1. Introduction: Typological profile of Murui

- Murui (Búe) is a member of the **Witotoan language** family, one of the smaller language families in Northwest Amazonia (Aikhenvald, 2012; Wojtylak, 2017).

- The language is spoken by about **2,000 people** in **Colombia** and in northern parts of **Peru** (Map 1).

- **Nominative-accusative** with head marking with some elements of dependent marking; **agglutinating** with some fusion and predominantly **suffixed**.

- Grammatical relations are expressed through **cross-referencing on the verb** (with one cross-referencing position; the subject S/A), as in (1), and a **system of case marking**, as in (2). A case marker goes onto the last constituent of an NP.

  (1) ini-di-omiko?-pred
    sleep-LK-2du.m
    ‘Are you (two males) sleeping?’

  (2) [bai-e        jaiga-bi-na]NP:O           jiro-d-e=ta-pred
      that.FSH-CLF:G  cahuana-CLF:SUBS-N.S/A.TOP  drink-LK-3=REP
      ‘He drank the cahuana drink (it is said).’

- Typical clause structure is **predicate final** (SV/AVO) but ordering can be determined by pragmatic factors permitting VS and AVO constituent orders (e.g. DOM).

- **Three open word classes**: nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

- **Eleven closed word classes**: a few underived adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers/intensifiers, pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative words, number words, connectives, adpositions, interjections).

- **Three semi-closed word classes**: adverbs, time words, and number words.

- Murui word classes share numerous properties among each other – many of members of the open and closed word classes can head intransitive predicates, as in (3); only verbs can head transitive predicates, as in (2) above.

  (3) buu-di-omiko?-pred
      Q1-LK-2du.m
      ‘Who are you (two males)?’

- Murui verbs can be strictly intransitive (S), extended intransitive (S), ambitransitive (A=S, O), and extended transitive (A, O, E).

- Rich system of **verbal morphology**, with extensive aspect markers:


  (4) joko-ri-zai-aka-ne-i-ti-kue=di
      wash-DUR-ANDTV-DES-NEG-FUT-LK-1sg=CERT
      ‘I WILL not want to go washing.’
Structurally, Murui nouns are less ‘complex’ than verbs. They allow up to three structural positions (single marking, filled simultaneously, suffixes):

(a) Classifiers and classifier-repeaters (up to three positions),
(b) Number (plural, kinship plural, collective),
(c) Case (TOP.S/A, TOP.N.S/A, LOC, ABL, INS, BEN-CAUS, PRIV).

The head of a simple NP can be a single noun, which can be modified by N, Adj, Qunat, Dem, Q, and Num. The head of an NP follows the modifier, (5): no agreement within NP, (6):

(5) [i-mɨPRONOUN ifo-ɡɨHEAD]ANAPossessive, (6) [bai-eDEM da-jeNUM jaiga-biHEAD]NP
‘his head’ ‘that one cahuana (drink)’

Agreement is indicative of the distinction between an NP and an (equative) clause (a full sentence):

(7) [bi-yaNP:VCS mare-yaNP:VCC]CL.Equative
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:

(8) RubioS [LusioHEAD dine]NP:OCALTIONAL i-ñe?PRED
Rubio Lucio AT.LOC:NSP exist-NEG
‘Rubio isn’t at Lucio’s?’

(9) ClementinaS [LusioHEAD diga]NP:COMITATIVE jaai-yaPRED
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):

(10) [FransiskaR jo-foD]NP:POSSESSIVE
Francisca house-CLF:CAV
‘Franciska’s house’

More complex NPs and NP heads include so-called ‘headless’ nominal modifiers (HNM), which are formed from various word classes by means of classifiers; noun head is not stated.

(11) [kue jiko]NP:HNM vs. (12) a. kue-koNP b. ebi-koNP b. bi-koNP
1sg dog 1sg-CLF.REP:DOG nice-CLF.REP:DOG this.CTS-CLF.REP:DOG
‘my dog’ ‘my (dog)’ ‘nice (dog)’ ‘this (dog)’

Murui nouns and noun phrases can head intransitive predicates.

