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A grammatical description of Suruwahá (Arawá)

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Abstract

This study offers a first grammatical description of the Suruwahá language, which belongs to the Arawá language family and is spoken by a community of 156 members in southern Amazonas, Brazil. The Suruwahá language has been the subject of only a few previous publications, all of which focused solely on its phonology. The current study covers the language's phonology, morphology, and syntax, with a particular focus on the morphosyntax of nouns and verbs, including topics such as quantification, modification, nominal tense, gender, determiners, relative clauses, possession, case marking, the marking of information structure, person and number agreement, directional and locational affixes, negation, valency, and the tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality system. The description is based on an existing corpus of linguistic data collected by the author through long-term involvement and interaction with the Suruwahá community. This comprehensive grammatical description of the Suruwahá language is expected to serve as a foundation for the future development of bilingual teaching materials, thereby bridging the existing communication gap between the Suruwahá and the outside world.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The language and its speakers

Suruwahá (Glottocode: suru1263; ISO-639-3: swx) is a language from the Arawá family, spoken by a community of 156 members who are also known as Suruwahá.¹ This group maintains monolingualism and continues to follow their traditional way of life as slash-and-burn farmers, hunters, fishers, and gatherers in the forests along the Jukihi stream, a left-hand tributary of the Hahabiri river (*Riozinho* in Portuguese), within the hydrographic basin of the *Kuniria* river (*Cuniuá* in Portuguese), in southern Amazonas, Brazil.

According to their oral history, the Suruwahá descend from several communities that once spoke distinct dialects of a single language. Until the mid-19th century, these ancestral groups occupied a much larger territory. They identified each other with names ending in *-dawa* (cf. *jadawa* ‘person, people’, *anidawa* ‘owner’), which reflected their spatial relations, territorial features, or lifestyle characteristics.

Following a severe decline in their population due to massacres and European-introduced diseases during the rubber-tapping industry’s expansion, the various *dawa*-groups took refuge in the territory of the *Jukihidawa*. They kept themselves hidden from the early 1920s until the late 1970s. Then, they themselves took the initiative to reestablish sporadic contacts with the rubber tappers who started to penetrate further into the area of the headwaters of the rivers. After having lived for almost sixty years in complete isolation, their reserves of steel axes and machetes - essential for clearing swiddens and maintaining high productivity on the manioc plantations - had been exhausted, making them feel the need to re-engage with the outside world. Between 1980 and 2000, the Suruwahá built friendly relationships with members of the Brazilian NGOs Conselho Indigenista Missionário (CIMI) and Operação Amazônia Nativa (OPAN), as well as fundamentalist Christian missionaries from the Youth with a Mission (YWAM) Mission. Starting in 2000, the Special Indigenous Health District of the Mid-Purus River, managed by the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health of the Brazilian government (SESAI), began offering them

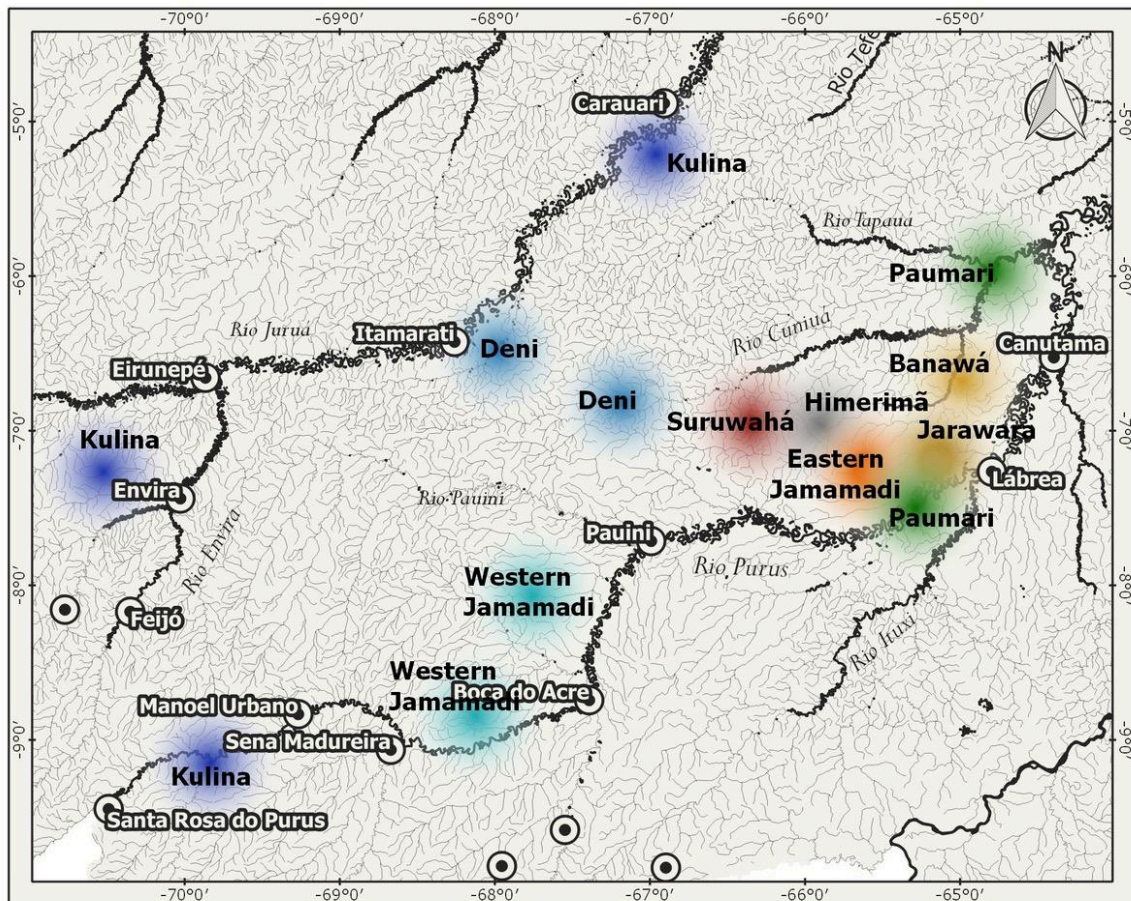
¹ The name *Suruwahá* was invented in the 1980s by a member of the group to satisfy the need felt by non-indigenous visitors to have a term with which they could refer to the people. It is only used as a self-denomination in their communication with outsiders. “Suruwahá” people call themselves *jadawa*, “human beings”, and their language *ari jati*, “our language”. I last updated my data regarding the demographics of the community in May 2024, via Whatsapp, with the help of Xuwai, Bamibuhwa, Waniahariu and Jawanka.

health services, and in 2008, the Brazilian government's Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI) established its Ethno-Environmental Protection Base in the area.²

² A more detailed discussion of the recent history of the Suruwahá people can be found in my doctoral thesis in Social Anthropology, which is dedicated to the history of self-poisoning by fish toxins and its multiple relations with the experience of physical and symbolic colonial violence suffered by the Suruwahá community in the context of the advance of the rubber tapping industry during the 19th and 20th centuries. See Huber Azevedo 2012:77-202.



Map 1. Location of the *Terra Indígena Zuruahã* in the Brazilian Amazon



Map 2. Location of the Suruwahá and other groups belonging to the Arawá family within the Juruá-Purus interflúve³

³ This map was kindly elaborated by Christian Crevels according to the specifications provided.

1.2. Previous work on Suruwahá and the Arawá language family

There are nine different ethnic groups speaking languages belonging to the Arawá family: the Paumari, the Kulina (self-denomination: *Madihá*), the Deni (self-denomination: *Madihá*), the Western Jamamadi (self-denomination: *Madihá*), the Eastern Jamamadi, the Jarawara, the Banawá, the Suruwahá and the Himerimã. Since the varieties spoken by the Jarawara, Eastern Jamamadi and Banawá are completely and easily mutually intelligible, Dixon (1999:294) classified them as dialects of one language, which he calls Madi.⁴ The languages spoken by the Kulina, Deni and Western Jamamadi (“Madihá languages”) show some (albeit limited) degree of mutual intelligibility. Western Jamamadi (whose speakers consider themselves as having split from and migrated away from the Deni during the second half of the 19th century) appears to be a transitional variety between Kulina and Deni.⁵ Kulina is the most well documented Arawá language, with the highest number of speakers (more than 8000 only in Brazil, according to the 2018 SESAI Census).⁶ Regarding Himerimã: Since this group (also called “Marimã” or “Maimã”) lives in voluntary isolation, and the only evidence we have of their existence are material remnants such as abandoned palm leaf shelters, paths and artifacts such as arrows, ceramics, basketry, ropes and food remains scattered over a territory of about 8000 square kilometers covered by dense forest, we do not know whether they are a single group speaking one language or several groups speaking distinct languages.⁷ In 1986, a group of 10 “Himerimã” including children made contact with a Brazilian riverine community under circumstances that never were properly clarified by the Brazilian authorities.⁸ This contact resulted in the death of all contacted adults, and the adoption of five children by non Indigenous families. One of the children (the only one still alive as of 2024) provided a list of 105 words of his language to Adolpho Killian, a coworker

⁴ Madi means “people” in almost all Arawá languages.

⁵ Crevels (2021) contains a detailed analysis of the oral history of the Deni and their narratives regarding the migrations of their different subgroups.

⁶ The language family itself, Arawá, is named after a community located on the banks of the Chiué Creek, a right tributary of the lower Juruá River. This community was visited in 1867 by the British explorer William Chandless, but was tragically exterminated in 1877 by a measles epidemic. William Chandless compiled a list of 52 words of this language, which was otherwise completely undocumented (see Chandless 1869).

⁷ Cangussu Alves (2021) includes a detailed description of the work monitoring traces left by the Himerimã people, carried out by FUNAI’s Ethno-Environmental Protection Front for the Mid-Purus River. As a matter of fact, before being officially “contacted” by the government agency FUNAI in 1983, the Suruwahá were also believed to belong to the Himerimã people (see, for example, Santana Barros 1930).

⁸ Narratives of this episode can be found in Kroemer (1989:238-239); Ribeiro (2007:87-94); and Wright (2012:51-55). Since Ribeiro and Wright contain auto-biographical narratives by fundamentalist missionaries who tried to illegally contact the Himerimã without the knowledge or consent of the Brazilian government, the authors use the pseudonyms *Arimadi* and *Povo X* to refer to them.

of the government agency FUNAI, when he was about eight years old and still remembered the language.⁹

Much of the previous work on Arawá grammars was done by Christian missionaries affiliated to SIL, YWAM, the Lutheran organization COMIN and the Catholic Organism CIMI: Shirley Chapman and Desmond Derbyshire published the chapter “Paumari” as a part of the 1991 Edition of Volume 3 of the Handbook of Amazonian Languages edited by Derbyshire and Pullum, as well as a bilingual dictionary Paumari - Portuguese containing a short description of the word classes present in this language. The SIL missionaries Arlene Agnew and Patsy Adams, the Lutheran Pastor Frank Tiss, Ruth Monserrat and Abel O. Silva Kanaú (while working as volunteers for CIMI) between 1963 and 2004 elaborated four grammars of varying length and disparate levels of detail of Kulina. SIL missionaries Gordon and Lois Koop in 1985 and 2008 published two versions of a bilingual dictionary Deni - Portuguese which includes an “introduction to the basic grammar” of this language. And SIL missionary Alan Vogel in 2003 defended his PhD Thesis dedicated to Jarawara Verb Classes, and later (in 2016) published a bilingual dictionary Jarawara - Portuguese.

Grammars of Arawá languages elaborated by linguists with a strictly academic, non-Christian background include *The Jarawara Language of Southern Amazonia* by R.M.W. Dixon (Oxford University Press, 2004); *A Grammar of Kulina* published by Stefan Dienst (de Gruyter, 2014), and the PhD Thesis *Estudo Morfossintático da Língua Deni (Arawá)* by Matheus Cruz Maciel de Carvalho (Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho", 2017).

Regarding Suruwahá, the language has been the subject of only three previous publications by linguists, all of which focus strictly on its phonology. These publications (one MA thesis in linguistics and two articles) were authored by the YWAM missionary couple Márcia and Edson Massamiti Suzuki.¹⁰ The available ethnographic literature on the Suruwahá people contains bilingual text samples and information on the lexicon of the language, which, however, is not its primary focus.¹¹ In Huber Azevedo (2016), I offer an analysis of Suruwahá shamanic song texts.

⁹ See Killian (n.d.).

¹⁰ See Suzuki, Márcia (1995 and 2000), and Suzuki, Edson (1997). The authors offer a preliminary inventory of the Suruwahá vowel and consonant phonemes established by applying the minimal pair method. And they address several phonological phenomena and phonotactic constraints that are relevant to the language (notably, the role of /i/ and /u/ as triggers of palatalisation, respectively labialisation processes affecting immediately adjacent syllables - see Suzuki (1995: 360 and 365-366); Suzuki (1997: 47-52); and Suzuki (2000: 186-187).

¹¹ See Kroemer (1989 and 1994); Fank & Porta (1996a, 1996b and 1996c); Aparicio (2008 and 2014); Huber Azevedo (2011, 2012, 2016 and 2019) and Aparicio et al. (2023). Fank & Porta's unpublished work includes a Suruwahá - Portuguese vocabulary list and some grammatical notes.

1.3. The context, aim and methodology of the current study

Over the last two decades, the Suruwahá have gradually increased their interactions with the Brazilian State to access public health services and protect their territory. However, there is a lack of bilingual teaching materials to facilitate communication between the Suruwahá and Brazilian government employees. The purpose of the current MA thesis consists in offering the public a first outline of a grammatical description of the language, which will contribute to bridging this difficulty in mutual understanding inasmuch as it will serve as a foundation for, and facilitate, the future development of further (non-academic) bilingual language learning materials.

Given that there already exist previous descriptions of the phonology and the relevant morpho-phonological processes, this study is more focused on morphological and syntactic aspects. It primarily examines the inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns and verbs, along with the structure of phrases and clauses. Aspects of nominal morphosyntax analyzed in the present work are quantification, modification, nominal tense, gender, determiners, relative clauses, possession, and case marking. Aspects of verbal morphosyntax analyzed are person, number and gender agreement, directional, locational, Aktionsart and mirative affixes, the TAME system (the linguistic coding of time reference, aspect, mood and information source), negation, valency (coded and uncoded diathetic alternations), the switch reference system, and auxiliary constructions. The present study covers phonetics to a limited extent, offering acoustic measurements of vowel segments. The meanings of various grammatical markers, along with other semantic aspects of the language, are addressed throughout the analysis

The present study did not imply, or depend on, the conduct of (further) fieldwork, but instead focused on systematically analyzing an already existing corpus of mostly raw linguistic data. This corpus is a by-product of more than fifteen years of my involvement, immersion, and interaction with the Suruwahá community in a non-academic context: From 2006 to 2011, I lived and worked with the Suruwahá as an anthropologist and member of CIMI, which had partnered with the community since the early 1980s advocating for their right to gain official recognition, titling, and demarcation of their ancestral lands and, from the late 1990s, had assisted them in their quest for access to specialized and differentiated public health services. The years from 2006 to 2011 constituted the period during which the Indigenous Special Sanitary District of the Middle Purus River, as well as the FUNAI's Ethno-environmental Protection Front were (gradually) being established and structured in

the region, and my work as an anthropologist specifically consisted in providing services of intercultural mediation to both the Suruwahá and the SESAI/ FUNAI during this process of outlining, discussing, officializing and aligning of their mutual expectations (i.e., the elaboration of multi-year work plans and the definition of workflows and work methodologies for the governmental team established to attend to the community's demands).

During this period, the Suruwahá shared their language with me and my coworkers from CIMI by engaging us in daily conversations, interacting as if we could already understand them—even when we clearly could not—and guiding us with simple corrections along the way (e.g., “Say ‘*Gwaniangai*’ not ‘*Ganiari*’! People never say ‘*Ganiari*’ when they have just seen something themselves!”). They approached us much as they do their own children, assuming understanding would come through continual exposure, interaction, and persistent correction of ill-formed sentences. This was in the hope that, once we could communicate fluently, we would provide simultaneous interpretation whenever they wished to meet with government officials to discuss political issues or needed to talk to medical staff. A small group of adult men and women was also interested in learning Portuguese orally with our help.

From 2006 to 2011, we held innumerable, very informal two-way (Suruwahá - Portuguese and Portuguese - Suruwahá) language teaching sessions with the participation of a total of fifty three adult community members, which resulted in two types of language data: a) (Thousands of) Suruwahá sentences written down in my field diary together with a tentative (sometimes uncertain) free Portuguese translation b.) Tape recordings and digital recordings of series of “useful” sentences in Suruwahá and in Portuguese, suitable to be employed in different kinds of situations of interaction between the community and the *jara* (“foreigners”). These recordings, of which several copies were distributed to the community, were meant to help the non-literate Suruwahá in their process of learning Portuguese as a second language, as they could be listened to by the community members by using alkaline-battery Walkmans at any place, whenever they had time and interest.

From 2008 to the present, the Suruwahá asked me many times to record, and translate into the Portuguese language, different kinds of historical narratives and public political discourses that mostly had as their addressees the Government agencies FUNAI and SESAI, or (in some cases) “all the *Jara*¹² persons”. The historical narratives were meant to document

¹² *Jara* (a Nheengatu loanword) can roughly be translated as “foreigner” and is the term used by the Suruwahá in order to refer to any person who is of non-Indigenous ancestry (Portuguese speaking Brazilians, Europeans, Africans, North Americans, etc.).

the history of the occupation of the ancestral lands of the different subgroups of the people in order to demand that Brazil's Federal government rectify the boundaries of the land officially demarcated in 1987 under the name *Terra Indígena Zuruahã*, as portions of the traditional territory belonging to the Masanidawa and Kurubidawa bands had been inadvertently excluded due to a lack of knowledge and language comprehension. The political discourses mostly described collective expectations regarding how the Sanitary District or the FUNAI should properly do their work (what strategies should be adopted in order to ensure quality dental care, a high vaccination coverage and snakebite emergency/ hunting accident response to the community, etc.). But some of them addressed other topics (e.g. were meant to correct the bigoted image the general public has of them after fundamentalist missionaries and sensationalist Australian journalists, in 2008 and 2011, released two false “documentary films” on the internet, portraying them as “violent stone age people”).¹³ Some of these audio and video recordings were transcribed and freely translated in full, while some of the video material was subtitled directly in Portuguese without being transcribed,¹⁴ and yet others were not transcribed at all (but directly, orally translated during thematic meetings and assemblies).

During the time I lived in the Suruwahá people's communal houses, the Suruwahá often asked me to let them use my equipment. They wanted to record themselves while singing *kurimia* (“spirit”) chants, which they consider to be the most valuable and beautiful form of linguistic expression human beings are capable of. The result were dozens of audio recordings of varying quality containing this genre of music, all of which were given back to the community, who sees them as a means to preserve, and promote, the collective memory of their famous singers. These records were only partially transcribed and translated into the Portuguese language.

The elaboration of the grammatical description offered in this MA thesis was based on the aforementioned materials.

¹³ For more information, see <https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/10288>;
<https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/10636>;
https://www.portal.abant.org.br/images/Noticias/Oficio_n%C2%BA_013_-_Anexos.pdf;
<https://www.scielo.br/j/mana/a/S9wZFypTRBvJN75VvcBh9hP/?format=pdf&lang=pt>

¹⁴ for an example, see <https://vimeo.com/22239415>.

2. Phonetics and phonology

2.1. Phonemic inventory

2.1.1. Vowels

Suruwahá possesses four vowel phonemes, /a/, /i/, /ī/, and /u/:

Table 1. Suruwahá vowel inventory

	front	central	back
high	i	ī	u
low		a	

The high/low distinction comprises only two levels: high and low. As for the front-to-back dimension, three positions are distinguished: front, central and back. Acoustic measurements showed that F1 values for /i/, /ī/ and /u/ range from 330Hz to 490Hz (the respective mean values are 395 Hz for /i/, 399 Hz for /ī/ and 405 Hz for /u/), while for /a/ they go from around 480 Hz to 670 Hz (mean value: 582 Hz). As for the F2 values, they fall around 1850 Hz for /i/, 1425 Hz for /ī/, 1140 Hz for /a/, and 980 Hz for /u/.¹⁵

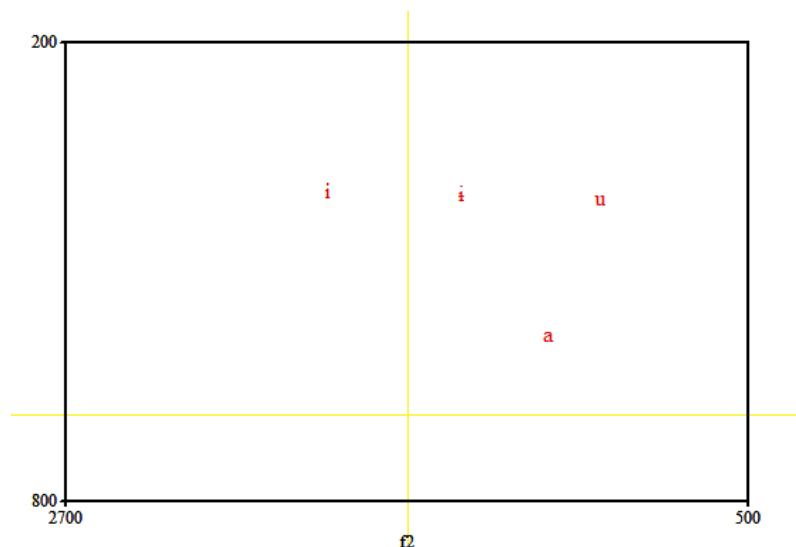


Figure 1. Mean F1 and F2 values of monophthong vowels (in Hz).

¹⁵ The acoustic measurements were conducted using an audio recording of a short narrative provided by Hinikuma, a 47-year-old male speaker. I annotated the recording (consisting of three minutes of speech) using Praat. Subsequently, I utilized a Praat script kindly provided by Dieter Studer-Joho to measure and tabulate the F1 and F2 values for the central section of the 408 vowel segments present in the recording.

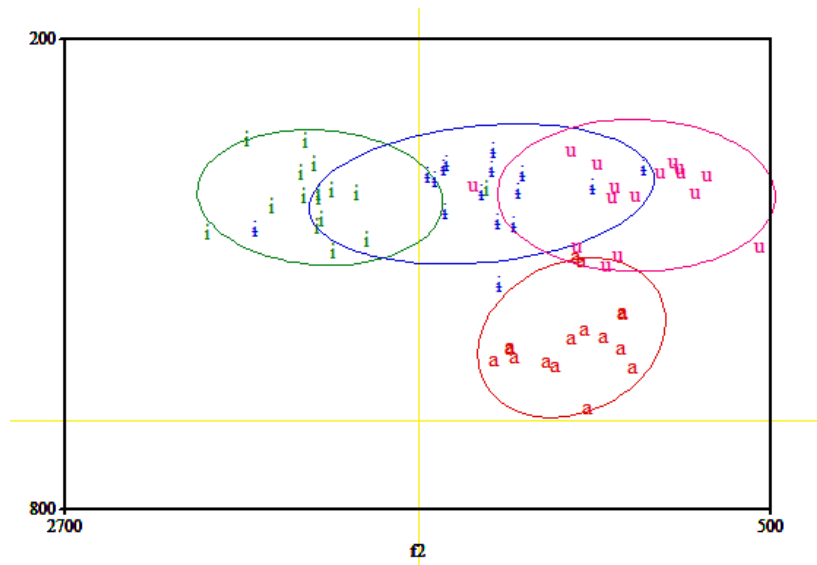


Figure 2. Acoustic patterns of the Suruwahá vowel phonemes in a F1 vs F2 space.

Consider the following minimal sets:

(1)

- /aba/ “fish”
- /abi/ “fire, firewood”
- /abi/ “tongue (pertaining to a masculine possessor), (vulval) labia”
- /abu/ “have roots” (intransitive verb root)
- /ibi/ “half, part, slice (of a masculine object)”
- /ubi/ “topple, fall” (intransitive verb root)

(2)

- /ama/ “bleed” (intransitive verb)
- /ami(zi)/ “mother”
- /ami/ “blood (pertaining to a masculine possessor)”
- /amu/ “freshwater crab”
- /imi/ “flesh, pulp, substance (of a masculine person, animal or object)”
- /ima/ “make, build” (transitive verb root)
- /imi/ “ingá” (*Inga edulis*)
- /uma/ “piranha”
- /umi/ Umi (proper noun: name of a girl)

Phoneme /a/

Phoneme /a/ possesses two allophones in complementary distribution: [a] occurring in word initial position and after syllables with an /a/, /u/ or /i/ nucleus; and [ɛ] occurring after syllables with an /i/ nucleus, as well as within the diphthongs /ai/ and /ia/.¹⁶

/aba/ “fish” is pronounced [a:'ba]

/ukari/ “buriti” (*Mauritia flexuosa*) is pronounced [,uk^wa'ri]

/imadi/ “male” is pronounced [,imiɛ'di]

/nangai/ “I said” is pronounced [na:ŋ'gɛi]

/atia/ “fire ant” is pronounced [a'tjɛ]

Whenever, in fast everyday speech, we hear an /a/ realized as [a] in a syllable immediately following a syllable having an /i/ as its nucleus, this indicates that the speaker has omitted at least one underlying morpheme consisting of a syllable with an /u/ or /a/ nucleus (or that these morphemes have been historically lost). This phenomenon is illustrated in (3), where the speaker contracted a sequence of morphemes: a feminine nominalizer (-ru), a negative marker (-su) and a copula (ha-), reducing it to [sa]. The realization of /a/ as [a] after /s/ occurs because the sequence follows the underlying negative marker -su, not the sequential marker -si.

(3) [,ha:çisawãŋ'ki]

ha na-¹⁰si-ru-su=ha-uaniki
be.there AUX-SEQ-F.NMLZ-NEG=be-F.PPST.FH
“She was not there anymore.”

The realization of /a/ as [ɛ] in word initial position (that is, within word initial syllables having a complex palatalized consonant as their onset) can be observed in certain verbs inflected for a second person singular or a first person plural subject, as well as in some nouns inflected for a second person singular or a first person plural possessor. This phenomenon can be explained diachronically by the loss of the Proto-Arawá personal prefixes *ti-* (2SG) and *i-* (1PL), whose phonological influence on the /Ca/ syllable to their right still persists. Alternatively, one could describe the process by stating that the original

¹⁶ It is necessary to clarify that the realization of /a/ as [ɛ] primarily occurs in fast speech. When speakers intentionally slow down their speech to teach their language, the pronunciation typically reverts back to [a]. Additionally, speakers do not typically correct foreigners who pronounce /a/ as [a] after /i/, as they might do if /i/ is mispronounced as [a].

personal prefixes *ti-* and *i-*, still present in other Arawá languages such as Kulina, Deni and Jarawara, underwent metathesis and penetrated into the verb root to their right side, where they became the infix <*i*>, realized as the semi-vowel [j], which still causes the fronting of the subsequent /a/ (together with which it forms the diphthong /ia/).

