CHAPTER 34

TARIANA, AN ARAWAK LANGUAGE FROM NORTH-WEST AMAZONIA

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34.1 THE TARIANA LANGUAGE: GENETIC AND AREAL PERSPECTIVE

The Tariana language belongs to the Arawak language family. It is currently spoken by fewer than 100 people in the multilingual linguistic area of the Vaupés River Basin (northwest Amazonia, Brazil; Map 34.1). The area is known for its multilingual exogamy: one can only marry someone who speaks a different language and belongs to a different tribe (see Aikhenvald 2002a for the history and the composition of the area). Speakers of East Tucanoan languages are the marriage partners of the Tariana. Hup and Yuhup (members of the putative Makú language family: see Aikhenvald 2012a for a discussion) are spoken in the same area, but are outside the Tariana-Tucanoan marriage network. Descent is strictly patrilineal, and consequently, one identifies with one’s father’s language group. There is a strong cultural inhibition against ‘language-mixing’, viewed in terms of lexical loans. In its grammatical structure Tariana combines a number of features inherited from proto-Arawak, with numerous grammatical categories developed under areal influence from Tucanoan languages. A comparison between Tariana and closely related North Arawak languages from the Uapui subgroup (including the Baniwa-Iça-Kurripako dialect continuum, Piapoco, and Guarequena) allows us to distinguish between contact-induced and genetically inherited phenomena in the language.

Tucanoan languages and Tariana are genetically unrelated and typologically different. Like many Arawak languages, Tariana employs prefixes for subject cross-referencing, while Tucanoan languages are predominantly sufffixing. As a result of a long-term contact, Tariana has developed numerous un-Arawak features, including cases for core arguments, a complex system of evidentials, and numerous markers of mood, associated action, manner of action, and modality (some of which have developed out of grammaticalized one-word serial verb constructions).1

1 These and other instances of completed contact-induced changes in Tariana are discussed in Aikhenvald (2002a).
MAP 34.1  Northwest Amazonia, Brazil
Tariana was once spoken in various settlements along the Vaupés River and its tributaries. The Tariana clans used to form a strict hierarchy (according to their order of appearance stated in the creation myth). Lower-ranking groups in this hierarchy (referred to as ‘younger siblings’ by their higher-ranking tribespeople) would perform various ritual duties for their ‘elder siblings’. Each group spoke a different variety of the language. The difference between these was comparable to that between Romance languages.

As the Catholic missions—and with them European influence—expanded, the groups near the top of the hierarchy abandoned the Tariana language in favour of the numerically dominant Tucano language. This process started in the early 1900s. The Tariana language as described here is spoken by members of two subtribes of the lowest-ranking group Wamiari-kune in two villages, Santa Rosa and Periquitos. The language is seriously endangered, and is hardly being learnt by children (Aikhenvald 2013c addresses the current language situation). 1

Innovative speakers of Tariana tend to have more Tucanoan-like features in their language than do traditional speakers. These include a tendency towards a fixed verb-final constituent order, the expansion—and grammaticalization—of one-word serial verb constructions, and of the morphemes which share surface similarities with Tucano (see Aikhenvald 2012b, forthcoming). There are a number of phonological differences and differences in morpheme shape between generations of speakers. Throughout this chapter, we focus predominantly on the traditional language. The features of innovative speakers will be mentioned inasmuch as they are relevant for the status and the development of highly synthetic structures. 1

34.2 TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE

Tariana is agglutinating with some fusion, and is highly synthetic. Similarly to other Arawak languages, the few prefixes are cross-referencing markers, relative prefix ka-, and its negative counterpart ma-. All other categories are expressed through suffixes or enclitics. Enclitics cannot form a phonological or a grammatical word on their own, and always bear a secondary stress. They divide into (a) fixed position phrasal enclitics which attach to certain morphological classes of words or phrases (noun, noun phrases, or verbs), and (b) floating clausal enclitics which can attach to any constituent within a clause if it is contrastive.

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1 The Periquitos and Santa Rosa varieties are mutually intelligible. The other extant dialect of Tariana is the Kumandene Tariana, spoken by about seventy people in the settlement of Santa Terezinha on the Iauari River (a tributary of the Vaupés River) and not mutually intelligible with Wamiari-kune Tariana (the focus of this contribution). Kumandene Tariana is highly endangered and is under pressure from a closely related Baniwa of Içana (Hohó-dene dialect). High degree of individual variation among the extant speakers of Kumandene Tariana combined with extensive language mixing with Baniwa makes a synchronic description of this language a daunting task (see Aikhenvald 2014a, on the Kumandene Tariana as a curious instance of language blend).

1 This chapter is based on more than twenty years’ work with the Tariana. My corpus consists of over thirty hours of recordings (including texts of various genres and conversations). All examples in this chapter (as in my other work) are taken from natural discourse and narrative (I avoid elicitation). A comprehensive grammar of the language is in Aikhenvald (2003).
Phrasal enclitics include case and nominal tense for nouns and NPs, and clause-sequencing markers and markers of manner of action for verbs. Floating clausal enclitics express mood, tense, evidentiality, and some aspects (see Section 3.2 and 3.3; further discussion is in Aikhenvald 2002b, 2003: 57–60).

There are no discontinuous morphemes. Subtraction is employed for marking number in nouns, but not in verbs (see Aikhenvald 2014b), e.g. tsfria 'man', atafa 'men'. Some nominal (but not verbal) categories are expressed recursively (see Scheme 3).

 Constituent order within clauses and word order within noun phrases containing adjectives and modifiers from closed classes is pragmatically determined. The order within possessive noun phrases is always Possessor–Possessive marker–classifier–Possessor.

Open word classes are nouns and verbs. Underived adjectives constitute a closed class of about twenty members. Adjectives can be derived from nouns and from verbs, and are thus an open class through derivation. Similarly to nouns, adjectives can be used as copula complements and heads of NPs. Adjectives are similar to stative verbs in that they take the same morphological markers when they head a predicate. Special features of adjectives include the plural marker -peni and the approximative suffix -tha 'more or less' (see Aikhenvald 2014b). They obligatorily require classifier and number agreement with the head noun in a noun phrase (see §34.6.3).

Manner adverbs and time words constitute largish closed classes. Further closed classes include personal pronouns, specifier articles, demonstratives, interrogative-distributive marker, gestural deictic, number words, quantifiers, proclauses, adpositions, and connectives. Postpositions form a closed class of thirty-five members. Postpositions derived from verbs with directional meanings, or from body parts, take cross-referencing prefixes to refer to the postpositional object, for example di-ruku-i-ta-ka (sgrm- descend-CAUS:i-CAUS:a-SUB) 'near it, downwards from it', di-whida-na (sgrm- head- AFFIX) 'at the end of it'. Postpositions with no such etymology do not take prefixes and combine with free pronouns, for example diha kayu (he like) 'like him', diha pamah (he/it amidst) 'in the middle of it'. There is just one preposition te 'until, till' which cannot take prefixes.4

A member of any word class can occupy the intransitive predicate slot. A verb, a noun, or an adjective can stand alone as the sole predicate. A non-verb in the predicate slot takes a limited class-specific selection of verbal morphology.