(13) jitoNP:di-kue=zaPRED
son-LK-1sg=UNCERT
‘I am (a) son (so it seems).’

(14) [oo jito]NP:di-kue=zaPRED
2sg son-LK-1sg=UNCERT
‘I am your son (so it seems).’
2. Grammaticalization of Murui body part terms

*emodo* ‘back’, *uieko* ‘face’, *fuue* ‘mouth’, *abi* ‘body’, *komeki* ‘heart’, *ono* ‘hand’, and *ai* ‘foot’

2.1 The domain of spatial orientation and time

*Body part noun emodo* ‘back’ > ‘above’ and ‘after’

- *Emodo* ‘back’, (15), has been recruited to serve as a postposition meaning ‘above’. It always requires *LOC-mo*, (16), and can also cover temporal meanings, as in (17):

  (15) a. ni-e ana [bai-e nuikɨto-na]_o_ i-t-ePRED
      Q2-CLF:G below fish-CLF:N.S/A.TOP exist-LK-3
  b. *emodo-mo* loc naí-miéi e-kobeO fiebi-kai-d-ePRED
      back-LOC ANA.SP-CLF:PR.M foot-CLF:ROUND.LEAF stay-INCP-LK-3
  a. ‘And beneath the water he turned into the *nuikɨto* fish.
  b. (A symbol of a bird-like) claw remained on his *back*.‘

  (16) i-noS [jo-fo emodo-mo] i-t-ePRED
      ANA.NSP-CLF:PR.GR house-CLF:CAVITY back-LOC exist-LK-3
  ‘The (chickens) are (located) *above* the house (i.e. roof).’

  (17) gui-ye *emodo-mo* bii! jaïgabio jiro-ye-za!
      eat-FUT.E.NMLZ back-LOC come.IMP cahuana-CLF:SUB drink-FUT.E.NMLZ-EMPH
  ‘After eating, come! (Let’s) drink *cahuana*!’

*Body part noun uieko* ‘face’ > ‘(in) front’ and ‘before’

- *Uieko* ‘face’, in (18), covers the domain of spatial orientation meaning ‘(in) front’, in (19-20):

  (18) [afai komini uie-ko]_o_ jibuiiz-ai-yaPRED mare-na
      upstream people.CLF:DR.GR face-CLF:SPHERICAL watch-ANDTV-E.NMLZ good.ATT-N.S/A.TOP
  ‘It’s good to go to watch the people’s faces from up the river.’

  (19) [jadi-e jo-fo]R uie-koDNP eo jea-re-d-ePRED
      this.CTH-CLF:G house-CLF:CAV face-CLF:SPHERICAL very dirty-ATT-LK-3
  ‘The *front* of this house (lit. face of this house) is very dirty.’

  (20) a. jari-re *uieko-mo* loc jaai-di-kuePRED
      quick-ATT front-LOC go-LK-1sg
  b. mei navuida ri-di-kuePRED so evening arrive-LK-1sg
  c. [ooO ki-a-no]CL:SEQUENCE jari-re uieko-mo loc kakarei-zai-di-kuePRED
      2sg see-E.NMLZ-SEQ quick-ATT front-LOC listen.TH-ANDTV-LK-1sg
  a. ‘I went quickly up *front*.‘
  b. Well, I came (in) in the evening.
  c. When I saw you, I went to listen up *front* (of the church).’

- Temporal anteriority is expressed by *uiekodo* (followed by the instrumental -*do*) meaning ‘before’:

  (21) [kuëS jaai-aka-na uieko-do] boyiti-kuePRED
      1sg go-DES-E.NMLZ before-INS urinate.FUT.LK-1sg
  ‘Before wanting to leave, I will urinate.’
Body part noun fuue 'mouth' > 'edge' and the classifier -fue 'story, narration'

- Fuue 'mouth', in (23), extends to cover 'edge', in (24-25). Synchronically, fuue has a grammatical function - a classifier meaning 'story, narration', (26). Some classifier have historically originated in full independent nouns (compounding) (Wojtylak, 2016).