(4)	†[.ig ^ɛ ɛn'ɔŋ'gɛi]	>	[.g ^ɛ ɛn'ɔŋ'gɛi]
	† <i>i-gania-ngai</i> ¹⁷	>	<i>g<i>ania-ngai</i>
	1PL-see-1.HPST.DECL.FH	>	<1PL>see-1.HPST.DECL.FH
	“We saw.”		“We saw.”

Phoneme /i/

While there are numerous minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of /i/, the high central vowel is considerably less stable than its front and back neighbors /i/ and /u/. In cases where it constitutes the nucleus of a word-medial unstressed syllable, it often shifts to /i/ when followed by a syllable with an /i/ as its nucleus, and to /u/ when followed by a syllable with an /u/ as its nucleus.

/bidadi/	“Take a picture!” is pronounced [ˌbida'di], while
/bidadihiri/	“picture of a male person” is pronounced [ˌbidadihi'ri] or even [ˌbidadihi'ri].
/nasuki/	“Heat it up!” is pronounced [ˌnasu'ki], while
/zama sukiru/	“summer” is pronounced [ˌzãnsuku'ru]. (cf. <i>suki-</i> “to be hot”)

When we compare Suruwahá words containing [i] to their respective cognates in other Arawá languages with four-vowel systems (Jarawara, Kulina and Deni), it becomes apparent that the Suruwahá /i/ phoneme in stressed, word-final position often corresponds to Deni or Jarawara /e/, as illustrated below:

	Suruwahá	Deni	Jarawara
“urucum”	[ˌidja'hi]	[ˌhide'pe]	[ˌate'he]
“his forehead”	[a:'ti]	[e:'tʰe]	[a:'te]
“his flesh”	[i:'mi]	[i:'me]	[i:'me]
“sloth” (<i>Bradypus tridactylus</i>)	[ˌkiri'wi]	[ˌkiri've]	[ˌkere'we]
“sky”	[na:'mi]	[ne:'me]	[ne:'me]

¹⁷ This form can still be found in *kurima* (shamanic) chants characterized by a more conservative grammar and lexicon.

However, as shown by the examples below, this pattern does not always hold true:

	Suruwahá	Deni	Jarawara
<i>Mauritiella armata</i>	[i: 'ri]	[i: 'ri]	[imi 'ri]
“be clean, be good”	[,imi 'zi]	[,amu 's ^h i]	[,amu 'sa]
“agouti”	[,in ^l a 'mi]	[,s ^h ina 'ma]	[,sina 'ma]

I mention this because Dixon, while discussing the historical development of vowel phonemes within the Arawá language family (2004a:17), commented that “The proto-Arawá vowel /e/ has been lost in Paumari and probably also in Sorowaha (having merged with /i/ in some and with /a/ in most environments.)”. Assuming Dixon’s hypothesis about proto-Arawá having a four-vowel system comprising the vowels /a/, /e/, /i/ and /o/ (see 2004a:16) to be correct, one could thus postulate that /e/, rather than being lost in Suruwahá, changed to /i/ in some, and merged with /a/ or /i/ in other environments.

Phonemes /i/ and /u/

As shown by Figure 2, the area occupied by phoneme /i/ within the F1/F2 space covers both [i] and [I], and the area occupied by phoneme /u/ encompasses [u] and [ʊ]. This explains why speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (a language where [I] in word-final position is an allophone of /e/, and [ʊ] in word-final position is an allophone of /o/) tend to spontaneously transcribe them as <e> and <o> in some contexts. Gunter Kroemer, in his preliminary ethnography *Kunahã Made* published in 1994 often transcribed /i/ as <e> and /u/ as <o> (i.e. he spelled /kumadi/ “tobacco” <kumade>, /iri/ “his” <eri>, /ahadi/ “his father” <ahade>, /ahidi/ “his son” <ahedi>, /uda/ “house” <oda>, /hurini/ “middle” <hourini>, etc.).

When /i/ is the very first sound of a word, it is strengthened to [j] whenever it is followed by a zero onset syllable:

- (5) /iamani/
 i-ama-ni (ama = “blood”)
 2SG-blood-F
 “your blood”

is pronounced [jɛma'ni], not *[i.ama'ni].

Since the phone [i] does never occur in intervocalic position, one could also claim that [j] in word-medial position should be interpreted as an allophone of /i/. For example:

- [ba:'ja] “put into a container/ enter a container” (ambitransitive verb)

could reasonably be interpreted as a realization of /baia/.

[ku:'ju] “sweet manioc” (*Manihot esculenta*)

could be interpreted as a realization of /kuiu/.

The problem with this interpretation is that, given /z/ is also always pronounced as [ʒ] after /i/ or when followed by a diphthong beginning with /i/ (see more details in section 2.1.2., below), the words “put into a container” and “sweet manioc” would also be pronounced [ba:'ja] and [ku:'ju] if their underlying forms were /baiza/ or /bazia/ and /kuziu/, respectively.

/i/ undergoes yoticization (i.e. it becomes [j]) whenever it is preceded by a consonant, and followed by another vowel. This happens, for example, whenever the 1PL/2SG infix <i> is inserted into the first syllable of a verb stem or noun root already containing an /a/, /u/ or /i/ in its nucleus:

- (6) /miakauani/
m<i>akaua-ni (makaua = “belly”)
2SG-belly-F
“your belly”

is pronounced [,mjəkawa'ni] or [,məkawa'ni], not *[,m.i.aka.u.a'ni]

/u/ is realized as [w] in the same contexts where /i/ is realized as [j] or [j] - that is, when the 1SG affix /u/ meets an onsetless syllable at the beginning of a word, or is inserted into the first CV syllable of a verb stem or the root of an inalienably possessed noun; and whenever /u/ occupies an intervocalic position:

- (7) /uami/
u-am-i
1SG-blood-M
“my blood”

is pronounced [wa'mi], not *[,u.a'mi].

- (8) /guaniangai/
g<u>ania-ngai (gania = “see”)
<1SG>see-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I saw it.”

is pronounced [,gwanja'ŋgei], not *[,gu.anjaŋ'gei]

/huui/ “hammock” is pronounced [hu:'wi], not *[hu.u.'i]

/haua/ “to eat” (transitive verb root) is pronounced [ha:'wa], not *[ha.u.'a]

/i/ acts as a trigger of palatalization in subsequent consonants. It consistently causes the transformation of any subsequent simple consonant into a complex consonant segment:

C	→	[C ^j]	/	/i/___
/s/	→	[ç ^j]	/	/i/___
/z/	→	[ʝ]	/	/i/___

As for /u/, it triggers the labialization of a subsequent /h/, /g/ or /k/:

/k/	→	[k ^w]	/	/u/___
/g/	→	[g ^w]	/	/u/___
/h/	→	[h ^w]	/	/u/___

Nasalisation

In Suruwahá, nasalization of vowels is determined contextually, not phonemically: Vowels are nasalized in fast everyday speech when followed by a syllable that has been reduced to its /n/ onset (the reduction of the last syllable of a verb stem to its onset can occur before the Aktionsart suffix ⁻¹⁰si or the directional suffix ⁻¹⁰za).

- (9) /gansiauaki/
gania-⁻¹⁰si=ha-uaki
see-SEQ-COP-M.PPST.FH
“Then he saw it.”

gansiauaki is normally pronounced [,gã:nçjaw'ki].¹⁸

- (10) /butuniza/
butuna-⁻¹⁰za-ø
bite-THROUGH-IMP
“Bite it through!”

/butuniza/ is normally pronounced [,butũ:n'ʝa].

¹⁸ The word can also be pronounced [,ganiçjawa'ki], but this pronunciation is restricted to situations of language teaching, in which speakers exaggeratedly and emphatically slow down their speech rate in an attempt to make themselves better understood.

Vowel length

Although phonetic long vowels occur within the first syllable of two-syllable words, length is not phonemic in Suruwahá. The relative duration of a vowel sound is determined by how many syllables a word possesses (the shorter the word, the longer the vowels, and vice versa). I will discuss this issue in more detail in section 2.3.

2.1.2. Consonants

There are 11 consonantal phonemes in Suruwahá, as shown below:

Table 2. Suruwahá consonant inventory

	labial	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiced plosives	/b/ [b] ~ [bʲ]	/d/ [d] ~ [dʲ]	/g/ [g] ~ [gʷ] ~ [gʲ]	
voiceless plosives		/t/ [t] ~ [tʲ]	/k/ [k] ~ [kʷ] ~ [kʲ]	
voiced fricative		/z/ [z] ~ [zʲ]		
voiceless fricatives		/s/ [s] ~ [sʲ]		/h/ [h] ~ [hʷ] ~ [hʲ]
voiced approximant				
nasals	m [m] ~ [mʲ]	/n/ [n] ~ [nʲ]		
flap		/ɾ/ [ɾ] ~ [ɾʲ]		

While there are three voiced plosives contrasting at the bilabial, alveolar and velar points of articulation - /b/, /d/ and /g/, there are only two voiceless plosives contrasting at the alveolar and velar points of articulation - /t/ and /k/. As for the voiceless labial plosive [p], it does occur in a handful of personal names ([pa'pi], [ˌpiki'a'mi], [pja'pjasita]¹⁹), in recent Portuguese loanwords ([panˌjara] “aluminum cauldron”, derived from *panela*) and in the interjection [pɛ], meaning “I do not want to!”/ “Go away!”/ “Are you crazy to make this suggestion?”. But since it is otherwise completely absent from the language and does not contrast with any other consonantal phoneme, I do not list it as a phoneme here. In cases where Suruwahá words possess Deni and Kulina cognates containing [p] or [pʰ] (whose Jarawara/Jamamadi counterpart is [ɸ]), the corresponding sound in Suruwahá usually is [h]:

¹⁹ Personal names in Suruwahá often show anomalous phonetic characteristics. Each personal name is unique, invented *ad hoc* to name a child that does not yet possess a name. People frequently draw from words in foreign languages they have heard at some occasion, as they consider words without recognizable meanings that “sound good” as ideal names.

	Deni	Suruwahá
“leaf”	[e'p ^h e]	[a:'hĩ]
“urucum”	[,hĩdɛ'pe]	[,idjɛ'hĩ]
“kapok” ²⁰	[,mapu'va]	[,mahu'wa]
“mortar” ²¹	[phu'va]	[hu:'wa]
“hammock”	[phu'ʔi]	[hu:'wi:]
<i>Heteropsis flexuosa</i>	[pa:'vi:]	[ha:'i:]

Table 2 shows that all consonant phonemes possess one simple and one to two complex (palatalized/ labialized) allophones in complementary distribution (given that the palatalization is triggered by a preceding /i/, and the labialization by a preceding /u/). Since in the case of [ç̺] and [ʝ], the language also exhibits a few words where they are not (or at least not very obviously) preceded by /i/ ([,a:çikjɛ'ha] “to be white”; [,haji'ni] “woman/ female”; [,waɟu'ma] “song”; [,ha:çi'ni] “thorn”; [bu'ji] “fruit”, [karu'ji] “spirit”), one could claim that they are phonemes with a low functional load, whose opposition to /s/ and /z/ is neutralized after /i/. Márcia Suzuki (2000) discusses this problem of the phonemic status of palatalized sibilants in great detail, and using the theoretical framework of OCP, decides to refute the neutralization hypothesis. She argues that, given that /s/ is always palatalized before diphthongs beginning with /i/, and in Suruwahá, tautosyllabic vowel sequences are reduced to one mora in most phonotactic environments, one could claim that within words such as [,ha:çi'ni] “thorn”, [ç̺] should still be interpreted as being an allophone of /s/ whose palatalization was (regressively) triggered by an original sequence of two /i/s which was shortened to one /i/ (/hasiini/). My own hypothesis in this case (which would require more research in order to be tested) is that in words like [,ha:çi'ni], [,haji'ni] and [,waɟu'ma], speakers probably omitted a /ri/ syllable or a single /i/ segment immediately before the problematic [ç̺]/[ʝ] (meaning that we can be dealing with realizations of /haisini/ or /harisini/, /haizini/ or /harizini/, and /uarizuma/ or /uaizuma/). The omission of the unstressed second syllable of tetrasyllabic words (combined with a compensatory lengthening of the first syllable) occurs so frequently in everyday speech that sometimes, it takes foreign language

²⁰ While the Suruwahá word *mahuua* and the Deni word *mapuva* are clearly cognates, their meanings differ. In Suruwahá, the word *mahuua* is a generic term for all tree species belonging to the family *Malvaceae* that produce kapok fiber (*gaha mahuua* - *Pachira aquatica* and *zahi mahuua* - *Pseudobombax longiflorum*). In Deni, *mapuva* is used to refer to a species pertaining to the *Hymenaea* genus, known as “jutai” in regional Portuguese, whose bark is used to build canoes.

²¹ Both words *phuva* and *huua* can denote either the mortar itself or the species *Brosimum rubescens*, which provides the timber used for making mortars. This tree is called *muirapiranga* in regional Portuguese.

learners a long time to notice that a certain apparently trisyllabic word is actually a tetrasyllabic word.²²

In the following, I will shortly describe each consonantal phoneme, and provide examples of their occurrences in different environments.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial plosive. It is pronounced [b] in word initial position or after syllables ending in /a/, /u/ or /i/, and [b̥] after syllables ending in /i/.

/buua/ “jeju” (*Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus*) is pronounced [bu:'wa]

/ibauiru/ “wound” is pronounced [,ib̥i'ewi'ru]

/t/ is a voiceless dental plosive. It is pronounced [t̥] after syllables ending in /i/, and [t] in all other contexts.

/tahu/ (the name of an unidentified tree species whose wood is used to build houses) is pronounced [,ta:'hu]

/itahi/ “our clothes” is pronounced [,iti'ɛ'hi]

/d/ is a voiced dental plosive realized as [d̥] after syllables ending in /i/, and [d] in all other contexts.

/dahu/ “Spix’s guan” (*Penelope jacquacu*) is pronounced [,da:'hu]

/adahi/ “his grave” is pronounced [,ada'hi]

/idahi/ “achiote” (*Bixa orellana*) is pronounced [,idi'ɛ'hi]

/k/ is a voiceless velar plosive pronounced [k] in word initial position or after syllables ending in /a/ or /i/; [kʷ] after syllables ending in /u/, and [k̥] after syllables ending in /i/.

/kahu/ “place to hang one’s hammock” is pronounced [,ka:'hu]

/ahutuka/ “to blow” is pronounced [,ahutu'kʷa]

/nanika/ “she (allegedly) said” is pronounced [,nani'ki'ɛ]

²² My lexical database contains many words containing “virtual” /ri/ or /ui/ syllables that are always omitted by speakers in fast everyday speech and only surface in shamanic songs (which require a more careful pronunciation). Examples: /agarini/ “her log (which she uses to hang her hammock)” is pronounced [,aga'ni] in everyday speech, but [,agari'ni] in songs. /zuiiki/ *Couepia edulis* is spelled [,zu:'ki] in everyday speech, but [,zuwi'ki] in songs. /karisadu/, the name of an unidentified tree species, is pronounced [,ka:ɕi'a'du] in everyday speech, but [,kariɕi'a'du] in songs.

/g/ is a voiced velar plosive pronounced [g] in word initial position or after syllables ending in /a/ or /i/; [g^w] after syllables ending in /u/, and [gʲ] after syllables ending in /i/.

/gaha/ “woolly monkey” (*Lagothrix cana*) is pronounced [ga:'ha]

/aga/ “tree” is pronounced [a:'ga]

/ugarini/ *Couma guianensis* is pronounced [,ug^wari'ni]

/igati/ “arboreal animal, pet, bird” is pronounced [,igʲɛ'ti]

/s/ is a voiceless coronal sibilant. It is realized as [ç] word-initially before /i/, and word-medially after syllables ending in /i/ and/or before any diphthong beginning with /i/. It is pronounced [s] in all other environments (i.e. whenever it is not preceded by /i/ nor followed by a diphthong beginning with /i/).

/sumi/ “earthworm” (*Lumbricina*) is pronounced [su:'mi]

/sama/ “pequiarana” (*Caryocar glabrum*) is pronounced [sa:'ma]

/siam/ “pinworm” (*Enterobius*) is pronounced [çja:'ma]

/asa/ “salt lick” or “be black” (stative verb root) is pronounced [a:'sa]

/asia/ “giant river otter” (*Pteronura brasiliensis*) is pronounced [a:'çja]

/asihi/ “his skin” is pronounced [,asi'hi]

/isaha/ “pot” is pronounced [,içja'ha]

/usuati/ “my knee” is pronounced [,usuwa'ti]

/isuati/ “our knees” is pronounced [,içjuwa'ti]

/z/ Is a voiced coronal sibilant realized as [ʒ] word-initially before /i/, and word-medially after syllables ending in /i/ and/or before any diphthong beginning with /i/; It is pronounced [z] in all other environments (i.e. whenever it is not preceded by /i/ nor followed by a diphthong beginning with /i/).

/zama/ “thing, phenomenon” is pronounced [za'ma]

/agazini/ “palm heart” is pronounced [,agazi'ni]

/uzumi/ “my teeth” is pronounced [,uzu'mi]

/izumi/ “our teeth” is pronounced [,iʒu'mi]

/ziui/ “capuchin monkey” (*Sapajus macrocephalus*) is pronounced [ʒi'wi]

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal pronounced [mʲ] after syllables ending in /i/ and [m] in all other environments.

/muhu/ “bot fly” (*Dermatobia hominis*) is pronounced [mu:'hu]

/amuwa/ “star” is pronounced [,amu'wa]

/imadi/ “man, male individual” is pronounced [,imiɛ'di]

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal pronounced [nʲ] after /i/, when also followed by a vowel; [n] after /a/, /u/ or /ɨ/, when also followed by a vowel; [ŋ] when followed by /g/ or /k/; and [m] when followed by /b/ (as a result of regressive assimilation of place of articulation).

/nami/ “sky, height” is pronounced [na:'mi]

/inami/ “agouti” is pronounced [,ini'a'mi]

/niangani/ “you said” is pronounced [,ni'ŋga'ni]

/ihaniba/ “I want her to give it to him/her” is pronounced [,ihɛ:m'bɛ] (in fast speech)

/h/ is a glottal fricative pronounced [h] in word initial position or after syllables ending in /a/ or /ɨ/, [hʷ] after syllables ending in /u/, and [hʲ] after syllables ending in /i/.

/husuti/ “electric eel” is pronounced [,husu'ti]

/namiha/ “to be high” is pronounced [,nami'ha]

/agiha/ “to be alive” is pronounced [,agi'hɨa]

/kuhani/ “palm leaf carrier basket” is pronounced [,kuhʷa'ni]

/r/ is a flap pronounced [rʲ] after syllables ending in /i/, and [r] after all other vowel phonemes. I have knowledge of only one lexeme in Suruwahá exhibiting an /r/ in word-initial position. /riubuka/ “to undulate”. There it is pronounced [r].

2.2. Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure of Suruwahá is (C)V(V), encompassing possible (phonemic) syllable patterns such as V, CV, and CVV. Below, I'll briefly discuss and provide examples for each pattern. Additionally, I'll address cases that may appear as CCV structures from a phonetic viewpoint, explaining why they should be interpreted as either CV (complex consonant segment + vowel) or CVV phonemic syllables. Moreover, I'll explain why

phonetic CVC syllables and some types of phonetic CCV syllables should be seen as a sequence of two underlying CV phonemic syllables, one of which is reduced to its onset. To enhance readability, I'll use dots to separate syllables within the example words.

V syllables

Examples:

/a.ga/ "tree, timber"

/i.mi/ "ingá"

/i.ri/ *Mauritiella armata*

/u.hi/ "weeping"

/ha.i/ *Heteropsis flexuosa*

Most simple vowel syllables occur word-initially. A simple V syllable can follow an open syllable only within words that do not comprise more than two syllables, such as the above listed /ha.i/ meaning *Heteropsis flexuosa* (a vine whose fiber is used in basketry and architecture) or "he exists". The only other words in my lexical database that exhibit this kind of hiatus are /ba.i/ "thunder", /na.i/ "mother" or "he says", /da.i/, the name of an unidentified fish pertaining to the genus *Crenicichla*, /a.u/ and /hi.u/, which are meaningless personal names. In words that comprise more than two syllables, all phonetic syllables except for the syllable situated at the beginning of the word need to have onsets. This is why, whenever a grammatical morpheme consisting of a simple (phonemic) V syllable is prefixed to a word starting with a zero onset syllable, its nucleus is reduced to a semi-vowel.: /u/ becomes [w], and /i/ becomes [j]. As soon as a case marking clitic is added to one of the above listed disyllabic nouns containing a hiatus, the hiatus undergoes diphthongization. And whenever (within words that already comprise more than one syllable), a grammatical morpheme consisting of a simple V syllable is attached to the right side of an open syllable, it is either completely eliminated, deletes the nucleus of the preceding syllable, or is incorporated to the nucleus of the preceding syllable (being transformed into the offglide of the resulting diphthong).

Consider the following examples:

- (11) /u-ama-nga-i/
1SG-bleed-1/2SG.DECL.FH-M
"I am menstruating."

From a morphophonological viewpoint, the one-word clause above consists of the following syllable sequence:

/u.a.ma.nga.i/
V.V.CV.CCV.V

However, since the word contains more than two syllables, phonetic onsetless syllables are not allowed in word-medial and word-final position. Which is why the word is pronounced as the following sequence of phonetic syllables:

[,wa.ma.ŋ.'gɛi]
CV.CVC.CVV

The prefix /u/ indexing the first person singular is reduced to a [w] in order to avoid the /u.a/ single-vowel syllable sequence at the beginning of the word, and the suffix /i/ indexing the masculine gender of the subject of the verb, occupying the last verbal slot, is incorporated to the preceding syllable to avoid the occurrence of an onsetless single-vowel syllable after an open syllable at the end of the word.

- (12) /agiha-i-kani/
be.alive-M-DS
“When he was alive”

From a morphophonological viewpoint, the verb above consists of the following syllable sequence:

/a.gi.ha.i.ka.ni/
V.CV.CV.V.CV.CV

However, since onsetless syllables are disallowed in word-medial position, the word is pronounced

[a.gi.hjɛ:.kjɛ.'ni]
V.CV.CV.CV.CV (I treat h^j and k^j as single complex consonant segments)

That is, the suffix /i/ which indexes a masculine subject of the verb is eliminated, and the only trace attesting that it virtually is still there consists in the fact that the consonant segment of the following syllable is palatalized.

Differently from Deni, where lexemes containing /u.a/ and /i.a/ hiatuses are numerous (/pu.a/ “he”, /ti.a/ “you”), Suruwahá possesses no single word where an onsetless syllable

consisting of an /a/ follows an open syllable having an /u/ or an /i/ as nucleus. /ui/ hiatuses also don't occur in the language.

CV syllables

Examples:

- /ku.ku/ “uncle (ego’s mother’s brother)”
/zu.gu.su.ui/ “wasp (unidentified species)”
/ha.da.ra/ “swidden”

CV is by far the most frequent syllable type in Suruwahá, and can occur in any position within the word. Any consonant segment can be combined with any vowel.

CVV syllables

Examples:

- /mu.nia/ *Calophyllum brasiliense* (“jacaréuba tree”)
/tiuhu/ “blowgun”
/u.hu.nia/ “to be scared” (intransitive verb root)
/ga.nia/ “to see” (transitive verb root)
/kuasaki/ unidentified palm tree species (probably pertaining to the *Socratea* genus)
/atau/ “blackbarred pacu” (*Myloplus schomburgkii*)
/a.ba.uai/ name allegedly used as denomination for several fish species pertaining to the *Brycon* genus by *kurimia* spirits.

Phonemic CVV syllables (that is, sequences of one consonant and two vowel segments that do not cross morpheme boundaries) are relatively rare in Suruwahá. In cases where the vowel sequence is /ia/, /iu/ or /ii/, the /i/ is reduced to the semivowel [j]. And in cases where the vowel sequence is /ua/ or /ui/, /u/ is reduced to the semivowel [w]): /munia/ is pronounced [mu'nja]; /tiuhu/ is pronounced [tjuhu], and /kuasaki/ is pronounced [kwasa'ki]. Most of /Cia/, /Ciu/ and /Cua/ syllables found in Suruwahá are word-initial syllables pertaining to verb forms carrying 1st and 2nd person infixes (i.e. they are the result of infixation, and in this sense need to be considered as result of a morphophonological, not simply a phonological process).

Some of the phonetic CVV syllables that we encounter in fast everyday speech (such as the [maɪ̯] sequence within the word [ˌhja.da.ha.'maɪ̯]) are the result of the deletion of

consonants: [ˌhja.da.ha.'maɪ] “from now on” is the phonetic realization of /hia.da.ha.ma.ri/. Further, CVV syllables appear in some phytonyms, zoonyms, a handful of “spirit words” such as *abawai* (whose use is restricted to shamanic songs - “normal” people use the word *mamuri* instead), and Portuguese loanwords such as [awi'jau] “airplane” (adaptation of *avião*).

CVC and CCV syllables

When listening to fast everyday speech, we sometimes encounter phonetic CVC syllables, as well as CCV syllables.

Examples:

[mas.'ki] “sun”

[ˌhũ:n.da.'nu] *Tamandua tetradactyla* (“southern tamandua”)

[mũ:n.'da] “now, already”

[nda] change-of-topic marking enclitic (“and?”; “as of”)

[ŋga.'ni] portmanteau suffix (2SG.HPST.DECL.FH)

Some of the speakers whom I asked to repeat the words for “sun”, “southern tamandua” and “now” more slowly provided the alternative pronunciations [ˌma.si.'ki], [ˌhu.ni.da.'nu] and [muni'da]. As for the two grammatical morphemes listed above, I could not establish whether or not they are superficial (contracted) CCV realizations of sequences of two underlying CV syllables because speakers do never insert an additional vowel between the two consonants even when asked to pronounce them very carefully. The contraction hypothesis would make some sense in the case of [ŋga.ni] (“second person subject, hodiernal past, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality”), which is in a direct paradigmatic relationship with [na.wa.ni] (“second person subject, hodiernal past, interrogative mood, firsthand evidentiality) and could be, therefore, interpreted as phonetic realization of /na.ga.ni/. However, the enclitic =nda cannot be further segmented.