There is no incorporation of any sort (similarly to other North Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro area). A large set of over eighty classifiers are used as agreement markers on adjectives, demonstratives, interrogatives, number words, quantifiers, nouns themselves (as derivational suffixes), possessive constructions, and some verbal forms. Somewhat different forms of classifiers are used in each context. Classifiers categorize nouns in terms of animacy, sex, shape, and form, arrangement (e.g. bundle, piece), and function (e.g. means of transport); there are also specific classifiers. Just under half of undervived nouns with inanimate reference cannot occur with the established clasifiers. To mark agreement, the noun has to be repeated on the agreeing constituent. Some of the classifiers can be shown to be grammaticalized from such 'repeaters' (see Aikhenvald 2003b: 87–122).

4 This preposition is, in all likelihood, an old borrowing from Portuguese até 'until' shared with East Tucanoan languages and other Arawakan languages of the area. In contrast to Baniwa and a few other closely related languages, postpositions cannot be used as prepositions.
34.3 ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AND THE EXPRESSION OF ARGUMENTS

Similarly to all Arawak languages, Tariana expresses grammatical relations and most categories on the verb. Markers of grammatical relations on the verb are inherited from the proto-language. In contrast, the expression of grammatical relations (fused with pragmatic meanings) with cases has been developed as a consequence of long-term contact with East Tucanoan languages in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area. The meanings (not the forms) of most cases in Tariana are partly shared with the neighboring languages (including Hup, Yuhup and Dâw, the Makú languages of the area: see §15.5 of Chapter 15).

The marking of grammatical relations follows a split S-pattern (typical for most Arawak languages, and reconstructible for Proto-Arawak). The subject of transitive and active intransitive verbs is marked with prefixes. The subject of stative verbs (most of which are intransitive) is not marked. Every verbal root in Tariana is either prefixed or preflexless. Prefixed verbs can be transitive, for example -keta ‘encounter, reach, hit target’, ditransitive, for example -hieta ‘show’, ambitransitive of the type A = Sₐ for example -hima ‘hear, see, think, understand’, or of the type O = Sₐ, for example -thuka ‘break’, or active intransitive of the type Sₐ for example -emhanu ‘walk around’. Most: prefixless verbs are stative intransitive, for example kai ‘be painful’; some are A = Sₐ ambitransitives, for example karu ‘be afraid’; or O = Sₐ ambitransitives, for example hui ‘enjoy (food); be tasty’. There is no object marking on the verb.³

Prefixes also cross-reference a possessor in an NP (see Table 15.1 in Chapter 15) and a pronominal object of a postposition. Cross-referencing prefixes are transparently related to personal pronouns: see Table 34.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 34.1 Cross-referencing prefixes and free pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross-referencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3nf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ In Baniwa of Içana both O and Sₐ are marked with pronominal enclitics. The oldest wordlist of Tariana, collected by Johann Natterer in 1831, contains what appears to be a bound object pronoun *nu* (reminiscent of Baniwa of Içana *hina* (sgSₐ/O) attached to the verb: *t silica maa mua* (dog sg nfn bite! I) ‘dog bit me’ (see Aikhenvald 1995, 2006)).
The indefinite prefix is used only on postpositions and on nouns in possessive constructions, very rarely on verbs (only if the subject A/S precedes the verb in a number of fixed combinations: Aikhenvald 2003: 124–6). Younger and innovative speakers tend to lose it. This also happens with other categories shared with related Arawak languages but absent from East Ticuano languages. The impersonal prefix has inclusive overtones in the language of the innovative speakers of Tariana (mirroring the Ticuano pronominal system).

Pronominal prefixes can occur with an overtly expressed subject (as in (4)), if it is contrastive. The innovative Tariana is developing a new set of subject enclitics on the verb, mostly used for focussed A/S. Since Ticuano languages mark person on the verb suffixes, this development is, in all likelihood, due to areal diffusion (see Aikhenvald 2003: 571–3).

Grammatical relations are expressed with cases on nouns, on a subject-nonsubject basis. The markers result from the reanalysis of locative suffixes of Arawak origin (see Aikhenvald 2003a). The case-marking phrasal enclitic =naku (innovative version =nuku) appears on a noun phrase in a non-subject (A/S) function provided it is topical and referential (resulting in a system of differential case marking; see Bossong 1991). The case-marker =ne/=nhe (also a phrasal enclitic) marks focussed subjects (A/S). The semantically and pragmatically determined marking of subjects and non-subjects on NPs in Tariana is summarized in Table 34.2.

The non-subject case =naku marks a variety of topical constituents, including object, recipient, beneficiary, locative, manner, instrument, and time (see (2) and (3)). In its meanings and functions, it parallels the topical non-subject marker =re in Ticuano languages (see Ramirez 1997 on Ticuano, Stenzel 2013 on Wanano; a summary in Aikhenvald 2006a).

The combination of differentially marked subjects and non-subjects in one language is unusual typologically, and appears to be unique for the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area (see Aikhenvald 2006a).

Nouns distinguish two additional cases—locative suffix -se and instrumental-comitative -ne. Personal pronouns have just the instrumental-comitative case. Meanings from, ‘towards’ and ‘at, in’ are distinguished through multiword serial verb constructions (see §34.4.2). We turn to multiple case marking in §34.6.

### Table 34.2 Grammatical relations and core cases in Tariana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION</th>
<th>DISCOURSE STATUS</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject (A/S)</td>
<td>non-focussed</td>
<td>subject form (noun-σ)</td>
<td>subject form (pronominal prefix + formative -ha); see Table 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>focussed</td>
<td>subject form + clitic =ne/=nhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-subject</td>
<td>non-topical</td>
<td>subject form (noun-σ)</td>
<td>pronominal prefix + suffix -na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non A/S)</td>
<td>topical</td>
<td>subject form + clitic =naku/=nuku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
34.4 MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

There are three main types of predicates—simple predicates, serial verb constructions, and complex predicates. We first turn to the structure of a simple predicate, and then look at serial verb constructions and complex predicates.

34.4.1 Simple predicate and its structure

Every verbal root belongs to either A/Sₚ (prefixed) or Sₚ (prefixless) type (see §34.3). Simple predicates have one prefix position and up to eight suffix positions.

34.4.1.1 The order of affixes and enclitics in a simple predicate

The structure of a simple predicate in Tariana follows a templatic pattern. The order of suffixes arranged by slots is shown in Figure 34.1.