(22) nai-mɨeVeCS [fuue-moLOC 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’

(23) [i-ye fuue]NP
(24) [pataro fuue]NP
ANA.NSP-CLF:RIVER edge pants.Sp edge
‘river edge’ ‘cuff (lit. edge of pants)’

(25) moni-fue (abundance-CLF:STORY) ‘nourishment, economy’
ua-fue (really-CLF:STORY) ‘truth’
riidua-fue (defend.E.NMLZ-CLF:STORY) ‘defence’
ebi-re-di-fue (nice-ATT-LK-CLF:STORY) ‘legend, (story) that is nice’

Body part noun abi 'body' > 'again'

- Abi refers to physical body, e.g. oo abi (2sg body) 'your body', jofo abi (house-CLF:CAVITY body) 'body of the house', iye abi (river body) 'riven bank (area)'.

- Abi 'body', obligatorily followed by INS -do, has been recruited to serve as a postposition meaning 'again', (27); it frequently occurs with dane 'once more', (28-29):

(26) jaaiti-kue abido `pero abido rii-zaibi-di-kuePRED [[kue go.FUT.LK-1sg AGAIN but.Sp ‘AGAIN need-NEG-LK-3-N.S/A
moo]s i-ya jira]Cl:Comp]
father exist-E.NMLZ REASON
‘I will go again (over there) but I will again come back, because father lives here.’

(27) oo kiu-a-na dane abido jitai-di-kuePRED 1sg see.E.NMLZ-N.S/A.TOP ONCE AGAIN need-NEG-LK-3-N.S/A
‘I want to see you once again (lit. I need seeing you once again).’

2.2 The domain of 'self'

- Reflexive construction (strategy) involves the possessed abi 'body' to be included as part of the O NP argument in a transitive clause. Abi can take the O-marking but it can never be the target of a passivized verb (decategorialization), e.g.:

(28) [kue abi-(na)]o joko-di-kuePRED
1sg body-N.S/A.TOP wash-LK-1sg
‘I wash myself (lit. I wash my body).’

- Abi refers to the notion of 'self' and does not refer only to 'body' (desemanticization). Usually, it is not specified what body part a speaker refers to (e.g. 'finger', 'leg', or 'skin'; often accompanied by a gesture), in (31):

(29) Elger [da-ma abi]o jai-ta-d-ePRED
Elger one-CLF:DR.M body cut-CAUS-LK-1sg
‘Elger cut himself.’ (lit. cut his body, referring to his finger; he did himself)
Murui has many lexicalized expressions with abi, such as:

- abuiño(te) ‘realize (lit. know one’s body)’
- abino(ti) ‘dare, be confident (lit. obey one’s body)’
- abijano(te) ‘not to let be known (lit. hide one’s body)’
- abimoziño(te) ‘stop something bad (lit. stop one’s body)’
- abinikai(de) ‘witness an accident in one’s dream (lit. dream one’s body)’

When I was a child, I would deceive myself (lit. I cheat my body).’

‘One day he will realize (it) on his own (lit. his own body will know).’

The body part noun kome-ki (person-CLF:INHER) ‘heart’ is used in a similar manner with the verb faka(de) ‘think’ (not reflexive, metonymic extension):

I think of you (lit. I contemplate my heart in you).’ Cf. etym. kome-ki (person-CLF:INHER)

### The domain of number

- Conceptual transfer patterns from the human hands and feet to numerical concepts.
- Several ‘counting systems’ or ‘numeral strategies’ for counting (mixed word class membership):
  