Table 3. Syllable types according to their position within the word²³

	V	CV	CVV
word-initial	common	common	rare: mostly restricted to verb forms containing 1st and 2nd person infixes
word-medial	forbidden	common	rare
word-final	restricted to disyllabic words	common	rare

2.3. Minimal word condition, stress, and syllable weight

Suruwahá words have a binary nature, necessitating a minimum of two syllables (corresponding to two metrical feet), the second of which is stressed. The first syllable of a minimal word must be bimoraic. As previously mentioned, logically monosyllabic words such as the deictics /hi/ “this”, /hi/ “the aforementioned”, as well as the second-person singular pronoun /ta/ are lengthened whenever they do not carry case, tense or information structure marking clitics, nor are integrated into a larger verb phrase, in order to conform to this minimal word condition. The transition from the first to the second (reduplicated) vowel in these cases is often signaled by the speaker by means of pitch raising.

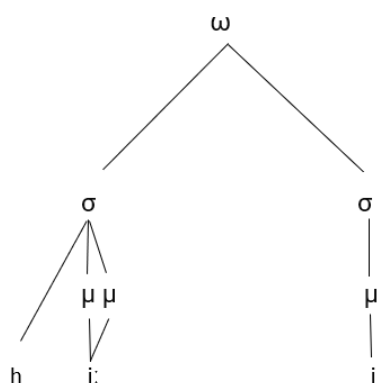


Figure 3. Prosodic structure of the Suruwahá minimal word. Example: *hi* “this”

Stress is completely predictable in Suruwahá: The primary stress falls on the last syllable of the phonological word (which can include a lexical word plus several clitics or affixes), and the secondary stress - whose level of prominence is not much weaker than the

²³ The structure of this table was directly inspired by the table elaborated by Dienst as a part of the phonotactics section in his Kulina grammar (see Dienst 2014:28), aiming to facilitate comparison between Arawá languages.

primary stress - on the first. Below I provide metrical trees and their corresponding grids showing the typical stress patterns of di-, tri-, tetra- and pentasyllabic words²⁴.

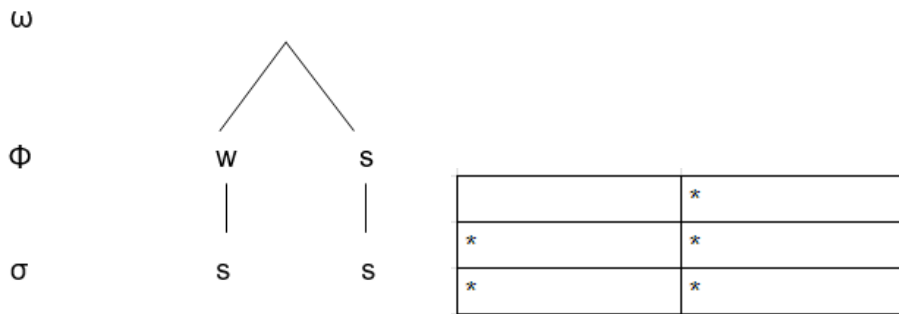


Figure 4. Metrical tree and prosodic grid of disyllabic words (example: /uda/ “house”)

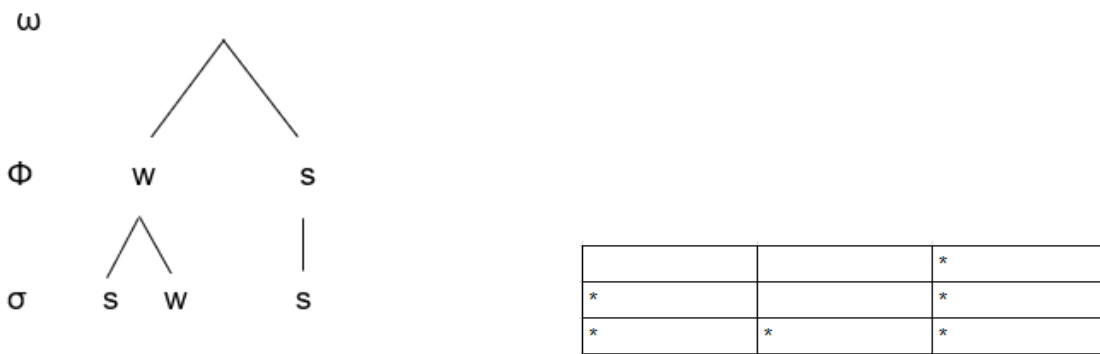


Figure 5. Metrical tree and prosodic grid of trisyllabic words (example: /baraua/ “river turtle”)

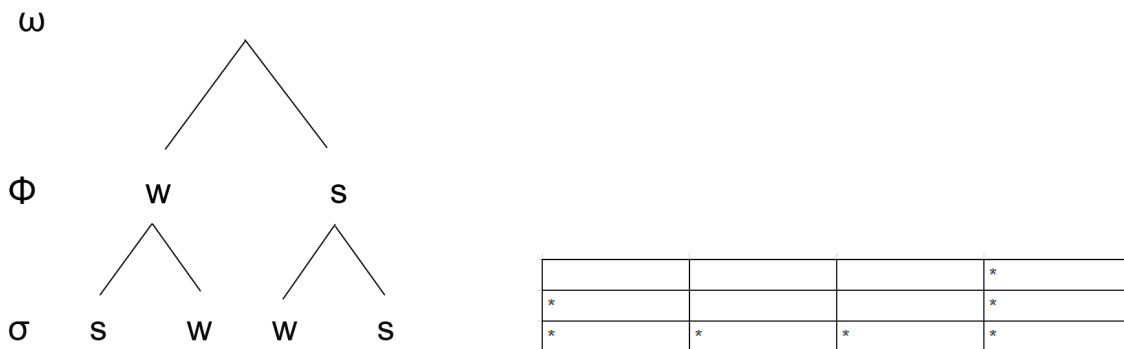


Figure 6. Metrical tree and prosodic grid of tetrasyllabic words (example: /araguna/ “pineapple”)

²⁴ I follow the notation proposed by Liberman & Prince (1977). In the prosodic grids on the right, each row corresponds to a different level of the prosodic hierarchy: the bottom row represents the syllable level, the intermediary rows represent the foot level(s), and the top row corresponds to the word level. Each column represents a syllable within the word, and the number of asterisks stacked in each column reflects the relative prominence of the syllable—more asterisks indicate greater prominence.

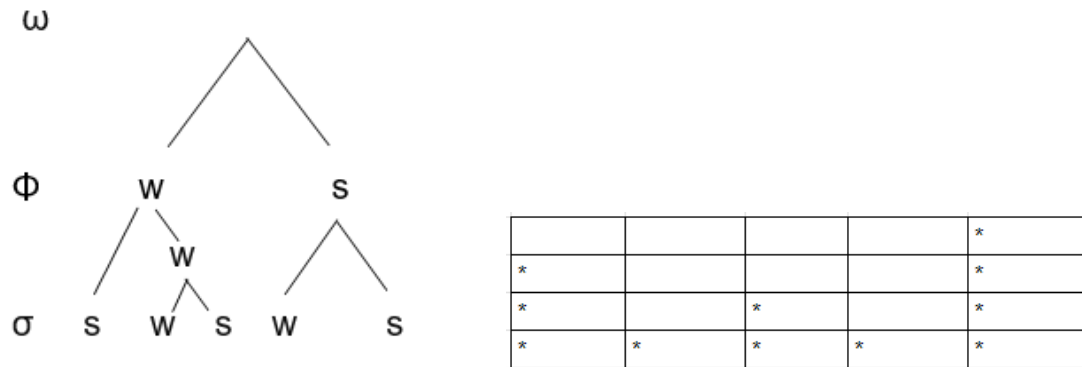


Figure 7. Metrical tree and prosodic grid of pentasyllabic words (example: /hazaua=kaba/ “widow, ex-wife”)

Suruwahá is a stress-timed language.²⁵ The relative weight of a syllable depends on its position within the word, and on how many syllables the word contains: The longer the word, the shorter the individual syllables composing it will be pronounced. In (logically) monosyllabic words, the only vowel is lengthened and reduplicated, or double-lengthened to three moras:

/ta/, the second person singular pronoun, is pronounced [ta:.'a] or [ta::]

In disyllabic words, the first syllable is always lengthened to two moras:

/kisu/ “white-headed capuchin monkey” can be pronounced [ki:.'ç'u] or [ki:.'ç'u:]

/uda/ “house” is pronounced [u:.'da]

/biru/ “exterior” can be pronounced [bi:.'ru] or [bi:.'ru:]

/aru/, the first person singular pronoun, is pronounced [a:.'ru] or [a:.'ru:]

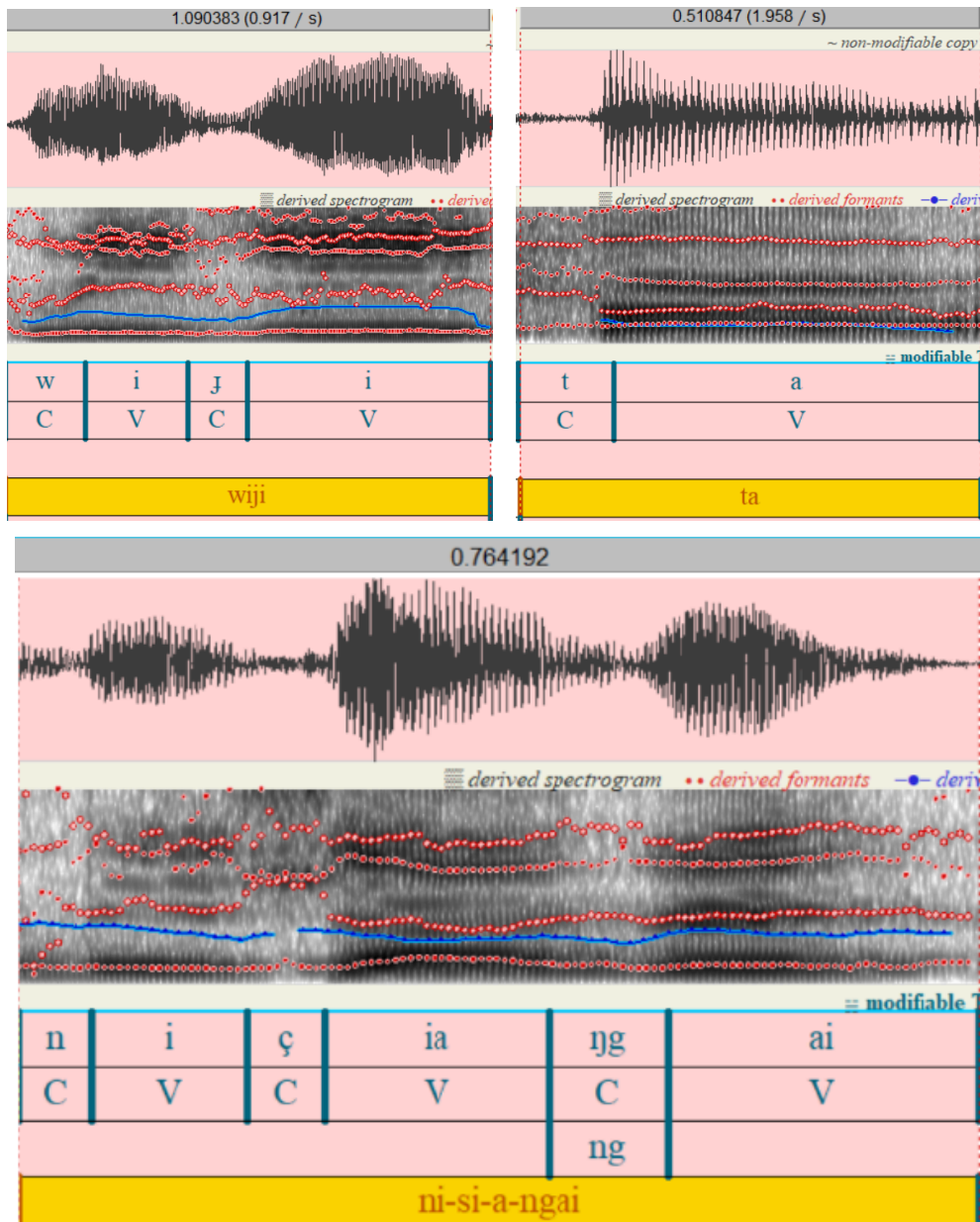
/uizi/ “his name” is pronounced [wi:.'ji:]

In words with three, four, five, or six syllables, all syllables are typically shortened except for the final syllable: Since the final syllable bears the primary stress and is the nucleus of the second foot of the word, it can vary in duration, ranging from short to the cumulative duration of all preceding syllables.

As an illustration, below I provide spectrograms of the words [ta:] “you”, [wi:.'ji:] “his name”, [niç'a:.'ngaj] “I think”, [tiçik'a'ma] “I wonder whether he went”, and [bidadihiri.'r'a] “his image”. The words were extracted from a short, spontaneous, uninterrupted narrative recorded by a 45-year-old man, in which the speaker maintained a quite constant speech rate. We can see that the only vowel in the word [ta:] has a length of

²⁵ I use the term as used by Pike (1945:35).

0.406 seconds, while the first vowel in the word [wi:'ji:] has a duration of 0.231 seconds; the first vowel in the word [niç'a:'ngaj] has duration of 0.124 seconds; the first vowel in the words [tiçik'a'ma] 0.080 seconds; and the first vowel in [bidadihiri'r'a] 0.062 seconds. In all the words (except for the first one, where the transition between the first and the second syllable cannot be clearly determined), the duration of the last syllable corresponds to 30-50% of the total duration of the word.



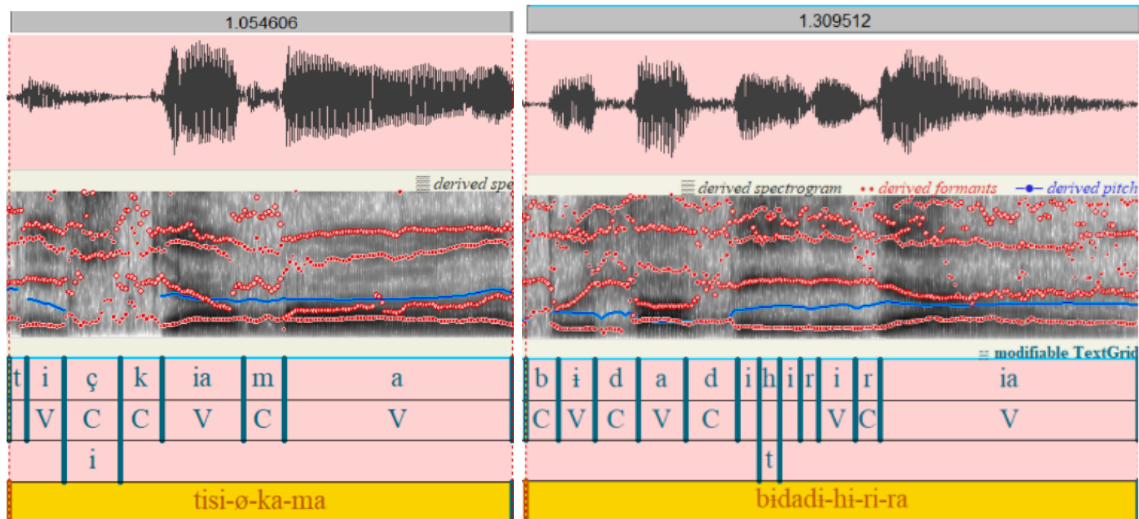


Figure 8. Sample spectrograms illustrating the effect of word length on syllable duration

2.4. Adaptation of Portuguese loanwords

When Portuguese loanwords contain segments and syllable patterns that are disallowed in Suruwahá, they normally undergo phonological adaptations, encompassing the substitution of non-existent segments by similar phonemes taken from the native inventory, epenthesis, or deletion. The original stress is mostly maintained even if it diverges from Suruwahá stress assignment rules (i.e. if it falls of the first syllable in a disyllabic word, or on the penultimate syllable of a trisyllabic word). Below, I provide a list containing the most common replacements of sounds:

Portuguese	Suruwahá	Example words
[v]	[b] or [w]	<i>televisão:</i> [televi'zẽw] → [tiribi'saw] <i>avião:</i> [avi'ẽw] → [awi'aw]
[se] and [si]	[çi]	<i>celular:</i> [selul'añ] → [çiuuru'ra] or [çiru'ra] <i>polícia:</i> [po'lisjə] → [pu:'ri:çja]
[l]	[r]	<i>nylon:</i> ['nailõ] → ['nairu]
[ʎ]	[rʎ]	<i>pilha:</i> ['piʎə] → ['pi:riɛ]
[o]	[u] or [uwa]	<i>sopa:</i> ['so:pə] → ['su:pa] <i>helicóptero:</i> [eli'kɔptero] → [iri'kupturu] <i>Simone:</i> [si'mo:ni] → [çjumuwa'ni]
[ɛ]	[i], [jɛ] or [ja]	<i>panela:</i> [pa'ne:lɐ] → [pa'nje:ra] or [pa'nja:ra]
[dʒ]	[ʒ]	<i>dinheiro:</i> [dʒi'nejro] → [ʒi'ni:ru]
[ʃ]	[çʃ]	<i>chá:</i> [ʃa] → [çja'a]

Even though /p/ and /f/ are absent from the Suruwahá consonant inventory, most speakers can pronounce [p] and [f] without problems, and normally maintain them in loanwords.

Since most types of CVC syllables are disallowed in Suruwahá, Portuguese loanwords ending in a consonant undergo paragoge or apocope:

Portuguese		Suruwahá
<i>motor:</i>	[mo'toɾ]	[,mutu'ru]
<i>arroz:</i>	[a'ɾ:oz]	[a'hu:çiu]
<i>Manaus:</i>	[ma'naʊz]	[ma'naʊsu]
<i>celular:</i>	[selu'laɦ]	[,çiru'ra]

Note that the loanwords for “rice” (*arroz*) and “Manaus” maintain the stress on the same syllable that is also stressed in the Portuguese original (contrary to the Suruwahá stress assignment rule determining that the primary stress should fall on the last syllable of the word), while the loanword for “motor” does not.

2.5. Morphophonemic processes

Morphophonemic processes found in Suruwahá include deletion, metathesis, (regressive) assimilation, dissimilation, and apophony.

2.5.1. Deletion

When the causative prefix *na-*, the applicative prefix *ka-*, or the reflexive prefix *zia-* are added to a verb root beginning with a vowel, they undergo apocope of their final /a/:

na- + *uhama* “be a pair” → [,nuh^wa'ma] “make/purchase/get/bring a pair” *[,nauh^wa'ma]

na- + *adaha* “be buried” → [,nada'ha] “bury” *[,na.ada'ha]

ka- + *uhama* “be a pair” → [,kuh^wa'ma] “help” *[,kauh^wa'ma]

In compound nouns, as well as in possessive constructions where the second component starts with the same vowel sound found at the end of the first component, one of the two vowels is typically omitted, and the words are merged to avoid a hiatus between them:

zama asaru “genipap ink” (lit. “black thing”) → [,zamasaru]

zaraua ahi “caranaí leaf” (*Lepidocaryum tenue*) → [,zarawa'hi]

<i>iuma adu</i>	“steel knife” (lit. “enemy’s bamboo”)	→ [ˌjumaˈdu]
<i>Giani iri</i>	“Giani’s”	→ [ˌgʲaniˈri]
<i>na amizi</i>	“my mother”	→ [ˌnamiˈji]

In some compound nouns that are more strongly lexicalized than *zama asaru* or *zaraua ahi*, more syllables pertaining to the original first component of the compound (instead of just part of the last syllable) are deleted by most speakers (and only a few elders are still aware that they are compounds):

<i>isaha uaizi</i>	“calabash(-shaped) pot”	→ [ˌçʰawajˈji]
<i>isaha huku</i>	<i>Licania</i> sp. (lit. “pot conditioner”)	→ [ˌçʰahaˈku]
<i>kanisi imani</i>	“curare” (lit. “dart substance”)	→ [ˌkaːçimʲeˈni] or [ˌkahimʲeˈni]

Whenever a finite form of the verb *ha-* “to be” immediately follows (i.e. has as its complement) an non-finite verb form (to express imperfectivity), it loses its initial /h/ and cliticizes to the preceding word. If this preceding non-finite verb form happens to end in /u/, this /u/ is also deleted:

- (13) *inaha-ri* + *ha-ri-gi* → [ˌinʰaharʲeːˈgi]
bathe-M.NMLZ be-M-HPST.DECL.FH
“He is taking a bath.” (lit. He is the-one-taking-a-bath)
- (14) *inaha-ru* + *ha-ru-gani* → [ˌinʰaharaːgwaˈni]
bathe-F.NMLZ be-F-HPST.DECL.FH
“She is taking a bath.” (lit. She is the-one-taking-a-bath)

The initial /h/ of the verb *ha-* is also deleted in copula clauses where the noun preceding *ha-* (i.e. playing the role of the copula complement) carries the narrow focus marking clitic =*marɪ*. In this case, the final vowel of =*marɪ* is also deleted:

- (15) *mahunɪ=marɪ* + *ha-ri-gi* → [ˌmahunɪmaraːˈgi] or [mahunɪmarajˌgi]
tapir=NFOC be-3M-HPST.DECL.FH
“This is a tapir, properly speaking.”

The first person singular prefix *u-* (already mentioned in section 2.1.1), which can index either the S/A argument of a verb or the possessor of an inalienably possessed noun, is eliminated from all verb forms that do not begin with /a/, /ga/, /ha/ or /ka/, and from all inflected nouns beginning in /i/, /ma/, /na/, or /ua/:

u- + *ama-* “bleed” → [ˌwamaˈŋɛi] “I bleed”
u- + *tahi* “clothing” → [ˌutaˈhi] “my clothes”
 but:

u- + *inaha-* “bathe” → [ˌinˈahaˈbʲe] “I intend to take a bath”
 * [ˌwinˈahaˈbʲe]
u- + *makau* “belly” → [ˌmakaˈwi] “my belly”
 * [ˌumakawi]
u- + *uarubi* “ear” → [ˌwaruˈbi]
 * [ˌuwaruˈbi]

The directional suffixes *-uma* “upwards”, *-iza* “hither”, and *-iza* “through/inside” cause the deletion of the final vowel of the verb stem to which they are attached:

aka- “carry” + *-iza-* → [ˌakiˈza] “bring”
sududa- “hang” + *-uma* → [ˌsududuˈma] “hang up”
butuna- “crack by biting” + *-iza* → [ˌbutũnˈja] “bite through”

While all the aforementioned processes are mandatory, and can be observed both in fast and in careful speech, there are specific cases of deletion observed only in fast speech: Since in some verb forms, more than one of several subsequent suffixes carry information on the gender of the subject, the suffixes *-ri* and *-ru* occupying slot 7 of the predicate template (see Table 9) are almost always omitted or reduced in everyday speech. Below I provide an example:

(16) *hina* *na-ri-su=ha-ri-gi*
 say.this AUX-M.NMLZ-NEG=COP-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He did not say this” (lit. He is not the one who is saying this)

is normally pronounced [hiːˈnaː naːçʲeːgi] or [hiːˈnaː naːçʲeiˈgi]. Note that the syllables preceding the eliminated syllables are lengthened to “hold” their place. Speakers concerned with careful pronunciation spell the sentence [hina na^riçʲeːgi].

2.5.2. Metathesis

As already mentioned above, under 2.1.1. and 2.2., the first person plural or second person singular prefix *i-* and the masculine gender marking suffix *-i* under certain circumstances undergo a process that could be both labeled “deletion” or “metathesis” depending on whether we consider the *j* component of the following palatalized consonant

(which would not have undergone palatalization without the virtual presence of a preceding /i/ morpheme) as lasting effect of the affix, or a relocated and reduced form of the affix itself.

The /i/ person prefix is deleted or relocated into the first syllable of the verb stem whenever the verb root does not begin with a vowel; and into the first syllable of the noun root whenever the latter begins with /ma/, /na/, /wa/, /ha/, /ga/, or (optionally) /ka/. The /i/ masculine gender suffix is deleted (under preservation of the palatalization of the consonant to its right side) or relocated whenever it is followed by other suffixes (except if the verb stem ends in *i*; in this case it is simply deleted, and the consonant to its right side does not undergo palatalization).

Examples:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (17) | <i>i-tahi</i>
1PL-clothing.M
“our clothes”
[,iʔiɛ'hi] | <i>i-makau</i>
1PL-belly
“our bellies”
[,miɛka'wi] or [,mɛka'wi], but never *[imʔɛka'wi] |
| (18) | <i>∅-kahizi-i-∅</i>
3-be.nice-M-HPST
“He is nice.”
[,kahi'zi] *[,kahi'zi] | <i>∅-kahizi-i-ka</i>
3-be.nice-M-PPST
“He was nice.”
[,kahizi'ka] *[,kahizi'kiɛ] |
| (19) | <i>u-gania-i-∅</i>
1SG-see-M-HPST
“I saw it.”
[gʷan'jɛ] | <i>u-gania-i-ba</i>
1SG-see-M-FUT
“I will see it.”
[,gʷanjɛ'biɛ] *[,ugʷanjɛi'biɛ] |

2.5.3. Regressive assimilation

The passive suffixes $-\uparrow zi$ and $-\uparrow hi$, as discussed in section 4.3.6., always trigger the assimilation of the final, and sometimes also the penultimate vowel of the preceding verb root to [i] if this vowel is /a/:

<i>haua-</i>	“eat”	+ $-\uparrow zi$	→	<i>hauizi-</i>	“be edible”	* <i>hauazi-</i>
<i>haua-</i>	“eat”	+ $-\uparrow hi$	→	<i>hauihi-</i>	“be eaten”	* <i>hauahi-</i>
<i>ha-</i>	“exist”	+ $-\uparrow zi$	→	<i>hizi-</i>	“be bearable”	* <i>hazi-</i>
<i>ha-</i>	“exist”	+ $-\uparrow hi$	→	<i>hihi-</i>	“experience life”	* <i>hahi-</i>
<i>gania-</i>	“see”	+ $-\uparrow zi$	→	<i>ginizi-</i>	“be visible”	* <i>ganiazi-</i>
<i>gania-</i>	“see”	+ $-\uparrow hi$	→	<i>ganihi-</i>	“be seen”	* <i>ganiahi-</i>

The directional suffixes *-uma* “upwards” and *-tuna* “at the shore” trigger the (optional) assimilation of the final vowel of the preceding verb root to [u]:

aga- “take” + *-tuna-* → *agutuna-* “go get at the shore”
habaka- “take off” + *-uma* → *habukuma-* “remove through a vertical movement”

2.5.4. Dissimilation

Dissimilation processes can be observed in second person forms of verbs whose root contains sequences of syllables with /i/ nuclei, such as *sibi-*, and *hisiki-*: In these forms, the second person infix <i> does not form a diphthong with the vowel constituting the nucleus of the first syllable of the verb root, but replaces it instead. The /i/ vowels found in the subsequent syllables undergo backing (i.e. are replaced by /u/). Consider the example below:

(17)

sibi- “(a man) have sexual intercourse (with a woman)”

/hadi=ra s<i>ibi-uaniki/
 who=OBJ <2SG>have.sexual.intercourse-F.PPST.CQ.FH
 “Who did you sleep with?”