Suffixes may be followed by enclitics. The most frequent order of enclitics is shown in Figure 34.2. Enclitics can be fixed position phrasal enclitics, or floating enclitics (see §34.2; these are marked with * in Figure 34.2). All the enclitics (except for the imperative) occur on all verb types. Imperative enclitics have restrictions as to their occurrence on stative verbs (Aikhenvald 2008).

All suffixes (except the thematic suffix in slot 3) and enclitics are optional. Meanings expressed by floating enclitics can be stated once per sentence, or per paragraph, and do not have to be repeated on every verb. A simple predicate with twelve positions filled is in (1).

(1)

1 2 4 4a 6 12 13 15
na- -pisya -i -ta -kaka =kasu =tha =pidana
3pl- -tear -CAUS₁ -CAUS₂ -REC =INTENT =FRUST =REM,PREP
17 19c 19d 20 =bala =pita =niki =ka
IN.EVERY.DIRECTION =AGAIN =COMPL =SUB

1. Cross-referencing prefixes (A/Sₚ) or Negative ma-or Relative ka-
2. BOOT
3. Thematic syllable
4. Causative -₁
{4a. Complete Involvement of O -ta (only after -i)}
5. Negative -ka/de
6. Reciprocal (rarely reflexive) -kaka
7. -ina 'almost, a little bit'
8. Topic-advancing -ni, or Passive -kana, or Purposive nonvisual -hyu or Purposive visual -kaya
9. Verbal classifiers (only if slot 8 is filled)
10. Benefactive -peu
11. Relativizers/definizers

FIGURE 34.1 Predicate structure in Tariana: Affixes and root
12. Intentional, 'be about to' = kasu
13. Mood (imperative, declarative, interrogative fused with evidentiality and tense) and
modality (frustrative, conditional, apprehensive)
14. Aspect 'zone' I
14a. Habitual prescribed = hyuna 'what you do and what you ought to do'
14b. Customary = kape
14c. Habitual repetitive = nipe
14d. Anterior = nmi
15. * Evidentiality and tense, e.g., = mha- na 'non-visual-remote past'; future
16. Epistemic = da 'doubt', epada 'isn't it true that'
17. Aktionsart (manner or extent of associated action, e.g. 'split open', 'step on and feel pain,'
'wag one's tail', 'away');
18. * Degree: augmentative (also meaning 'indeed'), diminutive, approximative ('more or
less'), excessive
19. Aspect 'zone' II
19a. Prolonged, ongoing = daka 'yet, still', = sida 'on-going'
19b. Perfective = sita 'already accomplished'
19c. Repetitive = pha, = tu 'once again'
19d. Complete = miki 'totally, completely'
20. Switch-reference and clause-chaining
21. * Emphatic enclitics = a ju, = wani; confirmation of evidence = so; degree enclitics:
augmentative (also meaning 'indeed'), diminutive, approximative ('more or less'), excessive

FIGURE 34.2 Predicate structure in Tariana: Enclitics

While (they) reportedly were going to tear at each other again completely in every direction
in vain . . .', (from a story about birds fighting)

34.4.1.2 The structure of the verbal root and types of morphemes

Tariana has just one prefix position on prefixed (transitive or active intransitive) verbs which
can be occupied by cross-referencing prefixes (see Table 34.1), the negative prefix ma- or the
relativiser and attributive marker ka-. Person and number distinctions on the verb are thus
neutralized under negation. Only two verbs in the language contain two prefixes, -ka-wjita
'pay' and -ma-wjina 'owe, not pay'. Both are old loans from Portuguese *ven*(der) 'sell' and con-
tain a thematic syllable - (i)ta. Thematic syllables are -ka, -na (typically used with intransitive
verbs and a few loans from Portuguese), and -(i)ta (typically used with transitive verbs and
with a handful of verbal roots borrowed from Tucanoan languages). Thematic suffixes are an
archaic feature of Arawak languages.

The prefixes ka- 'attributive' and its negative counterpart ma- derive static intransitive
(S0) verbs from nouns, for example ka-sa-do (REL-spouse-fem.sg) 'marry (of a man, lit. be
wived)', ma-sa-do (NEG-spouse-fem.sg) 'be unmarried (of a man, lit. be un-wived)'.

One-word serial verb constructions are limited. The only instance of a prefixed (S0) verb
root consisting of two verbs is -ns-pjulu (go.up-move.with.noise) 'move fiercely'. Any static
prefixless verb (S0) can combine with the static verb matja 'be good, proper', with the
meaning of 'VERB completely/properly', e.g., matja-makara (be.good/proper-dry) 'be really
dry', matja-kera (be.good/proper-be.shiny) 'be really shiny'. This appears to be an independent
innovation of Tariana.

A small number of verbal roots (transitive or intransitive) encliticized to inflected verbs
have developed into phrasal enclitics marking manner or extent of action or associated
action (slot 17), aspect (slot 19b), and clause chaining (slot 10). This development is a consequence of areal diffusion from Tucanoan languages (see also §15.5 of Chapter 15). East Tucanoan languages have productive one-word serial verb constructions which express a variety of aspects, manner, extent of action, and associated action. The Tariana phrasal enclitics mirror their Tucanoan prototypes.

Innovative speakers of Tariana develop new enclitics, as a consequence of a tendency towards further convergence between the now dominant Tucano and the obsolescent Tariana. Thus the enclitic =wyume ‘DO FOR THE LAST TIME’ has developed from the stative (Sₚₚ) verb whyume ‘be last’ within the last decade (Aikhenvald forthcoming).

Older and more traditional speakers use recently grammaticalized enclitics less than innovative ones. In a number of instances, a traditional speaker would use a serial verb construction (see §34.4.2) where an innovative speaker would opt for an enclitic. The enclitic =sita ‘perfective, accomplished action’ (slot 19b) comes from a prefixed verb -sita ‘finish, complete’ in (2), a younger user spoke the aspect marking enclitic =sita ‘accomplished’. Innovative speaker:

(2) pi-na hi=nuku di-kalite=ka=sta
   2sg-OBJECT this=TOPNON.A/S 3sgf-tell=REC.P.VIS=ACCOMPONISHED
   ‘He has already told you this’

This was rephrased by a traditional speaker as (3), with a serial verb construction (effectively correcting the innovative one) (see Aikhenvald 2002: 140). Traditional speaker:

(3) pi-na hi=naku [di-kalite=ka di-sita]SVC
   2sg-OBJECT this=TOPNON.A/S 3sgnf-tell=REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-finish
   ‘He has already told you this’

In a number of instances, variable order of morphemes depends on whether we are dealing with an innovative or with a traditional speaker.

### 34.4.1.3 Variable order of morphemes

Verbal suffixes always occur in a fixed order. In contrast, some verbal enclitics allow variable ordering. Degree clitics can appear at the end of the predicate in slot 21 or in slot 18, with a difference in meaning. In (4), the diminutive precedes a subordinating enclitic. The meaning is that of an ‘action nearly averted’ (Kuteva 1998). Clauses are in square brackets. Slot numbers are included in the glosses.