  **A. Basic underived number words** da(je) ‘one’ and mena ‘two’.
  
  **B. Fraternal analyzable number words** ‘three’ and ‘four’ (an idea of ‘having a brother’):
  
  da-(je) aama-ni (one-CLF:LEAF brother-CLF:DR.M-PRIV) ‘three’
  naga aama-ga (EACH brother-CLF:DR.M-QUANT) ‘four’
  
  **C. Complex number words (expressions)** from ‘five’ onwards. It is a limited quinary (base-five) system for numbers up to ‘twenty’. These numeral forms are complex nominal expressions that contain classifiers as derivational markers, and are based on the nouns meaning ‘hand’ (ono-) and ‘foot’ (eɨ-), when the hands are ‘exhausted’:

  ‘five (lit. one (hand’s) leaf peel)’
  ‘ten (lit. all of each (hands) leaf peels)’
  
  ‘fifteen (lit. one (foot’s) leaf peel)’
  ‘ten (lit. all of each (feet’s) leaf peels)’

- Combination of strategies A and B: The form emodomo ‘over’ is always required:

  ‘seven (lit. one leaf peel over two)’

- When the number word surpasses ‘twenty’, elders often say jaka uizi ni-ñe-de (never eyes arrive-NEG-LK-3) ‘The eyes are not able to see (anymore) (lit. the eyes do not come to see anymore).’
2.4 The domain of comparison

- _Emodo_ ‘back’ (§2.1), obligatorily marked with LOC -mo, is used for monoclausal comparative construction (comparison of superiority). It is best interpreted as ‘then/over’ (Wojtylak, forthcoming).

(38) COMPAREE STANDARD STANDARD MARKER PARAMETER
Joze vcs [Pedro _emodo-mo_] aare-mie vcs
Jose Pedro _over-LOC_ long-CLF:PR.M
‘Jose is taller than Pedro (lit. Jose, over Pedro, big (male)).’

(39) COMPAREE STANDARD STANDARD MARKER PARAMETER
[bi-e raa-ra-ko] vcs [[oni bi-e] _emodo-mo_] aliyue vcs
this.CTS-CLF:G sit-CLF:NEUT-CLF:COVER LOCAL2 this.CTS-CLF:G _over-LOC_ big-CLF:G
‘This seat is bigger than this seat here (lit. This seat, over this one here, big (seat)).’

- The lexical meaning of _emodo_ ‘back’ in comparative constructions is bleached out, resulting in a schematic, grammatical function of a standard marker of comparison.

3 Conclusions

- Nominal expressions give rise to grammatical forms in Murui.
- Grammaticalization of body part terms include the domain of spatial orientation, time, ‘self’, number, and comparison; it can involve clausal structures (lexical number words).

### Table 1. Grammaticalization of body part nouns in Murui – summary

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<th>Parameters</th>
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<th>abi</th>
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<td>‘mouth’</td>
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**Abbreviations**

1 first person; 2 second person, 3 third person; A subject of transitive verb; ANA anaphoric; ANDTV andative; ATT attributive; BEN.CAUS benefactive-causal; CERT certainty; CLF classifier; COND conditional; CTH close to hearer; CTS close to speaker; D possessed; DR derivational; DES desiderative; du dual; DUR durative; E event (nominalization); EMPH emphatic; f feminine (number); F feminine (gender); FSH far from speaker and hearer; FUT future; G generic (classifier); GR group; HAB habitual; IMP imperative; INCP inceptive; INHER inherent; lit. literally; LK linker; LOC locative; m masculine (number); M masculine (classifier); N.S/A.TOP topical non-subject; NEG negation; NMLZ nominalization; NP noun phrase; NSP non-specific; pl plural; PR pronominal; PRED predicate; PRIV privative; Q1 question word _buu_; R possessor; REP reported; S subject of intransitive verb; S/A topical subject; SEQ sequential; sg singular; Sp. Spanish loanword; SP specific; SUBS substance; UNCERT uncertainty; VCC verbless copula complement; VCS verbless copula subject
References


Map 1. Approximate location of the Murui speakers in Northwest Amazonia