The verb form /s<i>ibi-uaniki/ is pronounced [,çibuwãŋ'ki] rather than *[,çjibiwãŋ'ki].

2.5.5. Apophony

The sequence marking suffix $^{-\uparrow}si$ “already/then” and the durative suffix $^{-\uparrow}zaha$ trigger the raising and/or fronting of the final vowel of the verb stem to which it is attached. The vowel is replaced by /i/:

gaua- “walk” + $^{-\uparrow}si$ → [,gawi'çi]
tuma- “climb” + $^{-\uparrow}si$ → [,tumi'çi]
nîhi- “harvest (palm fruits, with the help of a hook-equipped pole)” → [,nîhi'çi]

However, it is important to note that the phonological changes affecting the verb stem, triggered by the suffixes $^{-\uparrow}si$ and $^{-\uparrow}zaha$, can go beyond the replacement of the final vowel and are often idiosyncratic. In the following, I provide some examples:

baiza- “put/go inside” + $^{-\uparrow}si$ → [ba:'ti]
hiza- “vomit” + $^{-\uparrow}si$ → [hi:'ti]

<i>amasa-</i> “be numerous” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[a,ma:'ti]
<i>hizara-</i> “speak” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[hi,ʒari'çi] or [hiʒa:'çi]
<i>uada-</i> “sleep” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[wa:'ti]
<i>siza-</i> “arrive” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[sa:'si]
<i>kamahu-</i> “be evening” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[ka,ma:'çi]
<i>uahari-</i> “be daytime” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[wa,ha:'çi]
<i>mazaru-</i> “die” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[ma,za:'si]
<i>husuki-</i> “be born” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[hu,su:'ki]
Verb + <i>-gira-</i> “again” + $-\hat{1}si$	→	[gi:'çi]

When $-\hat{1}si$ or $-\hat{1}zaha$ are attached to the auxiliary verb *na-* (“do”, “say”, “think”), it only raises its final /a/ to /i/ if the verb indexes a first or second person subject. If the speaker wants the auxiliary to index a third person subject, then the verb root is entirely deleted before $-\hat{1}si$:

(20)

<i>nangai</i>	<i>nisiangai</i>
na-ngai	na- $\hat{1}si$ -ngai
say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH	say-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I said.”	“Then I said.”
[naŋ'gɛi]	[niçiaŋ'gɛi]
<i>narigi</i>	<i>siagi</i>
na-ri-gi	na- $\hat{1}^0si$ =ha-ri-gi
say-M-3.HPST.DECL.FH	say-SEQ=COP-M-3.HPST.DECL.FH
“He said.”	“Then he said.”
[,nari'gi]	[_ç'a:gi]

It is interesting to note that only very few suffixes in Suruwahá trigger the aforementioned changes within the verb stem. Dixon (2004:38) mentions that in Jarawara, there are eleven “miscellaneous” suffixes occupying the position between the verb root and the tense-modal slot triggering the raising of a preceding *a* to *i*. Dienst (2014:38) lists fourteen suffixes in Kulina, including eleven directional suffixes, one Aktionsart suffix and two negation suffixes, that trigger this same morphophonological process.

2.6. Practical transcription

The Suruwahá people currently do not engage with the official Brazilian school system, and they show little interest in acquiring literacy skills. Most speakers argue that

“painting” a language on paper constitutes a mnemonic device for people with substandard memory capacity, which causes lazy minds to become even lazier. And they assert that they, with their excellent mental acuity, have no need for such assistance. No official orthography has therefore been established for the language up to this point. Márcia and Edson Suzuki proposed a strictly phonemic orthography in their previous publications on Suruwahá. However, given the language's extensive allophonic variation and morphophonological complexity (encompassing the labialization/ palatalization of consonants, the reduction of vowels to semivowels, and the deletion of entire suffixes within inflected verb forms, as discussed in previous sections), I have opted for a four-tier transcription in the illustrative examples of chapters 3 to 5. This decision aims to enable readers to more easily imagine the real-life pronunciation of the language material that I discuss, without requiring memorization of all allophonic and morphophonological rules, while also allowing them to visualize the relationship between underlying and superficial forms.

In the first tier of my interlinearized examples, I will use an **allophonic orthography**. Here, I will replace IPA symbols that are difficult to type (ɨ, ʝ, and ɕ) with symbols available on any computer keyboard, as shown in the correspondence list below. In this tier, I will leave the phonological words (verb stem + affixes; noun root + affixes + clitics) unsegmented.

In the second tier, following the Leipzig Glossing Rules, I will provide a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription using a **phonemic orthography** (in which, however, I will also transcribe the high central vowel phoneme /ɨ/ as <y>). In cases where a suffix causes the raising of the last vowel of the preceding morpheme, or the deletion of the preceding morpheme, I will still transcribe the altered or deleted original segment in the second tier but mark the suffix causing the raising or deletion with a superscripted Ø or ↑ (e.g. the word [ˌhawɨɕiniˈkʝe] “then she ate” will be transcribed as *hawixinkia* in the first tier, *haua-[↑]si-ni-ka* in the second tier, and glossed eat-SEQ-F-PST in the third tier).²⁶

Whenever I will be discussing individual lexemes or bound morphemes within the running text, I will transcribe them using the same phonemic transcription also used in the second tier of my illustrative examples.

²⁶ This way of marking suffixes that cause the raising or deletion of previous segments was previously used by Dienst (2014) in his grammar of Kulina, where the exact same phenomenon also occurs.

Phoneme	Allophones	Symbol used to represent each allophone
/i/	[i]	<y> ²⁷
/i/	[i] ~ [ɪ]	<i>
	[j]	<i>
	[j]	<j>
/u/	[u] ~ [ʊ]	<u>
	[w]	<w>
/s/	[s]	<s>
	[ç]	<x> ²⁸
/z/	[z]	<z>
	[ʒ]	<j> ²⁹
/a/	[a] ~ [ɛ]	<a>
/b/	[b]	
	[bʲ]	<bi>
/d/	[d]	<d>
	[dʲ]	<di>
/g/	[g]	<g>
	[gʷ]	<gw>
	[gʲ]	<gi>
/h/	[h]	<h>
	[hʷ]	<hw>
	[hʲ]	<hi>
/k/	[k]	<k>
	[kʷ]	<kw>
	[kʲ]	<ki>
/m/	[m]	<m>
	[mʲ]	<mi>
/n/	[n]	<n>
	[nʲ]	<ni>

²⁷ The symbol <y> has been widely used in Brazilian historiography to represent the high central vowel encountered in Brazilian Indigenous languages (most notably in ancient Tupi), and many Brazilian readers are therefore familiar with it. It is also the symbol used to represent the high central vowel in the official orthography of Paraguayan Guarani.

²⁸ The symbol <x> used in standard Brazilian Portuguese is pronounced [ʃ], which is relatively similar to [ç].

²⁹ The symbol <j> used in Brazilian Portuguese is pronounced [ʒ], which is relatively close to [j].

/r/	[r]	<r>
	[r̥]	<ri>
/t/	[t]	<t>
	[t̥]	<ti>

3. Nouns and the structure of the noun phrase

Nouns are words that can function as arguments of a verb and refer to concrete or abstract entities, such as animals or plants (*aga* “tree”, *barihini* “coati”), persons (*imady* “man”), geographical features (*adami* “hill”), natural objects or phenomena (*bami* “water, rain”), cultural artifacts or phenomena (*zakubara* “basket”, *ati* “his language”), acts (*gauyhyru* “act of walking”), properties (*danyzini* “her/its complexity”, *tizuuini* “her/its beauty”), or abstract concepts (*mazaru* “death”, *hyhyru* “existence”). They serve as the head of a noun phrase, and can be specified or modified by possessive constructions, demonstratives, interrogatives, adjectives, or relative clauses (Suruwahá lacks articles and numerals³⁰). The only mandatory component of a noun phrase is either the noun itself or a pronoun that replaces it. This means that the simplest type of noun phrase consists of a single noun and nothing more, while a complex noun phrase may contain one or several possessive constructions, a noun or noun compound, one adjective, one demonstrative or interrogative, and one relative clause. A noun phrase as a whole can be modified by tense, case, or information structure markers, which are clitics and are attached to the last word within the noun phrase. Nominals can be derived from verbs or other nouns.

3.1. Pronouns

3.1.1. Person pronouns

Suruwahá possesses overt pronouns for the first and second persons, both singular and plural. Similarly to Jarawara, and unlike Kulina and Deni, it lacks a pronoun for the third person singular.³¹ The third person plural pronoun is a grammaticalization of the free noun *madi* meaning “people” and is used exclusively to denote human subjects.³²

³⁰ In Suruwahá, the meanings “to be one unit” (literally: “to be detached or salient”) and “to be a pair” (lit. “to have a companion”) are expressed through verbs (*uanaha-* and *uhama-*). These verbs can be combined to express the concepts for three (“to be a pair and one additional unit”), four (“to be only pairs”), five (“to be our lonely outstretched hand”), ten (“to be both hands”), and twenty (“to be both hands and both feet”).

³¹ For Jarawara, see Dixon (2004:77); for Deni, see Koop&Koop (2008:33); for Kulina, see Dienst (2014:173).

³² In my corpus, there are a few instances where the third person plural pronoun is used to refer to nouns denoting animals or artifacts. However, this usage invites the interlocutor to engage in imaginative anthropomorphism, attributing human-like qualities or perspectives to these non-human entities. Although the pronoun is grammatically restricted to human subjects, its application in these contexts serves a rhetorical function by encouraging a human-centered interpretation of the non-human referents.

Table 4. Person pronouns

	SG	PL
1	<i>aru</i>	<i>ari</i>
2	<i>ta</i>	<i>tima</i>
3	∅	<i>madi</i>

Person pronouns in Suruwahá behave like common nouns in that there are no distinct monomorphemic forms to indicate object or oblique arguments (such as *me* versus *I*, or *us* versus *we* in English): Person pronouns can carry all the clitics (i.e. phrasal suffixes) described below under 3.6, including nominal tense markers, negative polarity markers, case markers and information structure markers. However, the objective case marker =*ra* loses its initial *r* when attached to the first person singular pronoun *aru*. The oblique case marker =*ha* becomes =*haua* when attached to *aru*, *ari* or *ta*. And *aru* loses its final syllable when carrying the clitics =*sana* “also” or =*mary* “properly speaking”:

- (21) *Aru* *hwadanakia!*
aru=∅ h<u>adana-i-ka-∅
1SG=SUBJ <1SG>affect-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
 “I did it!” or “I am the author!”
 (Lit. I affected/made/caused it.)
- (22) *Ta* *hiadanaku?*
ta=∅ h<i>adana-ru-ku
2SG=SUBJ affect-F-PPST.PQ.FH
 “Did you do it?”
 (Lit. Did you affect/make/cause it?)
- (23) *Aruwa* *kunaha* *hadanxagi.*
aru=*ra* kunaha hadana-^{0†}si-agi
1SG=OBJ poison affect-SEQ-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “The poison has made me nauseous.”
 (Lit. The poison has affected **me**.)
- (24) ‘*Tara* *hyzama* *hadanawani?*’ *narihia,*
ta=*ra* *hyzama* *hadana-wani* *na-ri-ha*
2SG=OBJ what affect-3F.HPST.CQ.FH say-M-BECAUSE
 aru ‘*Aruma?*’ *Asana*
 aru=∅ **aru**=∅=*ma* **aru**=∅=*sana*
 1SG=SUBJ 1SG=SUBJ=INT 1SG=SUBJ=ALSO

gyrawatirianawaky'

gyra-uada-^{0†}si-rianauaky

fall-THITHER-SEQ-1SG.PQPRF.DECL.FH

nanawaky.

na-nauaky

say-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH

“Since he asked me ‘What has happened to you?’, I replied ‘Me? Me too, I had stumbled and fallen [hurting my leg].”

(Lit. At the point of him saying ‘What has affected you?’ I said ‘Me? Me too, I had fallen thither.’)

(21) and (23) show examples of the first person singular pronoun not carrying any case marking suffix (“I”), and with the objective case marker =*ra* (“me”). (22) illustrates the use of the zero-marked second person singular pronoun as the subject argument. (24) contains an example of the second person singular pronoun marked as a patientive argument, and three instances of the first person singular pronoun (one zero marked, one carrying the interrogative =*ma*, and one carrying the information structure marker =*sana* “as well, also”).

The circumstances under which personal pronouns can or cannot be dropped are discussed in section 4.10. (below), where I discuss verbal cross-referencing of person and gender of subject in more detail.

3.1.2. Demonstratives

Suruwahá has four deictic words that can function either as pronouns (i.e. words replacing a noun) or as determiners (i.e. words modifying a noun):

hi “this” (next to the speaker)

idy/ydy “that” (at some distance from both the speaker and the addressee)³³

hy “the aforementioned”

uua/una “another (not this one here)”

While *hi*, *ydy* and *hy* are gender-neutral, *uua* is masculine, and *una* is feminine.

To refer to an object at some distance from the speaker but near the addressee, the morphologically complex word *tauady* “the one near you” is used. This term combines the second person singular pronoun with the morpheme =*uady*, which is exclusively used in this context - see examples (119), (322), and (337).

³³ Further investigation is necessary to ascertain whether *idy* and *ydy* are true synonyms or if *idy* denotes an object at a certain distance that has not yet been mentioned, while *ydy* refers to an object at a distance that has been previously mentioned. Despite an extensive examination of their contextual usage, I could not discern a clear difference in meaning between the two. However, considering that the shift from “this here” (*hi*) to “the aforementioned” (*hy*) merely involves replacing /i/ with /y/, this distinction remains a plausible hypothesis.

Deictic adverbs (such as “here”, “there”, and “now”) are formed by attaching an oblique argument marker with locative or path-related meaning (=ha or =daha) to one of the aforementioned demonstratives. The negative interjection “No!” is formed by attaching the negative clitic =su to the word *hy*.

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(25) <i>Hi hagwani.</i>
 hi ha-ru-gani
 this be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 ‘‘It is this one.’’</p> | <p>(26) <i>Hysu kugwani</i>
 hy=su ku-ru-gani
 this=NEG be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 ‘‘It is not the one just mentioned.’’</p> |
| <p>(27) <i>Ydy gania!</i>
 ydy gania-∅
 that see-IMP
 ‘‘Look (the one) over there!’’</p> | |
| <p>(28) <i>Zama hiria aru tydabiara?</i>
 zama hi=ra aru tyda-i-ba-ra
 thing this=OBJ 1SG treat.how-M-FUT-CQ.CONJC
 ‘‘What should I do with this thing?’’</p> | |
| <p>(29) <i>Masiki hiadaha</i>
 masiki hi=a=daha
 sun this=?=THROUGH
 ‘‘today’’ (lit. at and through this sun here)</p> | |

(25), (26) and (27) illustrate the use of deictics as pronouns, (28) shows the use of *hi* as a determiner of the noun *zama*, and (29) illustrates the formation of the deictic adverb “today”.

3.1.3. Interrogatives

Suruwahá has two unbound interrogative words, *hady* and *hyzama*. The word *hyzama* (“what?”) is typically used as a pronoun to replace the name of an object, animal or phenomenon. It can also occasionally (though not very frequently) modify a noun, in which case it means “what kind of” (e.g., *hyzama aba* “what species of fish?”, or *hyzama aga* “what kind of wood?”). The word *hady* can function both as a pronoun, replacing the name of a human subject (“who?”), and as a determiner modifying a preceding noun (“which?”). Below, I provide an example of the use of *hyzama*, and an example of the use of *hady*.

(30) *Hyzama xuwani?*
 hyzama ha-¹⁰si-uani
 what be-SEQ-3F.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What happened?” (in the sense of “What is wrong?”)

(31) *Zaniti anitihia gawari hady hawaky?*
 zaniti aniti=ha gaua-ri hady ha-uaky
 Zaniti rear.M=LOC walk-M.NMLZ who be-3M.PPST.CQ.FH
 “Who was the one walking behind Zaniti?”
 (contextual meaning: “Who was the couple’s next-born male child after Zaniti?”)

Both *hady* “who” and *hyzama* “what” can be immediately followed by the plural word *madi*. *Hady madi* is used to inquire about the names of a group of people, while *hyzama madi* is used to ask about the nationality or ethnic identity of an individual or a group of people.

(32) *Ta hyzama madi hianawani?*
 ta hyzama madi h<i>a-nauani
 2SG what people <2SG>be-2SG.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What is your ethnic identity?”
 (Lit. What people are you?)

To form the interrogative adverb “where?”, the locative case marker =*ha* is attached to *hady* “which/who”. The resulting word is *hadaha*:

(33) *Kumadi hadaha bajawani?*
 kumadi hady=ha baiza-uani
 tobacco what=LOC be.inside-3F.HPST.CQ.FH
 “Where is the tobacco?”

3.1.4. Reflexive/reciprocal pronouns

Suruwahá has one gender neutral third-person pronoun, *iza*, meaning “himself”, “herself”, “itself”, “themselves”, or “each other”. It can serve both as a reflexive and (together with plural subjects) as a reciprocal. It needs to carry at least one clitic: If zero-marked as subject argument, it always takes the narrow focus marking clitic =*mary* (further described below in section 3.6.4.):

- (34) *Adaha tuhwa nyhynxumara, ijamary harani.*
 adaha tuha na-¹hy-ni-su-mara **iza**=mary ha-rani
 earth place AUX-PASS-F-NEG-SS **self**=NFOC exist-3F.IPFV.HPST.DECL.QEV
 “The Earth was not created, but rather exists on its own.”
 (Lit. The Earth, after not having been placed there, really exists by itself.)

- (35) (Song text)
Atuna Bimiriukwa
 atuna bimiru=ka
 young.lady bimiru=KNOWN.FROM.PAST

<i>Karasini</i>	<i>Karuji</i>	<i>ijubyha</i>	<i>gawaru</i>
karasini	karuuzi	izuby=ha	gaua-ru
wind	spirit;3M.POSS	front;3M.POSS=LOC	walk-F.NMLZ

<i>ijara</i>	<i>gumadawa</i>
iza =ra	gumadaua
self =OBJ	cause.to.spin

“Young Lady Bimiru, while walking ahead of the Spirit of the Wind, causes herself to spin.”

As discussed in section 4.3.1. (see below), the pronoun *iza* is currently undergoing a process of grammaticalization as a reflexive/reciprocal verbal prefix, *zia*-.

3.1.5. Possessives

Suruwahá has five unbound possessive words:

<i>na</i>	1SG.POSS	“my” or “mine”
<i>ara</i>	2SG.POSS	“your” or “yours”
<i>iri</i>	3M.POSS	“his”, “their” or “theirs”
<i>ini</i>	3SG.F.POSS or 2PL.POSS	“her”, “hers”, “your” or “yours”
<i>zia</i>	1PL.POSS	“our” or “ours”

Since two of them are ambiguous (*iri* can refer to either a third person masculine singular possessor or a third person plural possessor; *ini* can refer to either a third person singular feminine possessor or a second person plural possessor), they need to be combined with the person pronouns *tima* and *madi* to indicate non-first person plural possessors (*tima ini*, *madi iri*). The unambiguous possessive words indicating first person possessors (*na* and *zia*) can optionally be preceded by a person pronoun for emphasis (*aru na*, *ari zia*). *Iri* and *ini* can be preceded by the free noun referring to the possessor. As with demonstratives and

interrogatives, possessive words can serve either as pronouns (replacing a noun) or as determiners (modifying a free noun which describes the possessum):

- (36) *Na hagi.*
na ha-ri-gi
1SG.POSS be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
‘‘It is mine.’’
- (37) *Aru na hagi.*
aru na ha-ri-gi
1SG 1SG.POSS be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
‘‘It is mine (not yours)!’’
- (38) *Timia ini hari?*
tima ini ha-ri
2PL 3SG.F.POSS/2PL.POSS be-M-3M.HPST.PQ.FH
‘‘Is it yours (PL)?’’
- (39) *Iri uda hagi.*
iri uda ha-ri-gi
3M.POSS house be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
‘‘It is his house.’’
- (40) *Naru iri uda hagi.*
Naru iri uda ha-ri-gi
Naru 3M.POSS house be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
‘‘It is Naru’s house.’’ (Naru is a man.)

3.2. Noun classes³⁴

In Suruwahá, like in all other known Arawá languages, nouns are divided into two main classes: free nouns and inalienably possessed nouns.

Free nouns refer to entities that are considered complete, requiring no possessor (e.g. *hini* ‘‘canoe’’, *masiki* ‘‘sun’’). The referents of these nouns are viewed as independent phenomena, rather than parts of something else.

Inalienably possessed nouns, by contrast, denote things inherently linked to a possessor: things perceived as a part, aspect, member or property of a larger whole (e.g. *kazahini* ‘‘her weight’’, *ubihi* ‘‘my hand’’).

³⁴ Chapter 3.2. is a heavily revised (i.e., a mostly rewritten) version of section 2.1 of Huber Azevedo (2022).

Kinship nouns represent a hybrid class in the sense that for many categories of relatives, there are two completely distinct lexemes for expressing the same type of kin relation: one used when the relative is associated with a first person or second person singular possessor, functioning like a free noun (e.g., *zyra* for "(my or your) son"); and another used for second person plural or third person possessors, functioning as an inalienably possessed noun (e.g., *ahidi* for "his, her, or their son").

Free nouns and kinship nouns inherently carry grammatical gender (masculine or feminine), whereas inalienably possessed nouns do not. Additionally, free nouns are not subject to inflection, whereas inalienably possessed nouns must be inflected to index the person and gender of the possessor. When it comes to possessive constructions, free nouns use one of the possessive pronouns listed above under 3.1.5, inserted between the possessor and the possessum. In contrast, possession of inalienably possessed nouns is typically indicated by placing the possessor directly before the possessee.

Table 5. Noun classes of Suruwahá

Free nouns

proper nouns

proper nouns for humans, spirits, dogs and geographical features

proper nouns for (wild animal) pets

common nouns

with human referents

with non-human referents

Inalienably possessed nouns

with animate possessors

with inanimate possessors

with human referents ("owner of", "spirit of", "victim of",
"descendent of", "aggressor of", etc.)

Kinship nouns

3.2.1. Free nouns

Free nouns are divided into two categories: proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns refer to specific human individuals, spirits (*kurima*), dogs, domesticated wild animals, bodies of water or settlements. These names are always singular and definite in meaning. No two people or dogs ever share the same name, as new names are created for every newborn child and each newly acquired puppy. In contrast, domesticated wild animals are named consistently according to their species (e.g., captured white-lipped peccaries *izama kahiri* are called *Gary*; captured coatis *barihini* are called *Amasia*; captured woolly monkeys *gaha* are

called *Kaizu*, etc.)³⁵. Hydronyms may optionally be followed by the word for “water,” *bami*, as in Hahabiri (Bami) for “Hahabiri River” or Jukihi (Bami) for “Jukihi Stream”; and names of settlements may (also optionally) be followed by the word for “house”, *uda*.

Common nouns designate categories of things. For non-human referents, common nouns are unspecified regarding number, while for human referents (such as *izadaua* “person”, *imady* “man”, or *inuua* “shaman”), they refer to a singular entity (which can be pluralized by adding the word *madi* “people”).

Free nouns have an inherent gender (either masculine or feminine) that normally cannot be inferred from their form. Below, I provide some examples:

masculine nouns		feminine nouns	
<i>aba</i>	“(generic) fish”	<i>agi</i>	“trail”
<i>abi</i>	“fire”, “firewood”	<i>adaha</i>	“land”
<i>huui</i>	“hammock”	<i>bami</i>	“water”
<i>igaty</i>	“(generic) small animal”	<i>huru</i>	“sloth” (<i>Choloepus didactylus</i>)
<i>masa</i>	“peachpalm”	<i>tyby</i>	“arrow”
<i>adu</i>	“bamboo”	<i>ugarini</i>	<i>Couma guianensis</i>
<i>uda</i>	“house”	<i>siarasiara</i>	“parrot”

The gender of a free noun can only be inferred from patterns of agreement observed within the noun phrase or the predicate. Consider the two possessive construction in (40):

(40)	<i>barawa</i>	<i>iniahani</i>	<i>nasi</i>	<i>iniah</i>
	baraua	inahan	nasi	inahy
	aquatic.turtle	egg; F.POSS	curassow	egg; M.POSS
	“turtle egg(s)”		“curassow egg(s)”	

We know that *baraua* (“aquatic turtle”) is a feminine noun because its related object (the “egg”) carries the feminine ending *-ni* (*iniahani* “egg possessed by a feminine possessor”). And we know that *nasi* (“curassow”) is masculine because the word for “egg” used in this case, *inahy*, has the masculine ending *-y*.

³⁵ Dienst & Fleck (2009) provide a detailed discussion of the phenomenon of pet vocatives in Southwestern Amazonia, which appears to be unique to the Amazonian region. They argue against classifying these terms as proper names or referential nouns, as all pets of the same species are addressed with the same word, and in the languages the authors examined, these words are exclusively used to call animals, not to refer to them. In Suruwahá, however, while what I refer to as 'proper names' for animals are predominantly used to call them, I have occasionally observed speakers using these names when referring to the animals in conversation.

- (41) *Na huwi hagi.*
 na huui ha-ri-gi
 1SG.POSS hammock be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is my hammock.”

In (41), we know that *huui* “hammock” is a masculine noun because the verb *ha-* “to be” carries the masculine agreement markers *-ri* and *-gi*.

Regarding the relationship between semantics and the gender of free nouns, the gender of nouns that refer to humans is determined by the biological sex of the individuals they denote. For instance, *imady* (“man”) is masculine, *haizini* (“woman”) is feminine, and *izadava* (“person”) is masculine when referring to a male individual and feminine when referring to a female individual. Animal names can be either masculine or feminine, and each species has a default grammatical gender (e.g., *mahuny* for “tapir” and *hauy* for “paca” are masculine, while *dahu* for “penelope bird” and *hakuri* for “giant anteater” are feminine). When an animal name is used to refer to a specific individual of a species, such as an adopted tapir cub belonging to Uhuzai, the grammatical gender may be adjusted to reflect the biological sex of that particular animal:

- (42) *Ijabuma hyzamara hawadawawai?*
 izabuma=∅ hyzama=ra haua-dava-uai
 kinkajou=SUBJ what=OBJ eat-HAB-3M.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What do kinkajous eat?”

- (43) *Agariu ini ijabuma hagwani.*
 Agariu ini izabuma ha-ru-gani
 Agariu 3F.POSS kinkajou be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is Agariu’s (female) kinkajou.”

(42) and (43) both feature the noun *izabuma* “kinkajou”. In (42), the speaker used masculine gender agreement on the verb because she was discussing the feeding habits of a species as a whole (referred to by a noun conceived as being inherently masculine), while in (43) she was talking about a specific female individual of this same species.