(4) [nuha pai-τa-ne nu-kapi nu-tutu=tuki=ka]
I one+CL:ANIM-INS 1sg-hand 1sg-tie=DIEM(18)=SUB(31)
   nu-dalipa-s i-uka=ka phia
   1sg-near-LOC 2sg-arrive=REC.PVIS you
   ‘As I almost married someone else, you arrived’
In (5), the diminutive follows the sequencing enclitics and the meaning is ‘do a bit’:

(5) (hi) kayu nu-ni=kayam=nu tuki du-a=na nu-na this like 1sg-do=AFTER.DS(2o)=DIM(21) 3sgf-say=REM.P.VIS 1 sg-OBJECT 'After I'd made (manioc beer) like this a little bit (or for a little while), she said to me…'

Variable ordering of enclitics in slot 19 can be accounted for by the facet of the activity to be focussed on. The focussed clitic occupies the final position. In (6), the focus is on full completion of the action (the story was told to the very end again), and the clitic =níki occupies the final slot in the verbal word.

(6) di-sape=sina=sita=pita=niki 3sgn=PERF(15)=PERF(19b)=REPETITIVE(19c)=COMPLETIVE(19d) 'He had completely (finished) speaking again’ (one stresses the complete extent of the action)

In (7), the focus is on the repetition of the action. The clitic =pita occupies the last slot.

(7) di-sape=sina=sita=niki=pita 3sgn=PERF(15)=PERF(19b)=COMPLETIVE(19c)=REPETITIVE(19d) 'Again, he had completely (finished) speaking’ (one stresses the repetition of the action)

Speakers’ competence and their status as highly innovative accounts for variable placement of the newly developed enclitic =sita (slot 19b). Its position in (2), (6), and (7) is consistent with Tariana verb structure in Scheme A. Here, aspectual meanings are divided between those in Zone 1 and those in Zone 2. Aspectual meanings expressed in Zone 1 (slot 14) cover habitual, customary, habitual repetitive, and anterior. These morphemes must have developed early; there is no indication that they result from any recent grammaticalization. They precede tense-cum-evidentiality markers (slot 15). The perfective enclitic =sita which is the product of a recent process of grammaticalization, follows the tense-evidentiality markers.

Aktionsart enclitics (slot 17), (many of which can be shown to have recently grammaticalized out of verbs), follow tense-cum-evidentiality markers. They are followed by markers of degree (slot 18), and markers of Aspect in Zone II (slot 19). This slot includes markers =daka 'prolonged action', =sida 'on-going', =pita, =ta 'repetitive', and =níki 'completive'. This is where the completive =sita occurs for those speakers who use it. Representatives of the younger generation of Tariana speakers (aged between 30 and 40) go a step further in their grammaticalization, and reinterpretation, of the newly developed aspectual enclitic =sita. They spontaneously produced sentences such as (8), with =sita in the Aspect Zone 1—that is, closer to the verb root than in (2). Highly innovative speaker:

(8) nu-pi:a=sita=mhade 1sg-bathe=FINISH(14)=FUTURE.UNCERTAIN(15) 'I would have bathed (by the time you come back)'
This position of the clitic \=sita parallels the placement of the verb 'finish' as a minor verb with aspectual overtones in one-word serial verb constructions in Tucano. This behaviour of \=sita is partly due to the fact that Tariana is an obsolescent language, under pressure from the dominant Tucano, which is now used more and more in every sphere of communication. The change of place of the aspectual marker \=sita is indicative of a general tendency to replicate the meanings, and the structures, found in Tucano. Instances like these indicate that Tariana is gradually becoming like a relexified Tucano, something not unexpected in an obsolescent language.

Additional explanation may be analogical pressure, that is, a tendency to express aspectual meanings in the Aspect Zone \# (slot 14 in Figure 3.4.2) towards which \=sita is currently drifting. Note that \=sita is the only aspectual marker in Aspect Zone II which has a transparent origin in a recently grammaticalized verb. It is also the only one which tends to move to the Aspect Zone I. This offers support to our hypothesis that the primary motivation for changing its place is convergence with Tucano.

34.4.1.4 Types of meanings expressed in a verb

Tariana verbs have a complex system of tense fused with evidentiality (that is, grammaticalized marking of information source; slot 15), in addition to a variety of markers of aspect, modality, mood, degree, and manner of action. Negation is expressed through a combination of a prefix and a suffix for prefixed verbs, and a suffix for prefixless verbs.\(^6\)

Valency changing derivations include causative -i which applies to intransitive verbs and just a few transitive verbs (including -ira 'drink'). The causative -i can be accompanied by the marker -ta 'complete involvement of the object; intensity of causation; and plural objects' (in the Periquitos variety), if added to intransitive verbs. If added to a transitive or an ambitransitive verb, the suffix -i (which can be accompanied by -ta) has an applicative-like effect, indicative that a peripheral constituent to be obligatorily stated in the clause. Thus, -hna means 'show, point', and -nta-ta means 'show something to someone' (with an obligatory addressee) (see Aikhenvald 2003: 279–3). Passive is a valency-reducing derivation, and is expressed with a complex predicate and suffix -kana in slot 8. The suffix -kaka (slot 6) marks reciprocal (rarely reflexive) and is alongside a reciprocal–sociative serial verb construction (developed under Tucanoan influence).

The topic-advancing derivation -ni serves to promote a topical non-A/S constituent into the subject slot, and requires classifier agreement on the verb with the new A/S. Two purposive derivations, -hna 'purposive non-visual' and -karu 'purposive visual', also require classifier agreement, for example nu-\=nka-kana (1sg-live-PURPOSIVE-VISUAL-CL-HOUSE) 'house (visible) for me to live in'. We will see, in §34.5, that purposive forms are used in clause combining and as complementation strategies.

The declarative mood is marked with the clitic \=ka (slot 15). Declarative clauses have five evidentials (visual, non-visual, inferred, assumed, and reported) fused with three tenses (present, recent past, and remote past). Interrogative clauses have fewer evidentiality distinctions: they lack assumed and reported evidentiality. The system of tense and evidentiality

\(^6\) One major difference between extant dialects of Tarianalies in the ways in which they express negation (see details in Aikhenvald 2014a).
marking has been largely developed as a consequence of contact with East Tucanoan languages. Some markers have evolved out of grammaticalized verbs, for example =nha ‘non-visual’ from the A/Sa verb -hina ‘hear, sense, smell’ (see further details in Aikhenvald 2003a). The only evidential shared with genetically related Arawak languages is the reported evidential =pida, the most archaic member of the system (cf. Baniwa and Kurripako =pida ‘reported evidential’).

No evidentiality is distinguished in the future. However, a combination of the reported evidential with a purposive can convey the meaning of a speech report referring to the future. In (9), the location of the action in the future is expressed with the purposive visual. The remote past reported evidential shows that (a) the information was obtained through speech report, and (b) that the speech report happened a long time ago (in the remote past).

