominal marking (§2.2)		S/A (prefix), O?		S/A (suffix)		O, S/A (prefix)
-possession (§2.3)		majority of obligatorily possessed nouns		not obligatorily possessed nouns		?
-classifier system (§2.4)		multiple classifier system		multiple classifier system		multiple classifier system
-grammatical relations (§2.5)	S/A	-		-∅	- <i>di</i>	?
	O	-∅	- <i>na/-ña</i>	-∅	- <i>na</i>	?
	Addressee/Recipient	-∅	- <i>ki</i> (pronouns)	-∅	- <i>mo</i>	?
	Locative	- <i>bi</i>	- <i>bi-na</i> - <i>ke</i>	- <i>mo</i>		- <i>mó</i>
	Ablative	- <i>na</i>		- <i>na</i>		- <i>mó</i>
	Comitative	- <i>tša</i>		-		?
	Instrumental	?		- <i>do</i>		?
	Benefactive-causal	?		- <i>ri</i>		?
Privative	?		- <i>nino</i>		?	
-number words (§2.6)		1 'one' 2 'two' 3 'two+one' 4 'two+two' 5 'one-?' 10 no data		1 'one/alone' 2 'two' 3 'one without brother' 4 'both/all brother(s)' 5 'one leaf side' 10 'both/all leaf sides'		1 'one' 2 'two' 3 'two+one' 4 ? 5 'one leaf' 10 'two-?'
-negation (§2.7)	Form	-<i>ni/-ñi</i>		-<i>ni</i>		-<i>ni</i>
-(positive) imperative (§2.8)	Structure	v/adj-TAM-NEG		v/adj-TAM-NEG		v/adj-TAM-NEG-LINK-1/3sg/du/pl
	NEG.COP	yes (<i>jiñi</i>)		(yes) <i>aani</i>		no
imperative (§2.8)	positive	the same		the same		the same
	negative	unknown		v=pronoun		v-NEG-NO

Abbreviations

1 first person; 2 second person, 3 third person; ABL ablative; CLF classifier; COM comitative; COP copula; DES desiderative; DAT dative; DIST distal; DR “derivational” classifier; F feminine; G generic (classifier); HAB habitual; IMP imperative; INANIM inanimate; lit. literally; LINK linker; LOC locative; m masculine; M masculine; N.S/A.TOP topical non-subject; NEG negation; NP noun phrase; O object of transitive verb; pl plural; PR ‘pronominal’; PRED predicate; Q question word; S/SUB subject of intransitive verb; S/A subject of either intransitive or transitive verb; sg singular; (Sp.) Spanish loanword; TAM tense/aspect/modality verbal affix; v verb; VCC verbless clause complement; VS verbless subject; TOP topical; - morpheme boundary

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