Free nouns with inanimate referents are categorized as either masculine or feminine without a clearly discernible semantic rationale for this division. For example, *kuhani* (“carrying basket”), *harakady* (“hunting bow”), and *siaru* (“large variety of cooking banana”) are feminine, while *siari* (“small variety of cooking banana”), *huui* (“hammock”), and *tamazara* (tree species belonging to the *Daphnopsis* genus) are masculine.

Common nouns referring to non-human entities are neutral with regard to number: for instance, *araguna* ('pineapple') can denote either one or several pineapples. If one wishes to specify whether a common noun is singular or plural, this can be achieved by appending a non-finite (i.e. relativized) form of one or several combined quantifying verbs with meanings such as "to be alone", "to form a pair", or "to me multiples": *araguna uanyzy naru* means "one pineapple" (lit. pineapple being-alone); *araguna uhamaru* means "two pineapples" (lit. pineapple forming a pair); and *araguna una uhamanikany uanahauadaru* translates to "three pineapples" (lit. "after another pineapple had formed a pair, one more going beyond"). Another method for pluralizing countable common nouns is through repetition, with one instance of the noun for each item being counted:

- (44) *Maski, maski, maski nakiany haba xawanki.*
 masiki masiki masiki na-i-kany haba na-¹⁰si-auaniki
 sun sun sun AUX-M-DS leave AUX-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 "She left after three days." (lit. After it having been a sun, a sun and a sun, she left.)

When it comes to common nouns that refer to humans (which inherently have a singular meaning), pluralization is indicated by the use of the plural marker *madi*:

- (45) *Jadawa hianaru?*
 izadaua h<i>a-naru
 human.being <2SG>be-2SG.HPST.PQ.FH
 "Are you a human being?"
- (46) *Jadawa madi hakiany, batuhwawy xawaky.*
 izadaua madi ha-i-kany batuha-uy na-¹⁰si-auaky
 human.being PL be-M-DS mistreat-DEPREC AUX-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 "Even though they were human beings, he dared to mistreat them".

Two nouns with human referents in Suruwahá have their own, irregular plural forms:

<i>hauini</i>	"(male) child"	→	<i>hamiadi</i>	"(male) children"
<i>haizini</i>	"woman, girl"	→	<i>haizimadi</i>	"women, girls"

- (47) *Hawini akaru hady hawani?*
 hauini aka-ru hady ha-uani
 Child hold-F.NMLZ who be-3F.HPST.CQ.FH
 "Who is the woman/girl holding the child?"

- (48) *Hamiadi, zama jawakia kunkiany,*
 hamiadi zama ziauakia ku-ni-kany
 children things be.few AUX-F-DS
gunyzy, gunyzy nawy xagai!
 guna-yzy guna-yzy na-uy na-¹⁰si-agai
 go.PL.-hither go.PL-hither AUX-DEPREC AUX-SEQ-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Even though there are so few things [for them to see], these stubborn children just keep coming here!”

The plural marker *madi* affects the gender of the feminine nouns which it pluralizes, turning them into masculine nouns.

- (49) *Atuna namyharu: ‘Imiady hwanai!’*
 atuna namyha-**ru** imady h<u>a-nai
 young.woman be.tall-**F.NMLZ** man <1SG>be-M.PST.DECL
nanikiamara, ijara xikiararu
 na-**ni**-ka-mara iza=ra sikara-**ru**
 say-**F-PPST-SS** self=OBJ spread.open-**F.NMLZ**
 “A tall young woman, upon saying: “I am a man!”: [There she is] spreading her legs [with the purpose of looking at, and examining her genitalia].”

- (50) *Atuna madi wajumari*
 atuna madi uaizuma-**ri**
 young.woman PL sing-**M**
 “A group of young women, singing.”

The two *kurima* (shamanic) song texts above feature “young women” *atuna*. While a single *atuna* (49) is grammatically feminine, a group of *atuna madi* (50) behaves as a masculine noun phrase.

3.2.2. Inalienably possessed nouns

Semantic aspects

As also observed in all other known Arawá languages,³⁶ Suruwahá’s inalienably possessed nouns fall into several subcategories:

- Names for human and animal body parts, excluding the free nouns *tusu* (“vagina”), *zuhu* (“breast”), *karu* (“tail”), *huruhuru* (“bronchi”), *kusiawa* (“spleen”), and *huku* (“throat”).

³⁶ See Chapman & Derbyshire (1991:256) for Paumari; Dienst (2014:60) for Kulina, Dixon (2004a:311) for Jarawara; and Carvalho (2017:80) for Deni.

- Names of plant parts, such as “root”, “leaf”, “flower” or “stem”.
- Terms for body fluids and excretions, such as “sweat”, “feces”, “urine”, “saliva”, “egg”, etc.
- Words for exhalations or vocalizations, such as “voice”, “language”, “breath”, “smoke”, “smell”, “light”, or “sound” (exceptions: *uhi* “weeping, funeral chant”; *hakana* “laughter”).
- Names of parts of objects, such as “tip”, “blade”, “summit”, “handle”, “cord”, “cover”, “piece”, etc.
- Spatial relations such as “top”, “underside”, “front”, “back”, “interior”, etc
- Temporal relations such as “beginning”, “end”, “middle”, etc.
- The words “only” (lit. “restrictedness”) and “all of” (lit. “totality”).
- Nouns for characteristics such as “size”, “weight”, “color”, “darkness”, “warmth”, “name”, “beauty”, “quality”, etc. (nouns derived from stative verbs).
- Names of emotions and sensations, such as “pain”, “tingling sensation”, “itchiness”, “sadness”, “love”, etc. except for the free noun *zaua* “anger”. (These are also derived from stative verbs).
- Words for objects or phenomena related to someone, such as “path”, “container”, “shelter”, “clothes”, etc.
- Other terms that do not exist without a specific content, such as “topic”, “story”, “argument”, “intention”, “reason”, “quest”, “painting”, “audio recording”, “photo”, etc.
- Nouns for relational positions or roles, including “owner”, “victim”, “author”, “descendant”, “aggressor”, “follower”, “passenger” and “student”.

Basic versus derived inalienably possessed nouns

There are around eighty inalienably possessed nouns that are underived (example: *uizi* “name”). Some inalienably possessed nouns are clearly related to a verb, but it is difficult to determine whether the noun is derived from the verb or vice versa (example: *ama-* “bleed”, *amy* “his blood”). And some inalienably possessed nouns are derived from verbs or free nouns by adding *-ri* or *-(ri)ni* (example: *ada-* “be red”, *adiri* “his red color”, *adini* “her red color”; *agi* “a trail”, *agiri* “his trail”, *agirini* “her trail”).

Number

Inalienably possessed nouns are indeterminate with respect to number. *Uzubi*, for example, can have the meaning “my eye” or “(both of) my eyes”. *Kunani* is used to refer either to one (individual) hair of a feminine third-person entity, or the totality of all the hair of a feminine third-person entity. As is the case with free nouns, if the singular-plural distinction is relevant to the speaker in a certain context, the only possible strategy of disambiguation consists in using a modifier together with the noun (e.g. *ukuny tuminimary* “the totality of my hairs”; *ubihit tuminimary* “the totality of my hands”).

Inflection

Inalienably possessed nouns are inflected in order to indicate the gender and person of their possessor. Since the form of a noun that has a feminine possessor cannot be inferred from the form of the same noun related to a masculine possessor in a completely previsible, regular way (although all nouns linked to a grammatically feminine possessor end in *-ni*), their basic forms need to be learned in pairs. The person affixes that are pre- or infixal to inalienably possessed nouns are the same also used on verbs for indexing the person of subject (*u-* for a first person singular possessor, *i-* for a second person singular or first person plural possessor, zero for third persons or the second person plural as possessors). However, while verbs can only carry the first person singular prefix/infix $\langle u \rangle/u-$ when the first syllable is */a/*, */ka/*, */ha/* or */ga/* (see below in section 4.10.), inalienably possessed nouns can take *u-* as a prefix also when they begin with */t/*, */s/*, */z/*, */d/* or */b/* (only noun roots beginning with */i/*, */u/*, */y/*, */m/* and */n/* are incapable of carrying the prefix indicating a first person singular possessor).

Below I provide an example of an inflection paradigm:

suuat- “knee”

Person	Singular			Translation	Plural				Translation
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-y</i>	“my knee(s)”		<i>i-</i>	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-y</i>	“our knees”
2	<i>i-</i>	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-ani</i>	“your knee(s)”	<i>tima</i>	\emptyset -	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-ani</i>	“your.PL knees”
3F	\emptyset -	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-ani</i>	“her knee(s)”					
3M	\emptyset -	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-y</i>	“his knee(s)”	<i>madi</i>	\emptyset -	<i>suuat</i>	<i>-y</i>	“their knees”

A list containing the inflectional forms of all inalienably possessed nouns identified by my research is provided in the Appendix.

A very small group of inalienably possessed nouns do not have masculine and feminine endings indicating whether their possessors are grammatically masculine or feminine:

<i>anidaua</i>	“owner of”
<i>tani</i>	“top, end of”
<i>inata</i>	“upper part (of a long object), headwaters (of a river)”

Examples:

<i>uda anidaua</i>	“the owner of the house” (the noun <i>uda</i> “house” is masculine)
<i>hadara anidaua</i>	“the owner of the plantation” (the noun <i>hadara</i> “plantation” is feminine).

Gender

The gender of inalienably possessed nouns depends on the nature of their possessor - specifically, whether the possessor is animate or inanimate.³⁷ When they are linked to an inanimate possessor, they agree in gender with that possessor. In contrast, when linked to an animate possessor, they behave like feminine nouns:

(51)	<i>Agahy</i>	<i>gwa!</i>
	aga ahy	gua-i
	tree leaf;3M.POSS	simply.be-M
	“It is just a tree leaf (unworthy of your attention)!”	

In (51), the word *ahy* “leaf” (other possible meanings: “finger”, “agricultural production”) is masculine because its possessor *aga* (“tree”) is a masculine noun with an inanimate referent. We can infer that it is masculine from the presence of the masculine subject marker suffix *-i* in the verb *gua-* “to be, simply”, “to be unworthy of attention”. If the leaf pertained to a (grammatically feminine) rubber tree, *ugarini*, the sentence would be as in (52).

³⁷ In this text, I do not use “inanimate” as a synonym for “dead” or “not endowed with life”, which is one possible meaning of the term in English. In the absence of a better term, I use “inanimate” to refer to what the Suruwahá categorize as “beings incapable of moving on their own”. All plant species, when referred to in everyday, non-transcendental, non-shamanic contexts, are grammatically treated as part of the same category as artifacts, geographical features, and other “dead objects”. In contrast, only animals and people belong to the grammatical category of “animate” beings.

- (52) *Ugwarini ahani gwani!*
 ugarini ahani gua-**ni**
 rubber tree leaf;**3F.POSS** simply.be-**F**
 “It is just a rubber tree leaf (unworthy of your attention)!”

- (53) *Zumari iniabuwuy atunani hasaxawanki.*
 Zumari inabuuy atunani hasaru-[↑]si-auanki
 Zumari thigh;**3M.POSS** bone;**3F.POSS** break-SEQ-**3F**.PPST.DECL.FH
 “After that, Zumari broke his femur bone.”
 (lit. Then the bone of Zumari’s thigh was fractured.)

In (53), the subject of the clause is “the bone of Zumari’s thigh”. Zumari, a male person, is the animate possessor of the thigh, and the thigh, in turn, is the (also animate) possessor of the bone. Notably, *inabuuy*, “thigh,” though ending in *-y*, which signals that it pertains to a male (Zumari), is grammatically feminine. This is evident because *atunani*, “the bone (of the thigh),” ends in *-ni*, marking the body part (the thigh) as grammatically feminine. If the thigh were grammatically masculine and could impose its masculine gender on the bone, the sentence would instead be:

- (54) **Zumari iniabuwuy atuny hasaxawaky.*

The gender of inalienably possessed nouns with human referents (i.e., inalienably possessed nouns that denote related entities rather than parts of a whole or characteristics of something or someone) is determined by the sex of their referent.

- (55) *Kunaha bahi mazaxawaky.*
 kunaha bahi mazaru-[↑]si-**auaky**
 barbasco prey;**3M.POSS** die-SEQ-**3M**.PPST.DECL.FH
 “**He** died from [self-poisoning by ingesting the roots of] barbasco.”
 (lit. The prey of barbasco died.)”

- (56) *Kunaha bahi mazaxawanki.*
 kunaha bahi mazaru-[↑]si-**auaniki**
 barbasco prey;**3M.POSS** die-SEQ-**3F**.PPST.DECL.FH
 “**She** died from [self-poisoning by ingesting the roots of] barbasco.”
 (lit. “The prey of barbasco died.”)

- (57) *Tuhu bahini mazaxawaky.*
 tuhu bahini mazaru-[↑]si-**auaky**
 flu prey;**3F.POSS** die-SEQ-**3M**.PPST.DECL.FH
 “**He** died from the flu.”
 (lit. The prey of the flu died.)

- (58) *Tuhu bahini* *mazaxawanki*.
tuhu bahini mazaru-[↑]si-**auaniki**
flu prey;**3F.POSS** die-SEQ-**3F.PPST.DECL.FH**
“**She** died from the flu.”
(lit. The prey of the flu died.)

(55) to (58) are sentences where the referents of one same inalienably possessed noun (*bahi/ bahini* “victim”, “prey”) that appears related to two different inanimate possessors (the masculine free noun *kunaha* “barbasco” and the feminine free noun *tuhu* “flu”) are human beings. Here we can see that - although the **form** of the inalienably possessed noun “victim” is determined by the grammatical gender of the inanimate possessor (*kunaha bahi* versus *tuhu bahini*), its **grammatical gender** is determined, in each case, by the sex of the human referent of the noun phrase as a whole (where the “victim” is a man, the noun *bahi(ni)* behaves as a masculine noun, and where the “victim” is a woman, the same noun behaves as a feminine noun, which can be perceived observing the agreement pattern shown by the verb).

3.2.3. Kinship nouns

Semantic aspects

Suruwaha exhibits a Dravidian kinship terminology system, as classified by Louis Dumont's typology.³⁸ According to Dumont's theory, this type of terminology represents the simplest possible expression of a marriage system of restricted exchange,³⁹ where bilateral cross-cousin marriage is preferred. The distinction between terminologies labeled as “Iroquois” by Murdock (1949) and Dravidian-type terminologies is subtle. Both systems differentiate within the +1 generation between parallel uncles (MZ, FB) and cross-uncles (MB, FZ), with the former being designated by the same terms used for one’s father and mother, while the latter are considered potential in-laws. In some cases, the terms for FZ and MB may be the same as those used for in-laws. Additionally, within the G0 generation, both systems equate bilateral parallel cousins to “brothers” and “sisters,” while defining

³⁸ See Dumont (1953). The first anthropologists who - upon noting certain similarities with kinship terminologies extant in Southern India - characterized South American kinship terminologies as “Dravidian” were David Maybury-Lewis (1967), Peter Rivière (1969), Ellen Basso (1970) and Joanna Overing Kaplan (1972).

³⁹ Marriage systems of restricted exchange, as defined by Lévi-Strauss (1947), involve just two groups exchanging spouses and maintaining a relationship of direct reciprocity. In contrast, systems of generalized exchange involve three or more groups exchanging spouses in one direction (from group A to group B to group C and back to A).

cross-cousins (FZD, FZS, MBD, MBS) as “spouses” or potential brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

The key difference between Iroquois-type and Dravidian-type terminologies is as follows: In a Dravidian system, the children of Ego’s cross-cousins of the same sex are considered in-laws, while the children of Ego’s cross-cousins of the opposite sex (with whom Ego is not married) are regarded as consanguineous, designated as “brothers” and “sisters.” In contrast, an Iroquois system does the opposite. For a more comprehensive discussion of the semantics of Suruwahá kinship terminology and its particularities in comparison with other Arawá languages, see my doctoral dissertation (Huber Azevedo 2012: 313-321).

Gender and number marking

The gender of kinship nouns is determined by the sex of their referent, and it can sometimes be inferred from their form:

- (59) *Uhuzai ahidi mazaxawaky.*
Uhuzai ahidi mazaru-[↑]si-auaky
Uhuzai son die-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Uhuzai’s son died.”
- (60) *Uhuzai ahidiani mazaxawanki.*
Uhuzai ahidani mazaru-[↑]si-auaniki
Uhuzai daughter die-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Uhuzai’s daughter died.”

In (59), the word *ahidi* “son of a third person or second person plural possessor” is masculine because the noun refers to a male person. In (60), the word *ahidani* “daughter of a third person or second person plural possessor” is feminine because the noun refers to a female person. In these two sentences, the gender of the featured kinship nouns is reflected both in the form of the nouns themselves (where the presence/absence of the feminine ending *-ni* establishes a contrast between the terms for “daughter” and “son”) and in the agreement pattern of the inflected verb that follows them.

Since kinship nouns in Suruwahá have human referents and therefore (just like free nouns with human referents) can be pluralized through the use of the modifier *medi*, when used without any modifier they always have a singular meaning.

(61) *Axa agianawa madi akuwixikia nariawaky.*
 Asia agianaua madi akuua-[↑]si-i-ka-∅ na-riauaky
 Axa descendant.F PL end-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.QEV say-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “He said that Axa’s daughters had all died.”

The possession of kinship nouns

I already mentioned above that Suruwahá kinship nouns constitute what I call a “hybrid” subclass of nouns because there is a pair of complementary lexemes (plus one used as vocative) for some categories of relatives, one of which implies the existence of a relationship of the referent with a first person or a second person singular possessor and behaves like a free noun (i.e. its possession can be indicated through the use of a possessive pronoun), while the other implies that its referent has a second person plural or a third person possessor and behaves like an inalienably possessed noun (meaning that no possessive pronoun is needed to indicate its possession by someone).

For some categories of relatives, there is only one lexeme, which does not inherently convey any information about who are the persons with whom the referent maintains the kinship relation. In order to indicate the possession of a representative of such a kinship category, the use of possessive pronouns is therefore required.

It is important to note that vocatives, which are not available for all categories of relatives, are seldom used. In Table 6, the “-” symbol in the vocative column indicates the absence of a vocative form for certain kin categories (e.g., “grandfather”). The Suruwahá typically prefer to address all their relatives by their proper names. Even the vocatives *nai* (“mother!”) and *nabi* (“father!”) are often replaced by proper names once children reach approximately four or five years of age and realize their parents have names.

Table 6. Suruwahá kinship terminology

	Vocative	First-person or second-person plural possessor	Third-person or second-person plural possessor
+2 generation			
grandfather/ grandmother (MM, FF, MMZ, FFB)	-	<i>aizi</i> ⁴⁰	<i>aizi</i>
+1 generation			
father (F)	<i>nabi</i>	<i>abizi</i>	<i>ahadi</i>
paternal uncle (FB, FFBS, FFFBSS, etc.)	-	<i>abizi uua</i> (lit. “other father”)	<i>ahadi uua</i>
mother (M)	<i>nai</i>	<i>amizi</i>	<i>amadini</i>

⁴⁰ Mythical narratives distinguish between *adizi* “grandfather” and *anizi* “grandmother”, but this distinction is considered to be obsolete in contemporary everyday speech.

maternal aunt (MZ, MMZD, MMMZDD, etc.)	-	<i>amizi una</i> (lit. “other mother”)	<i>amadini una</i>
maternal uncle (MB, MMZS, MMMZDS, etc.)	<i>kuku</i> ⁴¹	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kuku</i>
paternal aunt (FZ, FFBD, FFFBSD, etc.)	<i>asu</i>	<i>suzu</i>	<i>suzu</i>
father-in-law or mother-in-law (HM, HF, WM, WF)	-	<i>kuma</i>	<i>kuma</i>
G0 generation			
older brother (B, FBS, MZS, FFBS, MMZDS, etc.)	<i>iza</i>	<i>ziza/ ziazia</i>	<i>iri ziza/ iri ziazia</i> ⁴²
older sister (Z, FBD, MZD, FFBS, MMZDD, etc.)	<i>iza</i>	<i>ziza/ ziazia</i>	<i>ini ziza/ ini ziazia</i>
younger brother (B, FBS, MZS, FFBS, MMZDS, etc.)	<i>asiu</i>	<i>siuru</i>	<i>iri siuru</i>
younger sister (Z, FBD, MZD, FFBS, MMZDD, etc.)	<i>nakuru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>ini kiru</i>
husband, male cross-cousin of a female Ego (MBS, MMZSS, MMMZDSS, FZS, FFBS, FFFBS, etc.) ⁴³	-	<i>imaki(ba)</i>	<i>imaki(ba)</i>
brother-in-law/ male cross-cousin of a male Ego (MBS, MMZSS, MMMZDSS, FZS, FFBS, FFFBS, etc.); sister-in-law/ female cross-cousin of a female Ego (MBD, MMZSD, MMMZDSD, FZD, FFBD, FFFBS, etc.)	-	<i>kuhamy(ba)</i> ⁴⁴	<i>kuhamy(ba)</i>
wife, female cross-cousin of a male Ego (MBD, MMZSD, MMMZDSD, FZD, FFBD, FFFBS, etc.)	-	<i>hazaua(ba)</i>	<i>hazaua(ba)</i>
-1 generation			
son (S); male Ego’s brother’s son (BS, FBSS, MZSS, etc.); female Ego’s sister’s son (ZS, FBDS, MZDS, etc.)	<i>(adiari)</i> ⁴⁵	<i>zyra</i>	<i>ahidi</i>

⁴¹ This vocative is considered to be obsolete by most speakers. People only use it in mythical narratives, when citing original human beings addressing each other. The same happens with the vocative *asu*. The current habit consists in addressing maternal uncles and paternal aunts by their proper names rather than by a kinship term..

⁴² Here we have a case of irregular use of the possessive pronoun *iri*: Normally, *iri* is used to designate a male third-person possessor, but here its function is to indicate that the possessed is male (that we are talking about a brother, not a sister). The same happens in the case of *ini ziza*, where *ini* instead of “her” means that *ziza* is a sister, not a brother.

⁴³ Since the Suruwahá consider the marriage between cross-cousins to be the ideal kind of marriage, it is frequent that one’s husband is simultaneously one’s cross-cousin. *Imakiba* ‘husband-to-be’ is the term used between children (still unmarried persons). After a woman gets married, she does not continue to call her male cross-cousins whom she did not marry *imaki*, but instead starts using descriptive terms for the latter (*na imaki iri ziza* ‘my husband’s older brother’, *amizi iri siuru ahidi* ‘my mother’s younger brother’s son’, etc.). The same happens in the case of *hazaua* and *kuhamy* (below).

⁴⁴ *kuhamy* is derived from the applicativized form of the verb *uhama*- ‘be a pair’, *kuhama*- ‘accompany’.

⁴⁵ The vocative *adiari* ‘reddish one’ connotes tenderness. The same is the case of the vocative *adiaru*.

daughter (F); male Ego's brother's daughter (BD, FBSD, MZSD, etc.); female Ego's sister's daughter (ZD, FBDD, MZDD, etc.)	(<i>adiaru</i>)	<i>zamuni</i>		<i>ahidani</i>
male Ego's nephew (ZS, FBDS, MZDS, etc.)	-	<i>huahadi</i>	<i>hiahadini</i> ⁴⁶	<i>hahadi</i>
male Ego's niece (ZD, FBDD, MZDD, etc.)	-	<i>huahadi</i>	<i>hiahadini</i>	<i>hahadini</i>
female Ego's brother's son or daughter (BS, BD, FBSS, FBSD, MZSS, MZDD, etc.)	-	<i>zakyra</i>		<i>zakyra</i>
son-in-law, daughter-in-law	-	<i>kuma</i>		<i>kuma</i>
-2 generation				
grandson (SS, DS. Male Ego's BSS, BDS, etc. Female Ego's ZSS, ZDS, etc.)	-	<i>unidi</i>	<i>inidini</i>	<i>inidi</i>
granddaughter (SD, DD. Female Ego's ZSD, ZDD, etc. Male Ego's BSD, BDD, etc.)	-	<i>unidi</i>	<i>inidini</i>	<i>inidini</i>

Other terms

kanahi/kanahini

The term *kanahi(ni)* refers to siblings (brothers, sisters and parallel cousins) of the same sex as Ego, of any age and degree of genealogical proximity. It is derived from the applicativized form of the verb *nahy-* “have substance, be big”, and literally means “person with whom one grows up together”. It replaces *ziza*, *siuru* or *kuru* when the speaker wants to emphasize the gender aspect inherent to a relationship instead of the aspect of relative age. The term behaves as inalienably possessed noun:

k<u>anahi “my sister” (female speaker)/ “my brother” (male speaker)

k<i>anahini “your sister” (female addressee)/ “your brother” (male addressee)

∅-*kanahini* “her sister”

∅-*kanahi* “his brother”

haizini

haizini (which literally means “woman” or “female child”) is the term used for designating the sister of a male individual who is approximately the same age as him and therefore is responsible for manufacturing his hammock (as soon as she has learned the skills

⁴⁶ *H<u>ahadi* is the term used with a first-person singular possessor. *H<i>ahadini* is the term used when we are talking about “your” nephew.

to do so, and as long as she doesn't get married). Couples that have many children divide them into pairs of *iri haizini/ ini imady*. In families with many sons and only one daughter, the daughter is considered to be *haizini* only to one of her brothers (tendentally the oldest). In this case, people usually say that the other brothers “do not possess their *haizini*”. The term *iri haizini* connotes special mutual caring responsibilities, and in fact it frequently happens that a man only agrees to give his *haizini* in marriage to another man if there is a real chance for him to marry the *haizini* of his future brother-in-law in turn. *Haizini* behaves as a free noun:

na haizini “my sister” (lit: “my woman”)
ara haizini “your sister” (lit: “your woman”)
iri haizini “his sister” (lit: “his woman”)

imady

imady is the masculine counterpart to the term *haizini*. *Ini imady* of a girl is her special brother who is responsible for supplying her with game (while she is unmarried).

na imady “my brother” (lit. “my man”)
ara imady “your brother” (lit. “your man”)
ini imady “her brother” (lit. “her man”)

agiaua/ agianaua

agiaua/ agianaua means “descendant”. It behaves as an inalienably possessed noun.

u-agiaua madi my descendants, my progeny
u-agianaua madi my female descendants, my female progeny
i-agiaua madi your descendants, your progeny
i-agianaua madi your female descendants. your female progeny
 \emptyset -*agiaua madi* his or her descendants
 \emptyset -*agianaua madi* his or her female progeny

Below, I provide some examples of sentences containing kinship nouns:

- (62) *Ta hyzama kahini ara kuku ahidiria*
 ta hyzama kahini ara kuku ahidi=ra
 2SG what purpose.F 2SG.POSS maternal.uncle son=OBJ
- imiaky tuhwa nianxumara,*
 imaky tuha n<i>a-ni-su-mara
 marry put <2SG>AUX-F-NEG-SS
 ‘Jadawa uwaramary aga kwamba!’
 izadaua uua=ra=mary aga k<u>a-naba-∅
 person other.M=OBJ=NFOC take<1SG>AUX-1SG.FUT-DECL.QEV
- nawy nianawani?*
 na-uy n<i>a-nauani
 say-DEPREC <2SG>AUX-2SG.HPST.CQ..FH

“Why on earth do you crazily want to take another person as your husband instead of just marrying your maternal uncle’s son?”