(9) di-nu-ku-nu=pida na
3sgnf-come-PURPOSIVE-VISUAL=REM.PREP
‘He will come based on speech report in remote past’ (that is, the speaker was told a long time ago that he would come)

Following the pattern in East Tucanoan languages, certain and uncertain future are distinguished in first person. Other persons have only one future form (this is the same one as the ‘uncertain’ one with first person: an example with first person is in (8) and with third person (12)).

Tariana has nine markers of imperative (slot 13). These are: proximate ‘do here’, distal ‘do there’, postponed ‘do later’, ‘detrimental (do to your own detriment)’; conative preceptive ‘please try and do’, cohortative ‘let’s do’, polite suggestion ‘please do’, and imperative by proxy ‘do on someone else’s order’. The latter includes the reported evidentiality marker =pida. Most of these have been developed as a result of diffusion from East Tucanoan languages.

Modality distinctions include intentional, frustrative (‘do in vain’), apprehensive (‘less’), and conditional. Some of these are mutually exclusive with mood markers (in slot 13). Others—such as dubitative and counter-expectational in slot 16—can co-occur with mood markers.

Over forty clitics cover type and manner of action (slot 17). They include =bosa ‘break by smashing, split’, =wisi ‘flatten’, =laka ‘cut in two’, =hu ‘feel a sharp pang of pain’, =dhulu ‘bow, fold’, =thepi ‘into water’, =bisi ‘into fire’, =liphe ‘hold on firmly’, =phi ‘close firmly’. Less than half of these can be traced to grammaticalized verbs (stemming from one-word serial verb constructions), for example =dhalta ‘touch the surface’ and S, verb -dhala ‘come unstuck, peel’ =kolo ‘action of turning over’ and S, verb -kolo ‘roll, fall down’. New enclitics grammaticalize out of independent verbs, following the East Tucanoan one-word serial construction pattern. These are a feature of younger innovative speakers, for example =wyume ‘do for the last time’, based on the S, verb whyume ‘be last’.

Markers of degree of action include the suffix -ina ‘almost, a little bit’ (slot 7), and augmentative, diminutive, approximative ‘more or less’, and excessive clitics (in slot 18). Emphatic enclitics =a/ya, =wani ‘really, truly’, and the enclitic =so ‘well and truly attested, evidence’ occupy the last position in the verbal word and are mutually exclusive.

Aspect meanings are expressed with clitics in two templatic zones. Customary, anterior, habitual repetitive, and habitual prescribed (with deontic overtones) are positioned in slot 14
(before evidentiality and tense markers). A set of aspects covering prolonged and ongoing, per-
factive, repetitive, and completive appear in slot 19. We saw in §34.4.1.3 that two of these allow
variable morpheme ordering. We have also seen that just one of these, =sita 'perfective', can
occur in slot 14 for some innovative speakers, under pressure from East Tucanoan languages.

34.4.2 Serial verb constructions, complex predicates,
and the verbal word

Tariana has a complex system of multiword serial verb constructions. These consist of sev-
eral independent verbs (each with its own prefix, thematic syllable, and a causative marker).
Each component of a serial verb construction is an independent phonological word, and
they all receive the same inflection for person, number, and gender of subject (A/S). Each
serial verb construction refers to a single action.

A serial verb construction has all the properties of a single predicate, sharing subjects,
tense-evidentiality, aspect, mood, and modality value. Components of serial verb construc-
tions cannot be negated separately (negation is marked once per construction, on the first
component). The constructions are strictly contiguous (i.e. no other constituent can inter-
vene between their components), and monoclusal. No markers of syntactic dependency
can be placed between their components (see Aikhenvald 2006a for their further features).

The order of the components may be fixed or not depending on the construction type.
A serial verb construction cannot consist of stative (S_n) verbs only. Asymmetrical serial verb
 constructions consist of a verb from a closed class and a verb from an open class, and are
widely used to express aspectual, directional, and modal meanings.

An example of an aspectual serial verb construction with a completive meaning is in (3).
The construction in (10) consists of three verbs (in square brackets). The directional verb
-musu 'go out' (in (10)) imparts the ablative meaning 'out of, from'. The verb -(u)ka 'arrive,
reach' provides a telic specification to the construction. We recall, from §34.2, that Tariana
has just one locative case on nouns, so directional verbs in serial verb constructions serve
to provide additional disambiguation.

(10) [na-musu na-dojeta naka=pidanana] <br />
3pl-go.out 3pl-carry 3pl+arrive=REM.PREP 3pl-POSS-CL:HOLE-LOC <br />
'They (ants) carried (the burden) out of their holes' (lit. went out carried arrived)

Causative serial verb constructions display an unusual pattern of subject marking. The sub-
ject (A/S) of the verb of causation and the subject of the verb expressing the action 'caused' to
happen are always marked in the same way, even if the subjects are in fact different. In (11), a
woman orders a man to eat magic food. The feminine non-singular cross-referencing appears
on both verbs. The masculine causee is expressed with a personal pronoun.

(11) [du-ra du-hña=pidanana] <br />
3sgf-order 3sgf-eat=REM.PREP 3sgnf-OBJECT <br />
'She ordered him to eat' (lit. she ordered she ate (to) him)
This kind of causative serial verb is typologically unusual. It cannot be accounted for by either diffusion or inheritance, and is likely to be an independent innovation.

Symmetrical serial verb constructions consist of two or more verbs from large open classes, and express cause–effect, or a sequence of sub-actions. They often get lexicalized, so that their meanings are not fully compositional, for example -sata -hema (greet hear) 'ask', -yena -ema (surpass stand) 'behave arrogantly'. This is a cross-linguistically well-attested feature of symmetrical serial verbs.

Each component of a serial verb could be used on its own. This justifies their status as independent grammatical words. Further evidence in favour of the monopredicative character of serial verbs in Tariana is 'affix sharing'. A number of affixes, from slot 5 onwards (as per schemes), occur only once per serial verb construction characterizing it as a whole. One suffix within a serial verb construction typically attaches to the first verb.

So, na-masu-nipe na-doreta naka (3pl-go.out-NOM 3pl-carry 3pl-arrive) 'carrying out' is an action nominalization of the serial verb in (10) (with the action nominalization suffix -nipe). Similarly, phe-ri pa: 'entrance' is a locative nominalization of a serial verb phe pa: (IMPERS+PERSON+enter IMPERS+go) 'enter' (with a locative nominalization marker -ri). Classifiers in a nominalizing function behave in a similar way. The animate classifier -ite can derive a modifier from a causative serial verb construction na: na-hiša (3pl+give 3pl-eat) 'they make (someone) eat; feed someone', for example karaka na-nite na-hiša (chicken 3pl+give-TOP-ADV+CL:ANIMATE 3pl-eat) 'domestic fowl' (lit. chicken whom they make eat or feed).