(62) features the possessive construction “your maternal uncle’s son”, where *kuku* “maternal uncle” behaves as a free noun that is possessed by a second-person possessor and therefore is preceded by the possessive pronoun *ara*, while *ahidi* “son” behaves as inalienably possessed noun related to a third person possessor (“the maternal uncle”).

- (63) *Ahadihia uhwamamiara tixagi.*
 ahadi=ha uhama-i-mara tisa-gi
 father.3.POSS=OBL be.a.pair-M-SS leave-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He left together with his father.”

- (64) *Abiji namyhaki?*
 abizi namyha-ri-ki
 father.1/2.POSS be.tall-M-M.PPST.PQ.FH
 “Is your father tall?”
 (lit. Was your father tall [when you last saw him]?)

- (65) *Nabiji wada dabukidia*
 na abizi uada dabuky-¹⁰si-∅-∅-da
 1SG.POSS father sleep take.time-SEQ-M-HPST-DECL.CONJC

nangai.
 na-ngai
 say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH

“My father probably has been asleep for some time already.”

(63), (64) and (65) all mention “fathers”. In (63), where the term is linked to a third person possessor, the speaker is not required to use any possessive pronoun because *ahadi* behaves as an inalienably possessed noun. In (64), no possessive pronoun is needed either because it can be deduced from the context that the speaker is not talking about his own

father when using the term *abizi*⁴⁷. Finally, in (65) “my father” is referred to by using the possessive pronoun *na* (which is mandatory because *abizi* behaves as a free noun).

3.3. Nouns derived from verbs⁴⁸

Names of objects designated by their *modus operandi*/ function

Many nouns referring to working tools and accessories in Suruwahá are derived from verbs that describe the actions performed by their users. These tool nouns do not have distinct endings to indicate whether the targets are masculine or feminine. To derive these nouns from verb stems ending in *-a*, *-y* or *-u*, the final vowel of the verb stem is replaced with *-y*. The process is productive, meaning speakers can spontaneously create new nouns for objects with a specific function using any verb (for instance, during a philosophical discussion, I once heard a woman spontaneously describe the moon as *izubi nakuuy*, meaning “a thing for killing our eyes”, alluding to the fact that it is always there, 'watching' as generation after generation of human eyes fade away). If the verb stem ends in *-i(C)a*, the final *-a* is dropped. It remains unclear whether the grammatical gender of these tool names is influenced by the gender of the free noun that precedes them.

<i>bubuka-</i>	“smash”	→	<i>kunaha bubuky</i>	“wooden beam where barbasco roots are smashed during fishing expeditions” (lit: “poison smasher”)
<i>byha-</i>	“cook	→	<i>zama byhy</i>	“pan” (lit: “thing cooker”)
<i>gania-</i>	“see”	→	<i>kiazahiri gani</i>	“weighing scale” (lit: “viewer if our weight”)
			<i>zama tazukini gani</i>	“GPS” (lit: “viewer of the direction of things”)
<i>giza-</i>	“grate”	→	<i>mama gizi</i>	“manioc grater”
<i>harakady</i>	“shoot”	→	<i>harakady</i>	“bow” (lit. shooter)
<i>hizara</i>	“talk ”	→	<i>zama bykyru hizary</i>	“telephone” (lit. distance talker”)
<i>kaba-</i>	“pound”	→	<i>kumadi kaby</i>	“tobacco mortar”

⁴⁷ It has to be clarified that *amizi* and *abizi* are the only “free-noun” kinship terms that do not require the use of the possessive pronoun *ara* if someone wants to talk about a relative of a second person possessor. If the question in (27) was “Is your brother tall?” then the correct sentence would be “*Ara siuru/ ara ziza namyhaki?*”, not “*Siuru/ ziza namyhaki?*”.

⁴⁸ Chapter 3.3. is a revised and amplified version of Chapter 2.2.2.3. of Huber Azevedo (2022:20-21).

			<i>kimi kaby</i>	“maize mortar”
<i>kamida-</i>	“show”	→	<i>agi kamidi</i>	“compass” (lit. “trail shower”)
<i>myraka-</i>	“slather”	→	<i>kanisi imani myraky</i>	“brush” (lit. “poison slatherer”)
<i>nydyryga-</i>	“enumerate”	→	<i>masiki nydyrygy</i>	“calendar” (lit. “sun enumerator”)
<i>saua-</i>	“wash”	→	<i>izumy sauy</i>	“toothpaste” (lit. “our-teeth washer”)
<i>sirika-</i>	“squeeze”	→	<i>mama siriki</i>	“tipiti” (lit. “manioc squeezer”)
<i>tuka-</i>	“spin”	→	<i>uaby tuky</i>	“spindle” (lit. cotton spinner”)
<i>tymyna-</i>	“paddle”	→	<i>zama tymyny</i>	“paddle” (lit. thing paddler)
<i>uasaka-</i>	“sand”	→	<i>tyby uasaky</i>	“arrow sander”
<i>uirana</i>	“sift”	→	<i>kimi uirany</i>	“maize flour sieve”

The word *agy* behaves irregularly in that it is used to denote a hunter, not a hunting tool:

<i>aga-</i>	“take”	→	<i>mahuny agy</i>	“a good tapir hunter”
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Names of human beings who have the habit of regularly doing something

To derive a noun denoting a person that regularly or professionally performs the action described by a verb, the nominalizing suffix *-daua* (which is identical to the verbal habitual suffix *-daua*, described in section 4.7) is attached to the verb stem:

<i>daruna-</i>	“swim”	→	<i>darunadaua</i>	“swimmer”
<i>agizaua-</i>	“untie, release”	→	<i>arira agizauadaua</i>	“lawyer” (lit. “us-releaser”)
<i>mahika-</i>	“lie”	→	<i>mahikadaua</i>	“liar”
<i>hizara-</i>	“talk”	→	<i>hizaradaua</i>	“representative” (lit. “talker”)

Nouns denoting the act of doing something

Nouns denoting acts or experiences such as “to do”, “to see”, “to feel”, or “to be unhappy” are formed by attaching the passive suffix *-^hhy* (further discussed in section 4.3.6.) and the feminine nominalizing suffix *-ru* (also used to form subject relative clauses) to the verb stem:

<i>gaua-</i>	“walk”	→	<i>gauyhyru</i>	“experience/act of walking”
<i>uanyzy na-</i>	“be alone”	→	<i>uanyzy nyhyru</i>	“loneliness”

<i>gania-</i>	“see”	→	<i>ganiyhyru</i>	“sight, view”
<i>ha-</i>	“be”	→	<i>hyhyru</i>	“existence”
<i>haba na-</i>	“depart”	→	<i>haba nyhyru</i>	“departure”
<i>mita-</i>	“hear”	→	<i>mityhyru</i>	“audition”

The noun derived from the passivized verb *uhama-* “form a pair”, *uhamyhyru* “condition of having a companion”, has undergone grammaticalization, and is typically used as a postposition with the meaning “like”, “equal to”:

bami uhamyhyru “like water”, “similar to water”
mahuny uhamyhyru “like a tapi”, “similar to a tapi”

3.4. Morphologically complex nouns used to name species

In Suruwahá, many nouns in the domains of botanical, zoological, technological, and culinary taxonomy are morphologically complex. These nouns may carry special nominal suffixes or be formed by compounding.

Nouns carrying the suffixes *-hyuy* and *-kuru*

-hyuy is a derivational morpheme used in the names of certain animal and plant species to designate the largest representatives within a category of beings. It is the cognate of *-phuve* in Deni.

<i>aba</i> “(generic) fish”	→	<i>abahyuy</i>	“surubim” (<i>Pseudoplatystoma corruscans</i>)
<i>bahaua</i> “ucuuba”	→	<i>bahauahyuy</i>	“large ucuuba”
<i>baraua</i> “turtle” (genus <i>Podocnemis</i>)	→	<i>barauahyuy</i>	“giant river turtle” (<i>Podocnemis expansa</i>)
<i>huka</i> “(generic) woodpecker”	→	<i>hukahyuy</i>	“large woodpecker”
<i>kura</i> “frog”	→	<i>kurahyuy</i>	“large frog”
<i>misa</i> “ray”	→	<i>misahyuy</i>	“large ray”
<i>una</i> “caiman” (clade <i>Jacarea</i>)	→	<i>unahyuy</i>	“black caiman” (<i>Melanosuchus</i>)
<i>sibiri</i> “hawk”	→	<i>sibirihyuy</i>	“harpy eagle” (<i>Harpia harpyja</i>)

There are also names of large plant (fruit) and animal species that end in *-hyuy*, for which there is no corresponding simple form without this morpheme.

sazahyuy “boa constrictor, anaconda” (compare: *kuuiri* “snake”)
maisirihyuy unidentified tree
kirihyuy unidentified tree

-kuru (or **-kyry**, when attached to a noun that ends in /y/) is a derivational morpheme used in the names of some animal species, to designate smaller representatives of a category of beings.

aba “fish” → *abakuru* “small fish” (small species, fry or fingerling)
igaty “animal” → *igatykyry* or *ziatykyry* “small bird (in general)”

It is important to note that the use of *-hyuy* and *-kuru* is not productive in the language. This means that these suffixes are not suitable for forming augmentative or diminutive forms for nouns in a general sense. Instead, their use is restricted to specific lexical items.

Nouns carrying derivational morphemes of unknown origin

In a handful of animal or object names, there are suffixes added to the generic noun to form names with more specific meanings. The meanings of these idiosyncratic morphemes cannot be isolated.

zumi “deer” (genus *Mazama*) → *zumikasy* “Amazonian brown brocket”
uda “house” → *udabyza* “temporary palm leaf shelter”
huka “woodpecker” → *hukababai* (*Picumnus lafresnayi* woodpecker)
azana “pequiá” (*Caryocar villosum*) → *azanabasi* unidentified species

Compounds

Many names of plant and animal species are lexicalized compounds. These can be either possessive constructions (possessor + possessive pronoun + possessum), juxtapositions of free nouns, or combinations of a noun and a relativized verb. Some species names also combine a noun with a bare verb stem, which would be considered ungrammatical in other contexts. Below, I provide some examples:

Possessive constructions

zumi iri mama “deer’s manioc” name of an unidentified plant species that resembles *Manihot utilissima*

<i>kyryuy bihini misini</i> “sloth’s fingernails”	name of an unidentified edible fruit
<i>nasi zubi hahani</i> “curassow’s tears”	name of an unidentified edible fruit
<i>kaua inakani</i> “parrot’s head”	name of an unidentified edible fruit
<i>unahyuy hazauakaba</i> “black caiman’s ex-wife”	name of a fish species (genus <i>Geophagus</i>)

Noun + relativized verb

<i>marihi</i> “feline/canine”	<i>marihi hazuri</i> “painted feline”	<i>Panthera onca</i>
	<i>marihi adari</i> “red feline”	<i>Puma concolor</i>
<i>katumi</i> “banana”	<i>katumi karari</i> “white banana”	<i>Musa acuminata</i> subsp.

Noun + bare verb stem

<i>mama</i> “manioc”	<i>mama sihata</i> “fermented manioc” (name of a special dish)
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Noun + noun

huru “two-toed sloth + *aga buzi* “tree fruit” → *huru aga buzi* unidentified fruit species
araguna “(generic) pineapple” + *hahasa Chelus fimbriata* → *araguna hahasa* pineapple type
zahi “mouse” + *mahuua* “kapok” → *zahi mahuua Pseudobombax longiflorum*

Note that In noun + noun compounds, the order of the more generic noun and the noun used to add a more specific sense is not predictable. In the compound *huru aga buzi*, the noun *huru* (“two-toed sloth”) specifies the type of fruit being referenced. Conversely, in *araguna hahasa*, the noun *hahasa* provides specificity regarding the type of pineapple being denoted.

3.5. Noun phrase components and structure⁴⁹

As already mentioned above, noun phrases in Suruwahá can be categorized as either simple or complex, following the framework outlined by Matthew Dryer (2007:151). Simple noun phrases consist of a single pronoun or noun, optionally accompanied by modifiers, and are structured with the head (pronoun or noun) positioned at the beginning of the phrase. In contrast, complex noun phrases, which include genitive, possessive, or relative constructions, have a different structure.

⁴⁹ The introductory part of chapter 3.5. is a reformulated version of the introductory part of Chapter 2.2. of Huber Azevedo (2022: 32-33).

In complex noun phrases featuring possessive constructions, the possessor noun (and its possessive pronoun if the possession is alienable) precedes the head noun, which denotes the possessed entity. Furthermore, possessive constructions can extend beyond two nouns: nouns surrounded by other nouns act as both possessors of the nouns to their right and possessees of the nouns to their left. Additionally, some possessive constructions consist of just a possessive pronoun followed by a noun.

The ordering of elements within noun phrases is detailed in the table below. Obligatory components are highlighted in orange, while optional components are shown in blue. Note that while some components are optional in general, they may become mandatory in specific contexts, such as the requirement for objective case markers on noun phrases serving as the patientive argument in transitive clauses with OSV order. Within the same cell, elements are mutually exclusive and cannot be combined. The last four columns include clitics, such as nominal tense markers, negative polarity or authenticity markers, case markers, and information structure markers. These clitics attach to the noun in unmodified noun phrases or to the final independent word following the noun in phrases with determiners, adjectives, or relative clauses.

Table 7. Structure of the noun phrase

Simple NP	proper noun (personal name, toponym, hydronym)		modifier (relative clause)	nominal tense (=ba "future", =ka "present, known from past", =kaba "former"),	(non-) authenticity (=su "non-", =ry "approximate" =ziaua "real")	case (object argument =ra, oblique argument =ha, direction =daha "through")	information structure (=mary "real", =sana "also", =by "in turn", =zy "here", =nda "and" (change of topic) =ma "ʔ")
	person pronoun (<i>aru, ta, ari, tima, iza, madi</i>)		modifier (relative clause)	nominal tense marker	(non-) authenticity marker	case marker	information structure marker
	Interrogative pronoun (<i>hady, hyzama</i>)	plural marker <i>madi</i>		nominal tense marker	(non-) authenticity marker	case marker	information structure marker
	common noun	plural marker <i>madi</i>	determiner (<i>hi, hy, ydy, uua/una, hady</i>)	modifier (adjective <i>husa</i> "old" and <i>wasi/(ni)</i> "new" or relative clause)	nominal tense marker	(non-) authenticity marker	case marker

Complex NP	possessor	possessive pronoun (<i>na, ara, iri, ini, zia</i>)	possessum (includes grammaticalized possessed nouns with prepositional meaning, such as "about", "because of", "for", "behind", "under", etc)	plural marker <i>madi</i>	determiner (<i>hi, hy, ydy, uua/una, hady</i>)	modifier (adjective <i>husa</i> "old" and <i>wasi/(ni)</i> "new" or relative clause)	nominal tense marker	(non-) authenticity marker	case marker	information structure marker
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As shown in Table 5, a simple NP can be headed by a proper noun, a common noun, a non-finite verb form (i.e. a relative clause) functioning as a noun, or a pronoun (personal, demonstrative, or interrogative). Common nouns and interrogative pronouns with human referents can be modified by the pluralizer *madi*. Common nouns, (non-interrogative) personal pronouns, and proper nouns can be modified by a relative clause. Only common nouns can be followed by a determiner ('this,' 'the aforesaid,' 'that,' 'another') or one of the two real adjectives in Suruwahá: *husa* ("old") and *uasi(ni)* ("new").

3.5.1. Determiners

Suruwahá does not have articles. The only words that can function as determiners in the language are the deictic words *hi* "this", *hy* "the aforementioned", *ydy* "that", *uua* "another (m.)" and *una* "another (f.)", along with the interrogative *hady* "which". These words were presented earlier under 3.1.2. and 3.1.3, as they can also behave as pronouns, entirely replacing the noun. They immediately follow the noun.

- (66) *Jadawa uwa butikiada nangai.*
 izadaua **uua** busy-¹⁰si-ri-ka-da na-ngai
 person **another.M** steal-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.CONJ say-1SG.HPST.FH
 "Somebody else must have stolen it."
 (lit. I think 'Another person may have stolen it'.)

- (67) 'Aru *hwadanakia'* *nabu, jadawa hyy!*
 aru h<u>adana-i-ka-∅ na-bu izadaua **hy**
 1SG <1SG>make-M-PPST-DECL.QEV say-POLIMP person **aforesaid**
 "Please just admit that you are the father of that person!"
 (lit. Please say 'I made him, the aforesaid person.')

3.5.2. Modifiers

3.5.2.1. Adjectives

Suruwahá possesses only two underived, basic lexemes that can be considered (attributive) adjectives in the strict sense of the term⁵⁰: *husa* “old” and *uasi(ni)* “new”. The word for “old” is gender neutral, while the word for “new” has masculine and feminine forms, agreeing with the gender of the noun to be modified. The masculine form of “new”, *uasi*, can also serve as a noun meaning “young, unmarried man”.

Even though non-inflecting verbs denoting characteristics (e.g. *ziauakia ku-* “to be small”), which will be discussed below in section 4.1.1., can resemble English predicate adjectives in some contexts (as they are morphologically simple words accompanied by a copular auxiliary verb), they differ from true adjectives like *husa* and *uasi* in that they cannot dispense with their auxiliary, and be simply juxtaposed to a noun to modify it within a noun phrase. Instead, if they are to function as noun modifiers, the auxiliary verb that mandatorily follows them must be relativized. In this sense, while an “old swidden” is just an “old swidden” in Suruwahá, a “small swidden” must be expressed as a “small-being swidden”:

- (68) *Hadara wasini buninihia madi gamukyrymara,*
hadara uasini bunini=ha madi gamuka-[↑]ry-∅-mara
swidden new.F centre.F=LOC people throw-DOWN-M-SS
kamadawagi.
kama-daua-gi
plant-HAB-3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“After throwing them (the sugarcane seedlings) on the ground in the center of the new swidden, people plant them.”

- (69) *Hinijai iri hadara husa hagwani.*
Hinizaiiri hadara husa ha-ru-gani
Hinijai 3M.POSS swidden old be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
“It is Hinijai’s old swidden.”

Compare:

- (70) *Hadara jawakia kurura digia kwanawaky.*
hadara ziauakia ku-ru diga k<u>a-nauaky
swidden be.small AUX-F.NMLZ own <1SG>AUX-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
“A only owned a small swidden.”
(Lit. I only owned a small-being swidden.)

⁵⁰ I adopt the definition of adjectives as “words modifying nouns”, as proposed in Velupillai (2012:126).

The word *uasi(ni)* (unlike *husa*) can follow not only a noun but also a bare verb stem. In this case, it conveys the meaning “recently”, and causes the verb stem to take on a nominal meaning:

gaua- “to walk” + *uasi* → *gaua uasi* “a male baby who has recently learned to walk”

imaky- “to wed” + *uasini* → *imaky uasini* “a newlywed woman”

3.5.2.2. Relative clauses

The head of a noun phrase can be further modified (or replaced) by a relative clause, which consists of a non-finite form of a verb and, occasionally, additional overt core or oblique arguments, and/or adverbial clauses that modify or belong to that verb. Suruwahá does not possess relative pronouns. The syntactic-semantic role of the head noun within the relative clause is expressed by the verb. This verb will carry the ending *-ri/-ru* if the head noun is the subject - whether it is the sole subject of an intransitive clause or the agent-like argument of a transitive clause - marked as masculine or feminine, respectively. If the head noun is the object of a transitive clause or the oblique argument of an either intransitive or transitive clause, the verb takes *-hady* or *-ndy* as an ending: *-hady* indicates that the action is performed by a masculine subject, while *-ndy* is used when the action is performed by a feminine subject. Note that the suffixes *-ri/-ru* can also occupy slot 7 of finite verb forms (discussed below in section 4.11.), *-hady* and *-ndy* only occur in object/oblique relative clauses.

If the subject-like argument of the verb in the relative clause is the first or second person, the verb must take the respective person affixes. Additionally, the verb in the relative clause can take all the directional, Aktionsart, and mirative suffixes available in main clauses (see sections 4.6. - 4.8. below).

Below I provide examples of two subject relative clauses, two object relative clauses, and one oblique relative clause (in which the relative clause is highlighted using square brackets):

Subject relative clause with masculine subject

(71)	<i>Mititiukwaba</i>	<i>zawadari</i>	<i>iri</i>
	[Mititu=kaba	zauada- ri]	iri
	Mititiu=former	hunt- M.NMLZ	3M.POSS

huriatini nunukyzani.
huriatini nu~nu-kyza-ni-∅-∅

bark.trumpet ITER~sound.faintly-HITHER-F-HPST-DECL.QEV

“The soul of the deceased Mititiu, who is leading a hunting party: his bark trumpet is sounding from afar [to announce the arrival of the successful hunter].”

(Lit. The bark trumpet of hunting ex-Mititu is faintly resonating from afar.)

Subject relative clause with feminine subject

- (72) *Jawariru kunaha bubukwarura nagadyzuwa!*
[Ziauariru kunaha bubukaru]=ra na-gadyzy-wa-∅
Jawariru barbasco smash-F.NMLZ=OBJ CAUS-be.visible-CoS-IMP
“Show me (the photo of) Jawariru smashing barbasco.”

Object relative clause with masculine subject

- (73) *Aru idiahady taa kianaru?*
[aru ida-hady] ta k<i>a-naru-∅
1SG shoot-M.PNMLZ 2SG <2SG>be-2SG-HPST-PQ.FH
“Are you the one that I have shot?”

Object relative clause with feminine subject

- (74) *Jiwi zymy Jariuni janiandyka*
[ziui zymy Ziariuni ziania-ndy]=ka
capuchin.monkey teeth;3M.POSS Jariuni wear-F.PNMLZ=known.from.past
tijuwa kaxagani.
tizuua ka-si-agani.
be-beautiful AUX-SEQ-3F-HPST-DECL.FH
“The capuchin monkey’s teeth [necklace] that Jariuni [a woman] is wearing is very beautiful!”

Oblique relative clause with masculine subject

- (75) *Juhwadi azanahady bami hagwani.*
[Ziuhadi azana-hady] bami ha-ru-gani
Juhwadi weep-M.PNMLZ creek be-F-3F-HPST-DECL.FH
“This is the creek where Juhwadi wept.”⁵¹

Suruwahá historical or biographical narratives that discuss sequences of events often feature very long relative clauses. In these clauses, the relativized verb, which modifies or

⁵¹ *Juhwadi Azanahady Bami* is the descriptive proper name of a creek near Naru’s house. *Juhwadi* was a leader of the *Kurubidawa* and a survivor of the massacre that decimated the groups living along the lower course of the *Hahabiri* around 1920.

replaces the noun, can itself be further modified by adverbial clauses containing one or more non-finite verb forms suffixed with switch-reference markers. Below is an example extracted from an autobiographical account:

- (76) *Mazasimiara, médico ati*
 mazaru-[↑]si-i-mara [médico ati
 die-SEQ-M-SS doctor speech;3M.POSS
- ‘Mazaxanai!’ ximiara,*
 mazaru-[↑]si-anai-∅-∅ na-[↑]si-i-mara
 die-SEQ-3M.IPFV-HPST-DECL.QEV say-SEQ-M-SS
- suru unaramary akimiara,*
 suru una=ra=mary aka-[↑]si-i-mara
 intravenous.saline.solution other=OBJ=NFOC bring-SEQ-M-SS
- xitikihiady imianawagixawaky.*
 sitiki-hady] imanaua-gyra-[↑]si-auaky
 inject-M.PNMLZ recover-AGAIN-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
- “After he fainted, the doctor said ‘He is already dying!’, went to get another intravenous saline solution and injected him; then he recovered.”

A translation of (76) that maintains its original grammatical structure would be: “After having fainted, [the one who was injected by the doctor [having said ‘He is dying!’ and then having gone to get another intravenous saline solution]] recovered”. In this example, the noun (i.e. the name of the patient who nearly died) modified by the long relative clause *médico ati ‘mazaxanai!’ ximiara suru unaramary akimiara xitikihiady* is not explicitly stated but is entirely replaced by the relative clause. The relativized verb form *xitikihiady*, meaning “the one that has been injected (by a masculine agent)”, is itself modified by the adverbial clause *médico ati ‘Mazaxanai!’ ximiara suru unaramary akimiara*. That “the doctor” serves as the agentive argument of *xitikihiady* is inferred from the fact that the verbs *ximiara* “him, after/while saying” and *akimiara* “him, after/while getting” carry the same-subject marker *-mara*, indicating that one same person said something, went to get something, and injected someone.

3.6. Noun phrase markers

There are four different types of clitics that can be attached to the last unbound component in the noun phrase: nominal tense markers, (non-)authenticity markers, case

markers, and information structure markers, which follow the strict order outlined in Table 7 above.

3.6.1. Nominal tense markers =*ba*, =*ka*, and =*kaba*

The nominal tense markers =*ba* “future”, =*ka* “contemporaneous/simultaneous/known from the past”, and =*kaba* “former” are attached to a noun phrase to indicate whether its referent was or was not already the same entity during the time when the action described by the predicate took place, or if it had not yet become or was no longer that entity.

- (77) *Na batibatibiarā akixibu!*
 na batibati=**ba**=ra aka-⁰yza-¹⁰si-bu
 1SG.POSS scissors=**FUT**=OBJ carry-HITHER-SEQ-POLIMP
 “Please bring a pair of scissors for me.”
 (lit. Bring my future scissors.)

In (77) the pair of scissors is described as “future” scissors not because the scissors do not exist yet, but because they do not yet pertain to the person ordering them.

- (78) *Mahunyba muniria ta mitiaku?*
 mahuny=**ba** muni=ra ta mita-ru-ku
 tapir=**FUT** story.M=OBJ 2SG hear-F-F.PPST.PQ.FH
 “Did you hear the story of the man who would turn into a tapir?”
 (lit. Did you hear the story of the upcoming tapir?)

In (78), the tapir is described as “future” tapir because during the period within which the events referred to by the mythical narrative are situated, “he” still was a human being.

- (79) *Madi ijabuma karukubaribia*
 madi izabuma karukuba-ri=**ba**
 people kinkajou shoot.with.blowpipe-M.NMLZ=**FUT**

tynadawawai?
 tyna-daua-uai
 do.what-HAB-3M.HPST.CQ.FH

“What do people normally do when they plan to kill kinkajous with their blowpipes?
 (lit. How do future kinkajou-killing people normally behave?)

In this clause, the future tense marker =*ba* was attached to the relative clause modifying the noun “people” (“people who shoot kinkajous with blowpipes”), indicating that

the speaker is referring to people with intentions who have not yet begun to implement their plans.

- (80) *Nasikiaranda* *hady byhabiara?*
 nasi=ka=ra=nda hady byha-i-ba-ra
 curassow=KNOWN.FROM.PAST=OBJ=CoT who cook-M-FUT-CQ.CONJC
 “And the curassow [lying there right now, which you are already aware of], who is going to cook it [for us]?”
- (81) *Dihiji iri udakabara madi gadyguwixawaky*
 Dihizi iri uda=kaba=ra madi gadyguua-[↑]si-auaky
 Dihiji 3M.POSS house=FORMER=OBJ people borrow-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “The community kept living in Dihiji’s house after he died.”
 (lit. People borrowed Dihiji’s ex-house)

The attentive reader will observe that, while =kaba “ex-” serves exclusively as a nominal tense marker, =ka “known from the past and present at the scene” and =ba “future” can also function as prehodiernal past and future tense suffixes on verbs, respectively (see section 4.12.1 below). Notably, the meaning of -ka differs when attached to a verb versus a noun: as a verbal suffix, it denotes anteriority beyond 12 hours, while as a clitic attached to a noun phrase, it conveys simultaneous presence (i.e., nominal **present** tense).

3.6.2. (Non-)authenticity markers =su, =ry and =ziaua

Suruwahá exhibits three different clitics used to clarify whether or not the referent of a noun fits the concept expressed by that noun: the negative =su (“non-”) to disclaim identity, the similitive =ry to indicate similarity without identity, and the authenticative =ziaua to emphasize that we are referring to “the real thing” (i.e., a quintessential representative of a given category), rather than some copy.

- (82) *Na zyrasu kugi.*
 na zyra=su ku-gi
 1SG.POSS son=NEG be-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “This is not my son.” (Lit. This is my non-son)
- (83) *Na zrakary kugi.*
 na zyra=ka=ry ku-gi
 1SG.POSS son=KNOWN.FROM.PAST=SIML be-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He resembles my son.” (Lit. This is a my-current-son-like person)

- (84) *Na zyrajawa hagi.*
 na zyra=ziaua ha-gi
 1SG.POSS son=TRUE be-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He is my true son [not one of my parallel nephews].”

Note that =ry is almost always preceded by the simultaneous nominal tense marker =ka, which indicates identity with oneself in a temporal sense. This usage clarifies that one is comparing something or someone to their current (“recently verified”) version rather than a prototype or a fossil. Also note that negative or simulative marked noun phrases, given their connotation of “non-authenticity”, cannot take the “essential” copula ha- as their predicate but instead require the copula ku-/ka- (which denotes approximate or inferior ways of being).

While the occurrence of the morpheme =ry is restricted to the noun phrase, -su and -↑zaua can also behave as verbal suffixes with the respective meanings “not” and “always” (see sections 4.9. and 4.7.).

3.6.3. The case markers =ra, =ha, and =daha

Suruwahá possesses three cases that are marked by means of overt case-marking enclitics on the noun phrase: objective, oblique, and vialis. The syntactic role of subject (S/A) is zero-marked, indicating the language exhibits a nominative-accusative subject alignment.

=ra marks a noun phrase as non-agentive, and can be attached to any core argument in a transitive or ditransitive clause that does not correspond to the agent (i.e. those arguments not indexed by the verb's inflectional morphology). It covers a variety of semantic roles, including those of patient, recipient, theme or goal.

- (85) *Aga hiria hady hadanawaky?*
 aga hi=ra hady=∅ hadana-uaky
 wooden.bench this=OBJ who=SUBJ make-3M.PPST.CQ.FH
 “Who made this wooden bench?”

In (85), =ra marks the noun phrase *aga hi* “this wooden bench” as the patient of the verb “make”, indicating that it is the object being acted upon, rather than the agent.

- (86) *Aruwa Mari kasurura ihia nasawanki.*
 aru=ra Mari=∅ kasuru=ra iha na-ru-su-auaniki
 1SG=OBJ Mari=SUBJ beads=OBJ give AUX-F-NEG-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Mari [proper name of a nurse] did not give me beads.”

In (86), =*ra* is used twice: first to indicate that the first person singular is the recipient of the action of giving, and again to mark “the beads” as the theme, the item being given.

=*ha*, which is semantically underspecified, labels a noun phrase as oblique (peripheral) argument or adjunct⁵², and covers semantic roles such as those of instrument (“with a knife”), location (“at the fishing camp”), stimulus, experiencer, or reason. A special form, =*haua*, is attached to NPs referring to the first or second person.

(87) *Timia ini huwihia aru guma naxanawaky!*
 tima ini huui=**ha** aru guma na-ri-su-anauaky
 2PL 3F.POSS hammock=**LOC** 1SGrest AUX-M-NEG-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
 “I did not rest in your hammocks [so get - the hell! - out of mine]!”

(88) *Ara jumaduhwa itianja!*
 ara iumadu=**ha** itana-¹⁰za-∅
 2SG.POSS machete=**INSTR** cut-THROUGH-IMP
 “Cut it with your machete!”

(89) *Aru marihiah guraka naxu.*
 aru marihi=**ha** guraka na-ri-su-∅-∅
 1SG jaguar=**STIM** feel.scared AUX-M-NEG-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “I am not afraid of the jaguar.”

(90) *Aruhwawana kahyzy nasawanki*
 aru=**haua**=na kahy-zy na-ru-su-auaniki
 1SG=**EXP**=CONTR desire-FPASS AUX-F-NEG-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “As from my point of view, it was not desirable (i.e. I did not like it).”

Note that to precisely specify the location of an object or subject (e.g., “behind”, “in front of”, “under”, etc.), =*ha* case-marked possessive constructions are used, headed by inalienably possessed nouns that denote relative positions (*buhy/buhani* “space under...”, *aniti(ni)* “space behind”, etc).

=*daha* “across” is the vialis case marker. It labels a noun phrase as oblique argument playing the semantic role of path or trajectory of a transitive or intransitive action.

⁵² In Suruwahá, it is not always easy to unambiguously classify nominals as either oblique arguments or adjuncts, especially in the case of instrumental or locational phrases (e.g., “he lived at Naru’s house,” “he cut the bird with a machete,” or “he climbed up the cupiúba tree”). The challenge arises because, even though these phrases can sometimes be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical, their referents are clearly implied as participants in these constructions. According to Haspelmath & Hartmann (2015:50), this is a common issue linguists face when analyzing such phrases. Dixon (2010:192) even suggests avoiding the term “adjunct” altogether for this reason, using the term “peripheral argument” in his grammar of Jarawara whenever he refers to noun phrases that do not serve as core arguments in a clause.

- (91) *Ijamu Karuji agiri Masanidahamary*
 izamu karuuizi agiri masani=daha=mary
ijamu spirit.M trail;3M.POSS East=VIA=NFOC
dydyni
 dydy-ni-∅-∅
 go.down.the.river-F-HPST-DECL.QEV

(Song text:) “The trail owned by the spirit of the *ijamu* vine (Ijamu Spirit) goes downstream, right across the eastern borders (of the world).”

As a matter of transparency regarding the current state of my research, I need to acknowledge that the clitic =*daha* needs further investigation. Since my corpus contains only a very small number of occurrences of =*daha*, I am not yet entirely convinced whether it really should be analyzed as a case marker on its own, or whether it is susceptible to further segmentation (leaving open the possibility of it being a combination of the deictic *dydy* “there” and the oblique case marker =*ha*).⁵³

The obligatoriness of case markers in Suruwahá depends on several factors, such as the number of overt arguments in a transitive or ditransitive clause, whether their relationship can be deduced from context, and the constituent order the speaker has chosen. The use of =*ra* is mandatory in clauses with OSV order but optional in SOV sentences. This means that when a Suruwahá speaker hears a transitive sentence with two NPs unmarked for case, they will interpret the first NP as the subject and the second as the object. While =*ra* is frequently omitted, speakers rarely drop =*ha*. Dropping =*ha* is more common when the NP occurs with certain verbs, such as *taha-* (“be dressed with”), *ahutuka-* (“blow tobacco up someone's nose”), *inaha-* (“bathe”), and *kahu-* (“live at someone's house”). The lexical meanings of these verbs make it clear that the preceding NP must be the oblique argument, eliminating any ambiguity about subjecthood.

- (92) *Bami sukyruhwa iniahanawaky.*
 bami suky-ru=ha inaha-nauaky
 water be.hot-F.NMLZ=OBL bathe-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
 “I bathed in/with hot water.”

- (93) *Bami iniaha!*
 bami inaha-∅
 water bathe-IMP
 “Take a bath with/in the water!”

⁵³ The fact that =*daha* could be =*dy=ha* (with the final /y/ of *dy* having undergone regressive assimilation triggered by the presence of an /a/ in the following syllable) is plausible, given that =*daha* does not become [d'aha] after /i/ (**masanidiaha*), as one would expect if no assimilation were at play.

In (92) the speaker chose to use =*ha* in order to label the noun phrase “hot water” as oblique argument, while the individual uttering (93) decided to use the bare noun “water”. Since *inaha-* is an intransitive verb requiring its subject to be a human or animal, it is clear from the context that *bami* can only play the role of oblique argument within the sentence.

3.6.4 Information structure markers

The last position within the clitic cluster attached to a Suruwahá noun phrase is occupied by information structure markers, which are optional:

=*mary* marks a noun phrase as the narrow focus of a sentence and can be translated as “-self” (e.g., “himself”, “herself”, “itself”), “personally”, or “in a strict sense”.

=*sana* means “too” or “also”.

=*na* can be translated as “but” or “as for”.

=*by* marks a shift, alternation, or rotation and can be translated as “in turn”. It is mandatorily preceded by the noun tense marker =*ka*.

=*zy* raises the interlocutor’s awareness of an element within their visual field that they had not yet noticed. In some contexts, it can be translated as “by the way”.

=*nda* is a topic change marker and can be translated as “and” or “what about?”

=*ma* is an interrogative.

In the following, I provide examples for their use:

- (94) *Axana arimiary ha-nai!*
 ari=**sana** ari=**mary** ha-nai
 1PL=**ALSO** 1PL=**NFOC** be-1.HPST.DECL.QEV
 “We too exist by ourselves [i.e. we are autonomous/do not rely on others for survival]!” (lit. We too, we ourselves, are.)

- (95) *Gawyry! Arukwaby*
 gaua-[↑]ry-∅ aru=ka=**by**
 go-DOWN-IMP 1SG-KNOWN.FROM.PAST=**IN.TURN**
gumixuwa!
 guma-[↑]si-i-ua
 rest.in.hammock-SEQ-M-DESID
 “Get out of my hammock! It is my turn to rest now!”

- (96) *Aruhwawana aba byhyhyri kahyzy*
 aru=haua=**na** aba byha-[↑]hy-ri kahy-[↑]zy
 1SG=EXP=**BUT** fish cook-PASS-M.NMLZ desire-FPASS

kuriawaky.

ku-riauaky

AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH

“[You might don’t like cooked fish,] but I do like cooked fish.”
(lit. As for me, cooked fish is desirable.)

(97) *Tanda?*

ta=**nda**

2SG=**CoT**

“And you?”

(98) *Dynawa!*

dynaua-∅

step.aside-IMP

Azy

aru=**zy**

1SG=**LOOK.AT.ME**

tahijawa!

tahiza-i-ua

pass-M-DESID

“Step aside! I want to pass! [You had not seen me until now, but here I am!
Hello!]”

(99) *Himia?*

hi=**ma**

this=**INT**

“This one?”

4. Verbs and the structure of the predicate

Verbs are words that refer to actions (*ima-* “make”, *uua-* “build”, *byha-* “cook”, *gaua-* “walk”, *ida-* “hit”, *aty-* “talk”, etc.), processes (*mazaru-* “die”, *saru-* “grow”, *uada-* “sleep”, *hinaua-* “change”, *ziahuruua-* “become”, etc.), positions (*nasa na-* “sit”, *suri na-* “lie”, *baiza-* “be inside”, etc.), states (*ha-* “exist”), equations (*ha-* “be”) or characteristics (*ada-* “be red”, *amasa-* “be many”, *ziauakia ku-* “be small”, *tizuua-* “be beautiful”, etc.). In Suruwahá, any predicate of a main clause needs to contain exactly one fully inflected finite verb form, which can be either a lexical verb, a secondary verb (such as *tauany-* “finish”, *kiduny-* “start”, *takuny-* “know to” or *kadana-* “be able to”) or a (semantically empty) auxiliary. The most simple type of predicate of a main clause will include only one finite form of a lexical verb, while a complex predicate might include a lexical verb, plus one or several auxiliaries, plus one secondary verb. Analogously, the predicate of a subordinate clause will contain at least one non-finite form of a lexical verb, recognizable as such by the fact that it carries a switch-reference marker or a nominalizer at its end; but it can also include one or more auxiliaries and a secondary verb in addition to the lexical verb. Whenever a predicate contains several verbs, only the last of them will carry inflectional or nominalizing morphology, while all the others will be bare stems. In this grammar, like Dixon (2010:110) and Dienst (2014:95), I won’t consider object NPs as a part of the predicate.

While Suruwahá possesses several grammatical morphemes through which nominals can be derived from verbs, there are no affixes for deriving verbs from nouns or adjectives. However, a small group of basic lexemes is not inherently nominal or verbal, and can therefore be used as both free nouns or inflecting verbs (most of which are intransitive):

	Meaning as a noun	Meaning as a verb
<i>uada</i>	sleep, dream, nightmare	to sleep
<i>uaizuma</i>	song	to sing
<i>zaua</i>	anger, rage	to be angry, to yell at someone
<i>kunaha</i>	<i>Deguelia utilis</i>	to poison, to stupefy, to numb
<i>mahuua</i>	kapok fiber	(a dart) to have wadding
<i>aba</i>	(generic) fish	(a person) to have a successful fishing trip (a place) to be rich in game or fish
<i>aha</i>	agricultural product	(a soil) to be suitable for agriculture
<i>adaha</i>	land	to be of small stature

<i>kahu</i>	family sector of the communal house	to hang up one's hammock
<i>kazabu</i>	camp, camping shelter	to camp, to go on a hunting or collecting expedition
<i>kahyzy</i>	friend	to be nice
<i>harakady</i>	hunting bow	to shoot with an arrow
<i>kasaka</i>	diarrhea	to have diarrhea
<i>kasuka</i>	urine	to urinate
<i>izu</i>	feces	to defecate
<i>ama</i>	blood	to bleed
<i>mazaru</i>	curse, shamanic substance	to die
<i>zama</i>	thing, phenomenon	to be tangible, concrete or enclosed in a container

Below, I provide two examples to illustrate the use of *uada* as a noun and as a verb:

- (100) *'Ara wadaha kianangani'*
 ara uada=ha k<i>a-nangani
 2SG.POSS sleep=LOC <2SG>be-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
nakamixangai.
 na-kamyza-¹⁰si-angai
 say-IN.THE.MORNING-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “‘You are simply still [trapped] in your nightmare’, I said [to myself] when morning
 came.”
- (101) *Wadakamyzygy nariahia!*
 uada-kamyza-ga-⁰y na-riahia
 sleep-IN.THE.MORNING-ITER-MIR AUX-3M.CRIT
 “Wow, how absurd! There he is, sleeping in broad daylight again!”

In (100) *uada* heads the noun phrase *ara uada* “your nightmare”, marked as the oblique argument of the extended intransitive clause *kianangani* “you are (situated)”. In (101), it is the lexical main verb of the predicate “is [ridiculously] sleeping”.

4.1. Verb classes

Suruwaha verbs are classified according to two main parameters: their capacity to carry affixes, discussed under 4.1.1. And their valency (i.e. the type and number of arguments they require/ imply), discussed under 4.1.2.

4.1.1. Inflection types

In Suruwahá, verbs are categorized into two main classes based on their inflection types, a feature shared with all other known Arawá languages.⁵⁴ The first class consists of verbs that are affixed directly on the verb root. The second class includes verbs that require a specific auxiliary immediately following them to carry their affixes. Non-inflecting verbs are further subdivided into verbs requiring the auxiliary *na-* (“do, say”), and verbs requiring the auxiliary *ku-/ka-* (“be, stay”).⁵⁵

My research has identified approximately 700 inflecting verbs, which by far constitute the larger class. Conversely, my database contains only around 80 non-inflecting verbs, all of which are intransitive. Examples of non-inflecting verbs include *haba* “depart”, *kuburu* “thunder”, *ziawiakia* “be small”, *sizuri* “lie dead on the ground”, *ynysa* “be annoying”, *misu* “gaze upward”, and *ziubyzuby* “blink”. Some of these verbs, such as *sihyryryry* (describing the gurgling or gushing of a liquid) and *duku* (imitating the echo of heavy footsteps), exhibit an onomatopoeic or ideophonic nature. Regarding the subcategorization of non-inflecting verbs according to whether they take the auxiliary *na-* or *ku-/ka-*: The group of verbs taking the auxiliary *ku-/ka-* is smaller than the group taking the auxiliary *na-*. They mostly refer to characteristics that would be described using adjectives in English (*musy* “be rough”; *gaizaga* “be loose, be relaxed”; *bunubunu* “be long”), while the group of verbs taking the auxiliary *na-* mostly refer to positions and actions (*sudu* “dangle”, *nasa* “sit”).

The ratio of inflecting to non-inflecting verbs in Suruwahá is similar to the one observed in Paumari by Chapman & Derbyshire (1991:334), but contrasts with other Arawá languages such as Kulina, Deni, and Jarawara: Dienst (2014:95) reports that three-quarters of dynamic verbs in Kulina are non-inflecting, and Dixon (2004a:123) notes that two-thirds of the verb roots in his Jarawara corpus are non-inflecting.

There is a group of verbs in Suruwahá that appear to have shifted, or to still be in the process of shifting, from non-inflecting to inflecting through the fusion of their respective roots with the auxiliary *na-*. This is the case for *gania-* “see” (< *gai na-*), *hisina-* “sniff” (< *hisi na-*), *harina-* “run”, *uisina-* “cut with a knife using a back and forth motion” (< *uisi na-*), *barana-* “cover with one’s hand” (< *bara na-*), *haisina-* “have a stale smell” (< *haisi na-*), *huuana-* “squat” (< *huua na-*), *ahuna-* “blow” (< *ahu na-*) and *gamuna-* “move to another

⁵⁴ See Dixon (2004a:81) for Jarawara, Dienst (2014:95) for Kulina, Carvalho (2017:87) for Deni, and Chapman & Derbyshire (1991:334) for Paumari.

⁵⁵ *ku-* and *ka-* are two allomorphs of the same verb root that appear in different contexts, depending on which suffix immediately follows). I was not able to determine whether or not one of them could be considered to be the “basic” form.

house” (< *gamu na*-).⁵⁶ Non-inflecting *gai* still co-exists with inflecting *gania*-. It is used as ideophone in one-word exclamations, reminiscent of how speakers of European languages use the “👁️” emoji in their Whatsapp conversations. Further, it replaces *gania*- whenever a speaker wants to use the durative suffix *-[↑]zaha* in order to emphasize or intensify the act of seeing, giving it a more active connotation, similar to “stare”, “look” or “gaze”. In the case of *hisina*-, *uisina*-, *barana*- and *gamuna*-, their non-inflecting original forms *hisi*, *uisi*, *bara* and *gamu* no longer exist. However, their non-inflecting cognates *hishi* (*na*-), *bara* (*na*-) and *vishi* (*na*-) are still found in Deni (see Koop & Koop 2008:58,49 and 96). The verb *harina*- shows an irregular/ transitional behavior in that some speakers use it as if it were inflecting, while others use it as if it was non-inflecting (*hari na*-).

Below I provide four examples for the inflecting/ non-inflecting behavior of certain verbs according to their class membership (including the behavior of the transitional *gania*-/*gai*):

(102)

Inflecting:

haua- “eat”

hwawixanawaky

h<u>a^ua-[↑]si-anauaky

<1SG>eat-SEQ-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH

“Then I ate it.”

(**hawa nixanawaky*)

gania- “see”

gwanxanawaky

g<u>aⁿia-^{↑0}si-anauaky

<1SG>eat-SEQ-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH

“Then I saw it.”

(**gai nixanawaky*)

Non-inflecting:

haba “leave, depart”

haba nixanawaky

haba na-[↑]si-anauaky

leave AUX-SEQ-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH

“Then I left”

(**hwabixanawaky*)

gai “look”

gai nijahanawaky

gai na-[↑]zaha-nauaky

look AUX-DUR-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH

“I kept looking.”

(**gwanijahanawaky*)

In these examples, which all describe actions performed by first person singular subjects, only the inflecting verbs *haua*- “eat” and *gania*- “see” carry the first person infix

⁵⁶ This list is not exhaustive. To conclusively determine whether a verb ending in *na* is inflecting, non-inflecting, or shifting (i.e. not used in the same way by all speakers/ behaving differently in different contexts), a second person singular declarative form and a third person form affixed with the auxiliary deleting *-si* are needed. Therefore, I was not able to classify all the verbs in my corpus that end in *na*.

<u>, while the non-inflecting verbs *haba* “leave, depart” and *gai* “look” do not. Further, in *hwawixanawaky* and *gwanxanawaky*, the sequential suffix *-¹si* is directly attached to the respective verb roots (raising their final vowel from /a/ to /i/), while in *haba nixanawaky* and *gai nijahanawaky*, the suffixes *-¹si* and *-¹zaha* are attached to the auxiliary *na-* (also raising its final vowel from /a/ to /i/).

Throughout this grammar, inflecting verbs will be shown with a hyphen at the end, e.g. *kaua-* “get broken”, and non-inflecting verbs with the appropriate auxiliary, e.g. *haba na-* “depart”, *tutu ku-* “be short”.

It is important to note that, while non-inflecting verbs need an auxiliary to carry all their affixes while inflecting verbs do not, this does not mean that inflecting verbs do never take auxiliaries: Auxiliary constructions are not only used for carrying all the inflectional morphology of non-inflecting verbs, but also to express negation, non-firsthand evidentiality, frustration, and non-permanent states as opposed to permanent (inherent) states of being. Several suffixes trigger auxiliary constructions. In a situation in which an inflecting verb transfers its affixes to the auxiliary *na-*, its non-inflecting counterpart will be followed by two *na-* auxiliaries (the first of which won’t be inflected at all). Below I show two examples as an illustration:

(103)

<i>hawa naxawaky</i>	<i>haba na naxawaky</i>
<i>haua na-ri-su-auaky</i>	<i>haba na na-ri-su-auaky</i>
eat AUX-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH	leave AUX AUX-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
“He did not eat it.”	“He did not leave.”

In the sentence “He did not eat it”, one auxiliary verb is needed to carry negative suffix *-su* and all other affixes pertaining to the inflecting verb root *haua-* because this is a negated clause. Since in “He did not leave”, we are negating a verb that already requires an auxiliary because it pertains to the non-inflecting class, we will need the auxiliary *na-* twice: one time to simply accompany the lexical verb, and another time to encode the negation (i.e. to carry the negation marking suffix *-su*).

4.1.2. Valency⁵⁷

Verbs in Suruwahá are subcategorized into avalent, monovalent (= intransitive), bivalent (= transitive), trivalent (= ditransitive), copular, and utterance verbs.

Most underived Suruwahá verbs are either monovalent (e.g. *uada-* “sleep”) or bivalent (e.g. *ima-* “build”). The class of monovalent verbs includes dynamic verbs such as *gaua-* “walk”, and stative verbs like *tizuwa-* “be beautiful”. In addition to monovalent and bivalent verbs, Suruwahá possesses a little group of avalent verbs, all of which refer to cosmic states or meteorological events (e.g. *kamahu-* “dawn, become night”). The language has three underived copular verbs that are used in equational clauses and take a subject argument and a second NP corresponding to the subject complement (*ha-* “be in the fullest sense/ in a neutral way”, *ku-/ka-* “be in a comparative/ negative/ inferior/ approximate/ mimetic way”, and *ziahuruua-* “become, turn into”). Additionally, Suruwahá has one verb (*na-* “say”, “think”, “ask”, “answer”, “tell”), which does not neatly fit into neither of the other valency classes, as one of its arguments is an utterance argument instead of a =*ra* marked noun phrase⁵⁸. The verb *na-* indexes one subject argument (corresponding to the speaker), directly follows the utterance which is the result of the speaking activity that it describes, and it can optionally be accompanied by a =*ra* marked argument denoting the addressee of the quoted speech. There are relatively few labile verbs (i.e. verbs that are members of more than one valency class). Some of these are avalent/monovalent (e.g. *habuky-* “be rainy season” can optionally take as its subject a river, and in this case bear the meaning “have a high water level”). Some are ambitransitive (either agentive, like *waizuma-* “sing” which can optionally take the object argument “song”; or patientive, like *hazu-* which can either describe the state of carrying paintings on one’s body or the act of painting some surface). Yet other verbs are ambiditransitive (*iha-* “give away”/ “give” can optionally express the recipient). The verb *ha-* can be used either as a copula (together with two NPs), as a monovalent verb with the meaning “exist”, or as an extended monovalent verb meaning “be there, stay (at a place)”. Suruwahá does not possess verbs that are strictly trivalent because the recipient argument in a sentence describing acts of distributing goods and the addressee argument in sentences describing speech acts are never mandatorily informed/ implied. Table 8 summarizes the coding frames for each valency class:

⁵⁷ Chapter 4.1.2. is a revised (i.e. shortened, restructured and partially rewritten) version of Chapters 3 and 4 (pages 9-21) of Huber Azevedo 2023.

⁵⁸ I use the term “utterance argument” as defined in Malkuchov & Hartmann (2015:56).

Table 8. Coding frames of Suruwahá predicates⁵⁹

	bare argument NPs (NPs cross-referenced by the verb’s inflectional morphology)	=<i>ra</i> (objective case) marked argument NPs	=<i>ha</i> (oblique case) marked argument NPs
1. Aivalent	dummy feminine third person subject <i>zama</i>	none	none
2a. Monovalent	one	none	none
2b. Extended monovalent	one	none	one
3a. Bivalent	one	one	none
3b. Extended bivalent	one	one	one
4. Trivalent	one	two	none
5. Copular	two	none	none

I decided to subcategorize both monovalent and bivalent verbs into a “basic” and “extension requiring” type because - even though participants labeled as “oblique” can almost always be optionally added to a sentence - there are some verbs (such as *haranatuma*- “be taller than”, *uhama*- “form a pair”, *hinaua*- “be replaced” and *natabuuy*- “mix, blend, put together with”) that require their presence more strongly than other verbs such as *uada*- “sleep”. I need to admit, however, that instead of establishing a strict binary distinction between “basic” and “extension requiring” verbs, it would be more appropriate to arrange the verbs along a continuum, with verbs at one end that are statistically almost always used in combination with a =*ha* marked argument, and at the other end, verbs that are only ever used with core arguments. Some verbs like *bany*- “arrive (at)”, *tisa*- “leave (for)”, *uhy*- “measure/compare (with)” would occupy an intermediate position on this continuum.