The components of a serial verb construction in Tariana are independent grammatical words. The 'affix-sharing' shows that the whole serial construction also works as a single morphological unit, on a par with a morphological word, with regard to a number of affixes, especially nominalizers which characterize it as a whole. This suggests a possibility of postulating morphological units ('words') of different levels for Tariana verbs, similar to distinctions between 'verbal themes' and 'verbal bases' in the Athapaskan linguistic tradition (Rice 1989).

Serial verb constructions are a feature of all the extant Arawak languages in the Upper Rio Negro region where the Vaupés River linguistic area is located. Serial verb constructions in Tariana are much more complex than those in its close relatives Baniwa and Piapoco. The property of 'affix sharing' in serial verbs is unique to Tariana.

In addition, Tariana has eleven complex predicates which each consist of no more than two verbs. Complex predicates have epistemic modal, aspectual, administrative, and irrealis meanings, and meanings related to the extent of action. A passive is also expressed with a complex predicate. Complex predicates are strictly contiguous, have the same subject marking, and can take only one marker of tense, evidentiality, and modality. They differ from serial verbs in a number of properties (see Aikhenvald 2003: 458–9). Serial verb constructions consist of several verbs, each of which can be used as an independent predicate. In contrast, parts of a complex predicate cannot be used this way (as, for instance, the parts of the administrative complex predicate). An epistemic complex predicate marked by repetition of the same verb is at (12).

\[(12) \quad \text{[di-nu \quad di-nu=mhade]}_{\text{COMPLEX.PREDICATE}}
\]
\[\text{3sgnF-come \quad 3sgnF-come=FUT}
\]
'Maybe he will come'
An admira[]ive complex predicate with the meaning of 'surprise' consists of a perception verb with the suffix -mhe 'admira]ive' followed by the auxiliary verb -a 'say, do, go, give' accompanied by a tense-evidentiality marker:

(13) [nu-ka-mhe nu-a-mahka]_COMPLEX_PREDICATE
    1sg-see-ADMIRATIVE 1sg-AUXILIARY-REC.RENOMINALIZATION
  'I saw with surprise (that my things were stolen)'

Complex predicates cannot be nominalized, or be the target of any derivation, unlike serial verbs. A complex predicate cannot contain a serial verb construction. The origin of the majority of complex predicates is unclear. They are not shared with any of the Arawak languages of the area. 7

34.5 RELATIONS BETWEEN CLAUSES

Linking clauses is achieved mainly through sequencing enclitics. Many of these are switch-reference sensitive (slot 20 in Scheme 3). Their choice depends on whether their subject (A/S) is the same as that of the main clause or is different from it. Sequencing enclitics thus operate on a nominative-accusative basis, similarly to many other languages of the world (see Aikhenvald 2002a, for a snapshot of switch-reference in Amazonian languages). They express temporal and causal meanings. Tense, evidentiality, and aspect cannot be expressed within non-main clauses. Non-main clauses marked with sequencing enclitics can be marked for relative time frame—their action can be either prior to that of the main clause, or simultaneous with it. The anterior meaning ('before') is expressed with the prefix-taking preposition -peya 'before, first' in its clause-linking function.

Sequencing enclitics are in Table 34.3. Non-switch-reference-sensitive enclitics are in the last column of the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 34.3 Switch-reference-sensitive and other sequencing enclitics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACTION PRIOR TO MAIN CLAUSE</td>
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<tr>
<td>=hyume/=yhume 'after, because'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACTION SIMULTANEOUS WITH MAIN CLAUSE</td>
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7 The apprehensive complex predicate ('for fear that something might happen') is the result of a calque from Tucano (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 144–5, for details). The origin of other complex predicates is uncertain.
The sequential enclitic =ka (slot 20) has a wide range of meaning covering ‘after’, ‘when’, ‘while’, ‘if’, ‘because’, and ‘as’. Its homonym is the enclitic =ka (slot 20) used to mark complement clauses (see Aikhenvald 2006c on their different properties). Purposive verb forms can be used as complementation strategies with predicates ‘be difficult’ and ‘be easy’ (these are marked with -kale ‘purposive visual’ or -hyu ‘purposive nonvisual’; slot 8 in Scheme 4). As in most Amazonian languages (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 332–4), nominalizations can also be used as complementation strategies. These include the action nominalization -ripe, the locative–resultative nominalization -mu and the multipurpose nominalization -i which can refer to an object, a location, or a process. Nominalizations are a special subclass of nouns. They lack a few nominal features: for instance, they cannot be pluralized or used as transitive subjects (in A function). An example of a -i nominalization in S function as a complementation strategy is in (14).

(14) yanaka pa-ira-ri puaya=na
    whisky IMPERS-drink-PROCESS,NOM be.different=REM,P,VIS
    ‘(The process) of drinking whisky is different (from manioc beer)’

Multifunctional nominalizations as complementation strategies are a prominent feature of East Tucanoan languages. Tariana shares complement clauses marked by the complementizer =ka with its North Arawak relatives. Innovative speakers of Tariana who use mostly Tucano on a day-to-day basis tend to use nominalizations instead of a more archaic complement clause (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 461, 2006c).

Purposive clauses are marked with purposive suffixes (slot 8 in Scheme 4) accompanied by classifiers referring to animacy, sex, shape, and form of the O of the matrix clause verb. There are no restrictions on same or different subject for purposive clauses.

Participles mark the predicate of a relative clause. They are marked with the prefix ka- (positive) or ma- (negative). Participles distinguish relative tense: simultaneous with that of the main clause, prior to that of the main clause, and subsequent to it. A participle marked for action prior to that of the main clause is shown in (15). It is formed on a serial verb construction. Each verb within it takes the prefix ka-. The relative tense marking appears on the first verb only, in agreement with the principle of ‘affix sharing’ (see §34.4.2). The case clitic =nak marks the O function and the topicality of the whole nominalized serial verb construction.

(15) ne=pidana  Naka na-pisa
      then=REM,PREP 3pl+arrive 3pl-cut
      di-ya-dapana-se  [kema-kat
      3sgnf-POS-CL,HOUSE-LOC REL+sleep-REL,PAST REL-lie-TOP,NON,A/S
      ‘Then they reportedly came and cut up (him) who had been sleeping in his (own) house’

Subordinate clauses can be marked with postpositions -ipeya ‘before’ (which takes personal prefixes) and manya ‘during, immediately after’, and the preposition te ‘until’ (which cannot take prefixes). Interrogatives can be used as relative pronouns. These structures have arisen as a result of the influence of Nhèngatu (a Tupi-Guarani-based former lingua franca of the area, itself influenced by Portuguese), and now also by Portuguese.
34.6 MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN
AND THE NOUN PHRASE

Nouns in Tariana are morphologically complex. Figure 34.3 shows the maximal structure of a noun. The main difference between the structure of a noun and the structure of a verb (Figures 34.1 and 34.2) is that noun categories can be marked recursively, and more than once in a word, while verb categories cannot be. Categories which can be marked more than once are classifiers, number, and core cases. Each of these will be addressed in this chapter. Not all nouns can have all positions filled; they fall into several subclasses depending on which structural positions can be filled (see Aikhenvald 2003: 82–6).

Some nouns can contain more than one root. Possessive compounds consist of a possessor or location and a notional possessee (which may be accompanied by a fossilized possessive marker of common Arawak origin), for example keri-yaka-ni (moon/sun-shrimp-POS) 'type of small shrimp' (lit. shrimp of the moon), un-i-dameni (water-snake) 'water-snake', yaru-siminari (thing-NONPOSSESSED-owner) 'rich person'. Compounding is not productive.6

Prefix
1. Possessive (5 persons in singular, three in plural), or negative ma-, or relative ka- prefix
2. ROOT

Suffixes
3. Gender-sensitive derivational suffix
4. Classifier as a derivational suffix (may be more than one for nouns with an inanimate referent)
5. Plural marker

Enclitics
6. Pejorative =yana (± plural -pe)
7. Approximative =ta 'more or less'
8. Diminutive =tuki (or diminutive plural =tupe) or augmentative =pasi (± plural pe)
9. Tense (past singular masculine =miki, fem. =miki, pl. =miki; future =pena)
10. Extralocality and restrictivity (=wya 'the one left out; extralocal: participant in a place distinct from where the speech act is'; =maia 'just, only')

Suffix
11. Oblique case -(i)ne 'comitative-instrumental'
12. Oblique case -se 'locative'

Enclitics
13. Contrastive =se
14. Coordinative =misini, =sini 'also'
15. Focussed A/S =ne/-nge
16. Topical non-subject =naku

Figure 34.3 Noun structure in Tariana

6 However, since most underived nouns with an inanimate referent can be used as classifiers in repeater constructions (see §2), difficulties may arise in distinguishing nominal root compounding from a morphological construction nominal root + classifier (see further on in this section).
34.6.1 Types of meanings expressed in a noun

Slot 1 in Figure 34.3 is restricted to inalienably possessed nouns and other nouns which take prefixes (e.g. nominalizations). Nouns have a system of five persons (first, second, and third in singular and in plural, indefinite and impersonal without number distinctions), while verbs have only four, since the indefinite person prefix is hardly ever used with verbs (see Table 34.1). Nominalizations do not take the indefinite person prefix, unlike other nouns.

Slot 3 is filled with non-productive, or semi-productive, derivational suffixes, the choice of which depends on the noun. For instance, nouns with human referents take gender-sensitive suffixes, for example nu-kesi-dua (1sg-blood.relative-fem) 'female blood relative'.

Slot 4 can be filled more than once, and it allows variable morpheme ordering, with a semantic effect, as shown in (16) and (17).

(16) nu-kapi-ma-da
1sg-hand-CL:SIDE.OF-CL:ROUND
'part of my palm; one round part of a side of my hand'

(17) nu-kapi-da-ma
1sg-hand-CL:ROUND-CL:SIDE.OF
'one side of my finger'

The effect of this variable ordering is comparable to 'scope' effects in variable morpheme orders for verbs in southern Amazonian languages (see §15.3.1.3 of Chapter 15). Other suffixes and the enclitics with a noun, or a noun phrase, occur in a fixed order. We can recall, from §34.4.1.3, that phrasal enclitics which go onto a verb, or a verbal phrase, allow some variability.

Classifiers are very frequent in discourse, and are semantically versatile. Any inanimate noun can be used with one or more classifiers, to focus on its different properties and disambiguate its meanings. For instance, un:ni 'water, river' can be classified as a liquid, and then it takes the classifier agreement marker -peli 'collective', for example un:ni kada-peli (water black-COLL) 'black water (as in the Vaupés River), coffee (which is black in colour)'. If it refers to a river, the classifier -pu: 'RIVERWAY' will be used, as in un:ni hanu-pu: (river big-CL:RIVERWAY) 'a big riverway'. If it is curved, the classifier will be -kha 'CURVED', as in un:ni hanu-kha (river big-CL:CURVED) 'a big curved river', and so on (similarly to classifiers in South East Asian languages, as highlighted by Becker 1975, and classifiers in many other South American languages with multiple classifiers systems: Aikhenvald 2012a). Tariana does not have any adjectives referring to shape or form: meanings such as 'round', 'vertical', 'curved', 'extended,' and 'flat,' are conveyed through classifiers.
To refer to an object in terms of its form or shape without mentioning the overt noun, Tariana employs the dummy adjective root *maka***.⁹ (cognate to Baniwa-Kurripako *maka* - ‘big’) accompanied by a classifier, for example *maka-kwele* (DUMMY.ROOT-CL.ISLAND) ‘something island-like; cf. *kwele* ‘island’. A dozen or so classifiers in Tariana do not have a corresponding noun, and so, if necessary, the noun can be formed using the dummy root, for example *maka-pulikuda* (DUMMY.ROOT-CL.HILL) ‘a hill’, *maka-pina* (DUMMY.ROOT-CL.SWAMP) ‘swamp’. This morphological construction is a calque from Tucanoan languages (the functional equivalent of Tariana *maka*- in Tucano is *opá*, for example *opá-yóo* (DUMMY.ROOT-CL.PALM) ‘something palm-like’ (Ramirez 1997: 327–8; also see Aikhenvald 2002a: 94–5). Double or even triple occurrence of a classifier may reflect agreement with different ‘heads’, within an NP—see §34.6.2.

A classifier can derive a noun or an adjective from a noun phrase. Thus, a noun phrase *ka-kama hanupe* (REL-drink.alcohol much) ‘the one who drinks a lot’ can be further nominalized with the animate classifier *-ite*, yielding *kakama hanupite* ‘the one who possesses a property of drinking a lot’. The same classifier applies in the same way to a symmetrical serial verb construction, for example *ka-yena kena hanupite* (REL-exceed REL+stand/stay much+CL:ANIM) ‘the one who is arrogant or pushy’ (lit. ‘the one who exceeds in staying’). Serial verb constructions or clauses nominalized this way are still treated as consisting of separate phonological words. This is reminiscent of ‘affix sharing’ discussed in §34.4.2.

A further unusual feature of the Tariana noun structure is that the enclitics in slots 6, 8, and 9 require their own number marking (which can then intervene between enclitics). The oblique locative case *-se* is a suffix and not an enclitic (it is positioned between enclitics). The three enclitics which require plural marking are thus somewhat similar to independent words in that they have grammatical categories of their own (see Aikhenvald 2002b for a discussion of separate grammatical categories for clitics). Brackets in (18) indicate the scope of the number-marking suffix *-pe*:

\[(18) [pedalia-ma-pe]=[[yana-pe]=[[upe]=[[miki]]

‘little bad/poor dead old women’

These enclitics cannot be used as independent grammatical words in their own right, thus being both prosodically and grammatically ‘deficient’. Slots 11-12 (oblique cases) and 15 (focussed ‘subject’) cannot be filled simultaneously. Slots 15 and 16 can, creating an instance of marking two syntactic functions within the same word or the same NP.

Categories in slots 1, 2, 3, and 4 are characteristic of the head noun, while all other slots 5-16 are filled once per noun phrase; they can be considered as belonging to a ‘phrasal’ level. That is, in a sense, not just nouns but noun phrases in Tariana can be considered inflectionally complex. We now turn to double marking of syntactic function in Tariana noun phrases.

34.6.2 Marking syntactic function twice

Tariana has two ways of marking syntactic function, or case, twice. Case markers usually occur at the end of a noun phrase (unless each component is independently focussed).

⁹ It is an adjective because it can take an adjectival noun class agreement *maka*-ite.
Firstly, the locative and the instrumental cases can combine with the topical non-subject case if the constituent is topical. This is a typologically unusual instance of 'double case' (different from case-stacking in closely related languages such as Baniwa and Baré, discussed in §15.4 of Chapter 15). In (19), the location ('in the house') is the topic. It is marked with the locative case -se and with the topical non-subject case =naku:

(19) di-juku  di-dia=pidana  panisi-se=naku
   3sgnf-go.down  3sgnf-return=REM.PREP  house-LOC=TOP.NON.A/S
   'He went down returning to the house' (the topic of the stretch of discourse)

Secondly, double marking of syntactic function takes place when an NP has a certain case-marked, function in a complement clause, while the complement clause itself is case-marked for a syntactic function in a higher clause. (20) illustrates a topical subordinate clause which takes the =naku marker (it is topical because the action of putting a magic shirt on is what changes the whole course of the story). The A of this subordinate clause is marked with the focussed A/S marker, a clitic =ne, because the participants who are supposed to be watching are in contrast to other participants of the story. Square brackets indicate the scope of =naku which is here the whole subordinate clause.

(20) diha ðhita  di-ña=pidana
    he  3sgnf+take  3sgnf-put.on=REM.PREP
    [nha=ne  na-ka=ka=naku]
    theyy=Foc.A/S  3pl-see=SUB=TOP.NON.A/S
    He (the man) took (the magic shirt) and put it on, while they (the girls, NOT anyone else) were looking.'

The predicate of the topical subordinate or complement clause is often omitted if it is retrievable from the context. If its A/S is contrastive, it can take focussed A/S marker =ne/=nhe followed by =naku, thus creating the situation of a double marking of syntactic function on one noun phrase. This is illustrated with (21). Square brackets indicate the scope of case marking.

(21) [[[diha=ne]=naku]  mawali=pidana
      [[he=FOC.A/S]=TOP.NON.A/S  snake=REM.PREP
      'For him (for man) (looking) it was a snake'

Double marking of syntactic function—one in the main clause, and the one in the subordinate clause—is a feature found in numerous Australian languages (see Dixon 2002: 147–51 for an overview). A special feature of Tariana is that the use of cases is governed by pragmatic factors—the focality and the topicality of constituents. This type of double case is especially frequent in stories dealing with different perspectives and transformations.

This is different from just combining two morphemes to refer to the same syntactic function of a noun phrase. When two morphemes combine to refer to the same function, one of them is a locative or an instrumental/comitative case marker, and it provides a specific meaning, while the other is =naku 'topical non-subject'. It indicates the generic 'non-subjecthood' combined with the indication of the discourse status of the noun phrase, for example di-daki-ne=naku (3sgnf-body-INS=TOP.NON.A/S) 'with his body' (topical).
34.6.3 Multiple agreement marking

We can recall, from §34.6.1, that a classifier in slot 4 can mark agreement. If a noun phrase is used as a modifier to another noun phrase, a noun class marker is attached to the end of the NP to mark agreement, as in (22), where, the NP 'medicine for diarrhoea' (in square brackets) is used to modify the head noun, 'tree'; the classifier -na 'VERTICAL' is attached to the end of the modifying NP.

(22) heku-na [wesi i-tape]-na
tree-CL:VERT [bad.cold INDF-medicine]-CL:VERT
'a tree, (which is) a medicine for a bad cold'

There can be more than one classifier in this position, marking agreement with more than one head. If the last element modifying the NP already contains a classifier, the agreement marker will go onto it, thus creating a situation whereby agreement takes place with two heads: that of an embedded NP and that of an embedding one. The classifier -phe [leaf-like] in (23) marks agreement with the head of the embedded noun phrase, 'beautiful leaf', and the classifier -na 'vertical' marks agreement with the 'higher level' NP, 'tree with beautiful leaves'.

(23) [heku-na [pana-phe ma[a-phe]-na]
'a tree which has beautiful leaves'

This stacking of classifier agreement usually involves only two 'levels', as in (23). A more complicated structure is illustrated in (24). Here, the noun phrase 'flowering like a curved vine' is a modifier to the head, 'leaf'. The modifier takes the appropriate classifier agreement marker -phe 'CL:LEAF.LIKE'.

(24) pana-phe [heku-na [bebi-kha kayu
kewi-kha]-na]-phe
REL+flower-CL:CURVED]-CL:VERT]-CL:LEAF.LIKE
'a leaf of a tree flowering like a curved vine'

Thus, agreement in noun class is marked twice in (23), and three times in (24). It reflects agreement 'on different levels': that with the head of embedded noun phrase(s), and that with the head of the 'embedding' noun phrase of a higher level. This double agreement marking has been attested with adjectives and articles, but not with members of any other closed class (such as interrogatives and demonstratives). Younger speakers do not use such structures.

The principle of 'double' marking of syntactic function (within a lower clause and a higher clause) and of agreement (within an embedded noun phrase and the larger noun phrase) appears to be consistent in Tariana. It also shows the inflectional complexity of nouns and their modifiers in Tariana. The syntactic structure is mirrored in the morphological structure allowing the inflection—both case markers and noun class agreement markers—to specify the syntactic environments simultaneously at different levels. These features appear to be independent innovations in the language.
34.7 TO CONCLUDE: HIGHLY SYNTHETIC STRUCTURES IN TARIANA, AND LANGUAGE OBSOLESCENCE

An interaction of areal diffusion, genetic inheritance and independent innovation accounts for the emergence of highly synthetic structures in Tariana. Tariana expresses much more information within a verbal and a nominal word than its genetic relatives—including Baniwa-Kurripako and Piapoco. Many Tariana categories developed as a result of the impact of a long-term areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages. However, a number of typologically unusual features of Tariana cannot be easily accounted for by language contact. At this stage, affix sharing in serial verb constructions, unusual person marking in causative serial verb constructions, double marking of agreement in a noun phrase, double case marking of two types, and a highly complicated noun structure appear to have been independently innovated.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>A</td>
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