In the following, I will provide examples illustrating the behavior of verbs pertaining to each of the above mentioned valency classes, and further discuss each type:

⁵⁹ The structure of this table was directly inspired by the schema used by Fernando Zúñiga (2015: 1518) to represent the different coding frames identified by him for Mapudungun. So was the ensuing reflection on the appropriateness of a further subcategorization of the monovalent and bivalent verb classes into “basic” and “extension requiring” verbs. I did not include the coding frame for the utterance verb *na*- in the table because the utterance complement of this verb is not an NP.

Avalent

(104) *kamuny-* “(a situation) evoke sadness/nostalgia”

Aruhwawa zama kamuny kasini!
aru=haua zama=∅ kamuny ka-si-ni-∅-∅
1SG=OBL EXPL=SUBJ evoke.sadness AUX-SEQ-F-HPST-DECL.QEV
“The situation makes me feel very nostalgic.”
(Lit. Things are evoking intense sadness within me.)

Avalent verbs are always preceded by the dummy subject *zama*, which can be translated as (“it”, “the situation”, “the world”, “things”, “the environment” or “the scenario”). Since *zama* is a feminine noun, they always take a third person feminine inflectional ending. Most avalent verbs (as is the case of *kamuny-*) are not strictly avalent, but also eventually appear in intransitive clauses. The only strictly avalent verbs that I was able to identify are *satuny-* “(the environment) be dark”, *kamahu-* “be evening” and *uahary-* “be day”.⁶⁰

Monovalent

(105) *uzy-* “burn” (in the sense of “be consumed by fire”)

Hadaraka utiawanki.
hadara=ka=∅ uzy-¹∅si-auaniki
swidden=PST=SUBJ burn.to.ashes-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
“The swidden burned to ashes.”

(106) *hizu na-* “dance”

Hiju nawygari nariawaky.
∅=∅ hizu na-uygari na-riauaky
3=SUBJ dance AUX-back.and.forth AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
“He was dancing back and forth.”

Monovalent verbs index and agree in gender with one argument (their subject), which can be overt or covert (if it was already mentioned in previous sentences), and if overt does not carry any case-marking enclitic.

⁶⁰ “To rain” is not a verb in Suruwahá. In order to refer to the event of rain, the intransitive clause “the water comes down” (headed by the intransitive verb *syza-* “to come”) is used. Similarly, to refer to the event of a thunderstorm, speakers use the intransitive clause *bai atygi* “the thunder speaks”. While “to be day” is an avalent verb, “to be night” is not: To say that “it is night”, Suruwahá speakers use an intransitive clause headed by the verb *ha-*, meaning “the night exists” (*bana haguani*).

Extended monovalent

(107) *kahu-* “stay” (in the sense of having one’s hammock hanging at a place)

Hadaha *aru* *kwahubara?*
hady=ha aru=∅ k<u>ahu-ba-ra
who=OBL 1SG=SUBJ <1SG>stay-FUT-CQ.CONJC
“At whose place will I set up my hammock?” (i.e. In which sector of the communal house can I stay?)

(108) *haranatuma-* “surpass in height” (lexicalization combining the two intransitive verb roots *harana-* “jump” and *tuma-* “climb up”)

Ahadihia *harantumaki?*
ahadi=ha ∅=∅ harana-tuma-ki
father.3.POSS=OBL 3=SUBJ jump-climb-M.PPST.PQ.FH
“Was he taller than his father?”
(lit. Did he climb-jump on his father?)

As already mentioned above, some monovalent verbs strongly require the presence of an oblique argument. This is especially the case of verbs depicting the locomotion, body posture, relational status, comparative characteristics or whereabouts of a subject (*ha-* “stay”, *kahu-* “live, inhabit”, *suri na-* “lie on a rigid surface”, *hazaua-* “be married”, *haranatuma-* “be taller than”, etc.).

Bivalent

(109) *tuka-* “roll-spin (vegetal fibers on one’s thigh, producing thread)”

Ara *huwibiara* *hady* *tukimbiara?*
ara huui-ba=ra hady=∅ tuka-[↑]si-ni-ba-ra?
2SG.POSS hammock-FUT=OBJ who=SUBJ roll.spin-SEQ-F-FUT-CQ.CONJC
“Who will make a hammock for you?”
(lit. Who will roll-spin [the thread for] your future hammock?).

Suruwahá bivalent verbs always agree in gender and person with their A argument, which may not be overtly stated. They also denote the presence of a patientive argument, with which they do not agree, and which may also not be overtly stated. This behavior contrasts with bivalent verbs in Jarawara, Kulina, Deni and Paumari, where transitive verbs

can agree in gender with either their A or their P argument.⁶¹ In the example above, where both core arguments are overtly stated, the verb *tuka-* agrees with the interrogative pronoun *hady*, whose gender is assumed to be feminine because in Suruwahá, to produce threads is a task only performed by women.

Extended bivalent

(110) *sududa-* “hang”

‘*Utahy haxiniarura!*’ *nari*
 u-tahy haisina-ru-ra na-ri
 1SG-clothes smell.stale-F-PREV think-M.NMLZ

maski sukyri buhwa sududumangai.
 masiki suky-ri buhy=ha sududa-[∅]uma-ngai
 sun be.hot-M.NMLZ space.beneath;3M.POSS=OBL hang-up-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “In order to keep them from developing a stale smell, I hung my clothes up under the hot sun.”

(Lit. “Me, thinking ‘My clothes should be prevented from developing a stale smell’, hung them up under the hot sun.”)

As is the case within the class of intransitive verbs, the class of transitive verbs also includes a group of verbs that strongly require an oblique (=ha marked) argument. This is the case of the verb *sududa-* “hang (something)” shown in (110), as well as of some other verbs, such as *tirida-* “arrange in a line” shown in (211) and *nakahu-* “invite to live” (which is the causativized form of the verb *kahu-*).

Trivalent

(111) *iha-* “give”

Aruwa FUNAI madi bariria ihia naxawaky.
 aru=ra FUNAI madi=∅ bari=ra iha na-ri-su-auaky
 1SG=OBJ FUNAI people=SUBJ ax=OBJ give AUX-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “The FUNAI employees did not give me an ax.”

⁶¹ The rules governing the gender agreement of transitive verbs vary across Arawá languages: In Deni, the rules are relatively straightforward: a transitive verb agrees in gender with its P argument when the A argument is the first or second person; and it agrees in gender with its A argument when the A argument is the third person. However, In Kulina, Paumari and Jarawara, the rules are notably more complex. For a detailed examination of the gender agreement of transitive verbs in Kulina, see Dienst (2014:74-81); for Deni, see Koop (2009:21); for Jarawara, see Dixon (2004a:417-445); and for Paumari, see Chapman & Derbyshire (1998:164-166).

Trivalent verbs like *iha-* can imply three core arguments, none of which needs to be expressed by means of an overt NP: One agentive argument, indexed by the inflectional morphology of the verb, and two =*ra* marked patientive arguments corresponding to the recipient and the theme.

Copular

Suruwahá possesses three underived verbs that can be used as copulae: *ha-* “be (in a neutral, essential way)”, *ku-* “be (in a negative, provisional, transitory, derogatory, or approximative way)” and *ziahuruua-* “become”.⁶² They imply the presence of a subject and its complement, the former of which does not need to be expressed through an overt lexical NP. As for the complement, its explicit presence in the sentence is mandatory. Although the verb *ha-* can occur without overt arguments, when it does its meaning is not equational (“X is equal or similar to Y”), but rather, situational: it then indicates that an aforementioned subject “is there” - i.e. was not stolen, nor exterminated, nor disappeared spontaneously. The copular verb agrees in person and gender with its subject (not the subject complement) in cases where the subject complement differs from the subject in gender and/or person.

(112) *Hyzama hawani?*
 hyzama ha-uani
 what be-F.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What is it?”

(113) *Ta hiawandy hyzama hawani?*
 ta h<i>aua-ndy hyzama ha-uani
 2SG <2SG>eat-F.PNMLZ what be-F.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What is it that you are eating?”

While in (112) the speaker used only one overt NP together with the verb *ha* corresponding to the complement of the covert subject “it” (an unidentified object that is pointed at by the locutor, and visible to the addressee), in (113) she used the same inflected form of *ha-* with two NPs: *Ta hiawandy* “what you are eating” which indicates the subject, and *hyzama* “what?” corresponding to the complement.

⁶² *zia-* is the reflexive prefix, and *-ua* is a suffix marking change of state. However, the underived verb root *huru-* does not occur in my corpus. The speakers whom I asked about it denied *huru-* was a verb.

(114) *Ijabuma hagi.*
 izabuma ha-ri-gi
 kinkajou be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is a kinkajou.”

(115) *Barihinixu kugi*
 barihini=su ku-ri-gi
 coati=NEG be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is not a coati.” (lit. It is a non-coati)

(114) and (115) show the use of *ha-* and *ku-* in declarative sentences (one of them affirmative, thus requiring the use of *ha-*, and the other containing a negative statement, thus requiring the use of *ku-*). In both cases, the copular verb is preceded by one sole overt NP corresponding to the complement of the subject.

(116) *Hawai imiady hagi.*
 Hauai imady ha-ri-gi.
 Hauai man be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Hawai is a man.”

(117) *Jagagawa hajini kugwani.*
 Izagagaua haizini ku-ru-gani
 Izagagaua woman be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Jagagawa is just a (worthless) woman.”

Differently from what happens in (114) and (115), in (116) and (117) the copular verbs *ha-* and *ku-* take two overt arguments (a personal name corresponding to the subject, and a common noun corresponding to the complement).

(118) “*Bubububu’ xinikia’, madi*
 bubububu na-[↑]si-ni-ka-∅ madi
 bubbling.sound make-SEQ-F-PST-DECL.QEV people

nariawaky, sazahywy jahuruwixuruba.
 na-ri-auaky sazahyuy zia-huruua-[↑]si-ru=ba
 say-M-3M.PPST.DECL.FH anaconda RFL-turn.into-SEQ-F.NMLZ=FUT
 “They say that after that, the one about to transform into an anaconda emitted a bubbling sound.”

(118) shows an example of the use of the verb *ziahuruua-* “metamorphose oneself into”, extracted from a mythical narrative. As is the case of *ha-* and *ku-/ka-*, *ziahuruua-*

requires only one overt NP to figure in the clause that it heads (corresponding to the complement of the subject).

- (119) *Tawady bami hararu?*
 ta=uady bami ha-ra-ru-∅-∅
 2SG=near water be.left-IPFV-F-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Is there some water left (in the pot) beside you?”

Haragwani.
 ha-ra-guani
 be.left-F-IPFV-F-3F-HPST-DECL.FH
 “Yes.” (lit. It is still there).

(119) shows an example of a conversation where *ha-* is not used as a copula, but instead, as a simple intransitive (extended monovalent) verb meaning “be there, be left”. The question asked by the speaker in order to manifest her doubt regarding whether the water container next to her interlocutor is empty or not contains one overt core argument corresponding to the subject (*bami* “water”) and one oblique argument whose referent (the second person singular) plays the semantic role of location. The answer does not contain any overt argument at all, but it also implies the presence of one core argument (the aforementioned “water”), and one oblique argument (“there”).

The utterance verb *na-*

As already mentioned above, the verb *na-* (in cases where it is used as a metapragmatic⁶³ verb covering meanings such as “to say”, “to think”, “to ask”, “to promise”, “to tell”, “to confide”, “to answer”) agrees with one subject argument referring to the speaker. It takes a quoted speech complement, and it can optionally be accompanied by a *=ra* marked argument denoting the addressee. The quoted speech complement immediately precedes the verb *na-*.

- (120) *Tara Musy ‘Syza!’ nani!*
 ta=ra Musy=∅ syza-∅ na-ni-∅-∅
 2SG=OBJ Musy=SUBJ come-IMP say-F-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “Musy is calling you.”
 (lit. Musy is telling you ‘Come!’)

⁶³ I use the adjective “metapragmatic” as defined by Silverstein (1979:208) and other scholars in anthropological linguistics. Silverstein uses the term to describe linguistic forms that refer to and make predications about language itself. The verb *na-* does not exclusively refer to language and its functions; it also denotes “acts” in general and can mean “to do” in some contexts.

I will now proceed to discuss and provide examples of the uncoded alternations of each type of labile verb.

Avalent/monovalent

As already mentioned above, Suruwahá possesses a little group of verbs that are labile in the sense that they can be used either as avalent verbs, together with the highly abstract (impersonal) subject *zama*, or as monovalent verbs taking as their subject a lexical NP denoting a concrete human or animal subject. This group includes the verbs *aba-* “teem with fish or game”, *gagy-* “be infested/unsanitary/illness-plagued”, *habuku-* “be rainy season”, *kasy-* “be summer” and *kamuny-* “be sadness evoking/dystopic”.

Example: *aba-* “be rich in game or fish” versus “have had a successful fishing trip”

- (121) *Zama abahy nasagani!*
zama aba-hy na-ru-su-agani
 EXPL have.fish-FRUSTR AUX-F-NEG-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Darn, this place here is not abundant in fish!”
 (lit. Contrary to what we expected, it is not abundant in fish!)

- (122) “*Timia abaru?*”
tima aba-ru-∅-∅
 2PL have.fish-F-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Did you have a successful fishing trip?”

(121) and (122) show two examples of the use of the verb *aba-* as avalent and as monovalent verb. The verb can either describe a characteristic of a certain region or ecological niche (its abundance in fish/ suitability for being used as a fishing ground). In this case it dispenses with a subject. Or it can describe the successful fishing activity of a named human subject.

Agentive/patientive monovalent

Some verbs in Suruwahá can function as either agentive or patientive monovalent. This is the case with *haha-*, which is used to describe both the wetness of the water itself (its power to cause the physical objects that it penetrates to be wet) and the condition of something or someone that is no longer dry after contact with water; *tiahia-* “burn”, which can refer either to the burning activity of a fire, or the process undergone by a physical object

- (126) *Wabi mazaruri byky xixumara*
 Uabi mazaru-ri byky na-[↑]si-i-su-mara
 Wabi die-M.NMLZ be.distant AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-SS
- marihi iri wajumara wajumixikia.*
 marihi iri uaizuma=ra uaizuma-[↑]si-i-ka-∅
 jaguar 3M.POSS song=OBJ sing-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
- nariawaky, Ubuniu.*
 na-riauaky Ubuniu
 say-3M.PPST.DECL.FH Ubuniu

“According to Ubuniu, when Wabi was about to die, he sang the jaguar’s song”

(125) and (126) show intransitive and transitive uses of the verb *uaizuma-*. In (125), it takes one sole subject argument (“Jawanka”), and in (126) it takes one agentive argument (“Wabi”) and one patientive argument (“the song of the jaguar”).

- (127) *Hijara!*
 hizara-∅
 talk-IMP
 “Say something!” or “Talk to him/ her.”

- (128) *Timia hyzama muniniria hijararawani?*
 tima hyzama munini=ra hizara-rauani
 2PL what topic=OBJ talk-2PL.IPFV.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What are you guys talking about?”
 (lit. Which topic are you guys addressing?)

- (129) *Aruwa Suruwaha atihia hijara!*
 aru=ra Suruuaha ati=ha hizara-∅
 1SG=OBJ Suruuaha language=OBL talk-IMP
 “Speak in Suruwahá with me!”

(127) to (129) exemplify intransitive and transitive uses of the verb *hizara-*. (127) can be interpreted as both intransitive or transitive, because the command “*Hijara!*” is used both in situations where the speaker wants to invite another person to start talking (not to be silent anymore), and in situations where some aforementioned addressee is implied. In (128) and (129), *hizara-* takes two arguments playing the semantic roles of speaker and theme, respectively of speaker and addressee. (129), additionally to a covert agentive argument (the second person singular) and an overt patientive argument (the first person singular) contains a =*ha* marked oblique playing the semantic role of instrument.

Patientive ambitransitive (S=P)

The group of patientive ambitransitive verbs in Suruwahá includes *hazu-*, which can carry either the meaning “be painted” and in this case take one single argument, or denote the act of painting someone or something, and take two arguments; *baiza-* meaning “be contained within something,⁶⁵ “be within something” or “put something inside something” (it takes either one or two core arguments plus an obligatory =*ha* marked oblique argument); *taha-* meaning “be covered with something, be dressed” or “cover something with something”; *zaua-* meaning “feel anger, be overwhelmed by anger” or “yell at another person, speak to another person in an aggressive tone”; and *kauahu-* meaning “tie” or “be tied” (this last verb is the applicativized form of *ahu-* “be a rope”).

- (130) *marihi hazuri*
 marihi hazu-ri
 feline be.painted-M.NMLZ
 “a spotted jaguar”

- (131) *Atuna jahazuru*
 atuna iza=ra hazu-ru
 young.woman self=OBJ paint-F.NMLZ
 “A young woman who paints herself”

- (132) “*Aty hazuru*
 aty hazu-ru
 forehead;3M.POSS be.painted-F.NMLZ

gwaniakamixuwa’
 g<u>ania-kamyza-¹⁰si-i-ua
 <1SG>see-IN.THE.MORNING-SEQ-M-DES

nanikia’ nariawaky.
 na-ni-ka-∅ na-riauaky
 say-F-PPST-DECL.QEV say-3M.PPST-DECL.FH

“They said: ‘She said [to herself]: ‘As soon as the day breaks, I want to see his painted forehead.’”

⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, the meaning of *baiza-* when used as an intransitive verb further depends on whether its sole subject is animate or inanimate. If it is animate, its semantic role is not that of patient (“be contained within”), but that of subject (“enter”, “get into”, “sit within”, etc.).

- (133) *Jatani* *hwatianawaky!*
 i-atani h<u>azu-[↑]si-anauaky
 2SG.POSS-forehead;F.POSS <1SG>paint-SEQ-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
 “I painted your forehead!”

(130) and (131) are lexical NPs each of which contains a head noun modified by a relative clause consisting of a non-finite form of the verb *hazu-* (“a jaguar that is painted”; “a young woman who is painting herself”). Together with the noun “jaguar”, the verb *hazu-* indicates that the animal is (semantically) the object of the act of painting, while when taking the noun *atuna* as its grammatical subject and the reflexive pronoun *iza* as its object, it depicts the activity of painting. (132) and (133) are excerpts from mythical narratives: (132) is part of a myth explaining how the moon got its dark spots. Morning Star Woman *Masiki Auabi*, while having sex with a mysterious unknown man during the night, smears genipap dye over his face hoping she will be able to recognize him later. In the above transcribed sentence containing her self-addressed reasoning, the adjectivized form of the verb *hazu-* agrees with the noun *aty* “his forehead”, which plays the semantic role of object. (133) is part of a myth explaining how the great blue heron got his wide black stripe over the eyes. In this sentence, *hazu-* takes as its agentive argument the first person singular (which is not stated by means of an overt free pronoun, but only indexed by the infix <u> on the verb), and as its patientive argument the noun *iatani* “your forehead” (which the speaker could have marked, but did not mark as such using the case marker =*ra*).

- (134) *Hinihia* *baja!*
 hini=ha baiza-∅
 canoe=OBL be.inside/put.inside-IMP
 “Get in the canoe!” or: “Put it in the canoe!”

Sentence (134) is ambiguous because the verb *baiza-* can be used either as a monovalent (stative intransitive) verb or as a transitive verb. If the speaker feels the need to disambiguate it, she or he can opt to add the overt lexical NP(s) that represent the core argument(s).

- (135) *Xabi* *zawixanima?*
 Siabi zaua-[↑]si-ani-∅-ma
 Xabi feel.anger-SEQ-F-HPST-PQ.CONJC
 “I wonder if Xabi is being consumed by anger.”

- (136) *Aruwa zawasama!*
 aru=ra zaua-sama
 1SG=OBJ yell.at-IMP.NEG
 “Do not yell at me!/ Do not direct your rage toward me.”

(135) and (136) contain examples of the use of the verb *zaua-* as an intransitive, and as a transitive verb.

Ambiditransitive

As already mentioned, since the recipient argument is never mandatory in verbs that describe transactions of material goods, I consider the verbs *iha-* “give” and *daka-* “distribute” as ambiditransitives.

4.1.3. Auxiliaries

Two of the verbs previously discussed, the copula *ku-/ka-* “to be in a temporary, non-authentic, or inferior manner,” and the utterance verb *na-* “to say,” can function as (semantically empty) auxiliary verbs in certain contexts. In these instances, they adopt the transitivity of the lexical verbs they accompany. The use of auxiliary constructions is necessitated by specific verbs (notably the non-inflecting verbs outlined in section 4.1.1), as well as by various suffixes. Some of these suffixes, like the mirative *-hy*, attach to a lexical verb but trigger the transfer of the inflectional suffixes onto the auxiliary. Conversely, other suffixes, like the negative *-su*, require the auxiliary to serve as their own host.

The auxiliary *ku-* may co-occur with an inflecting lexical verb that does not intrinsically require it, conveying adverbial meanings such as “simply/ temporarily” or, when combined with the sequential suffix *-si*, “very” or “intensely”.

Compare:

- (137) *Hawixawaky*
 haua-[↑]si-auaky
 eat-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Then he ate it.”

- (138) *Hawixi kuriawaky*
 haua-[↑]si ku-riauaky
 eat-SEQ AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Then he simply ate it (even if the food was of inferior quality, and if he was not supposed to eat it).”

- (139) *Tjuwagi*
 tizuua-gi
 be.beautiful-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It/he is beautiful [this is its essential nature as I perceive it].”
- (140) *Tjuwa* *kugi*
 tizuua ku-gi
 be.beautiful AUX-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It/he is beautiful [at this very moment; I am not making a categorical judgment].”
- (141) *Tjuwa* *kaxagi*
 tizuua ka-si-agi
 be.beautiful AUX-SEQ-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It/he is very beautiful.”

4.1.4. Secondary verbs

Suruwahá possesses a little group of secondary verbs that bear resemblance to auxiliaries, as they commonly co-occur with (i.e. immediately follow) a lexical main verb, carrying its affixes. I chose not to categorize them solely as auxiliaries due to their partial semantic content, as they convey specific aspectual, modal or causative meanings.

This group includes the verbs *kiduny-* “begin (to do something), do something for the first time”, *byky-* “be far away from (doing something)”⁶⁶, *dabuky-* “have done (the action described by the lexical verb) a long time ago”, *tauany-* “finish (doing something)”, *kadana-* “have the opportunity, be allowed (to do something)”, *takuny-* “know (to do), be fast (at doing something)”, *tuha-* “make (someone do something)”⁶⁷, *kamina-* “appear (to be doing something)”, and *kamida-* “show, teach (someone how to do something), threaten (to do something), pretend (to do something)”. While *kiduny-*, *byky-*, *tauany-*, *takuny-*, *dabuky-*, and *tuha-* in addition to their behavior as “phasal/modal/causative verbs” depending on the context can also behave as fully lexical verbs (as in “she is just getting started”, “he finished [building] his house”, “she is far away”, “he is from another era”, “she put it there” and “she does not know this language”), *kadana-*, *kamina-* and *kamida-* only ever occur together with another verb. When the lexical main verb to be described by the secondary verb is non-inflecting, the secondary verb follows the bare root of the auxiliary pertaining to this lexical main verb. In certain contexts, secondary verbs further transfer their inflecting

⁶⁶ The negated form of the verb *byky-* is used to convey that someone “almost” started doing something (as in the English expression “be about to (do)”.

⁶⁷ This verb literally means “put”.

morphology to auxiliaries immediately following them (for example when they occur in negated clauses or in depreciative utterances).

While *tauany-*, *dabuky-*, *kadana-*, *takuny-*, *tuha-*, *kamida-* and *kamina-* require the lexical verb preceding them to be a bare stem, *kiduny-* requires the lexical verb preceding it to be relativized.

Examples:

- (142) *Aty tiakunyru ta?*
 aty t<i>akuny-ru-∅-∅ ta
 speak <2SG>know-F-HPST-PQ.FH 2SG
 “Can you speak?” (as in “Are you a good orator?”)

Aty takuny kwanxangai.
 aty takuny k<u>a-na-¹⁰si-angai
 speak know <1SG>AUX-1/2-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Yes, I can speak very well.”

- (143) *Hawa tiawanxuru?*
 hawa t<i>auany-¹⁰si-ru-∅-∅
 eat <2SG>finish-SEQ-F-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Have you finished eating?”

- (144) *Gunu Suruwaha iri udaha*
 Gunu Suruuaha iri uda=ha
 Gunter Suruwahá 3M.POSS house=LOC

banyri kidunyhawa harawanki.
 bany-ri kiduny-∅-haua ha-ru-auaniki
 arrive-M.NMLZ happen.first.time-M-when be-F-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “This happened at the time when Gunter first arrived at the Suruwahá’s house.”
 (Lit. “When Gunter arriving at Suruwahá’s house occurred for the first time, it was.”)

In (142), the verb *takuny-* “know” follows the bare verb stem *aty-* “speak” referring to the activity that constitutes the object of knowledge. While in the first clause under (142) it is itself inflected, in the second clause under (142) it transfers its inflectional morphology to the auxiliary *ka-* (suffixed with the sequential suffix *-si*), used as a means to express intensification (“deeply/profoundly”). In (143), the verb *tauany-* “finish” follows the bare verb stem *haua-* “eat” denoting the activity that was targeted by the process of completion. In

(144), the verb *kiduny-* (heading the adverbial clause “When Gunter first arrived”) follows the verb *bany-* “arrive”, which is mandatorily relativized.

4.2. Verbal morphology: overview of predicate structure

The structure of the predicate is the most complex aspect of Suruwahá grammar. Seventeen different components can be distinguished (if we only count different kinds of affixes, but not the verb root itself, nor the auxiliary verbs, nor derivation through reduplication). Since when a verb takes two or more prefixes or suffixes, these occur in a rather strict order, I will present an overview of the verb template as a whole before discussing the affixes that can occupy each slot individually. The table below shows the ordering of prefixes (numbers below zero), infixes (slot 0), and suffixes (slots 1 to 14) as observed in declarative, interrogative or imperative main clauses. The predicate structure observed in subordinate (i.e. relative or adverbial) clauses can contain all the suffixes of slots 1 to 10, but lacks slots 11 to 14. In relative clauses, slot 7 (which in main clauses is dedicated to suffixes interpreted as markers of gender of subject) accommodates suffixes interpreted as agentive or patientive nominalizers (i.e. subject or object relativizers) that also contain information regarding the gender of the subject of the verb. The last slot (slot 11) of the predicate of adverbial clauses corresponds to a set of switch-reference markers (not listed in Table 9).

Table 9. Structure of the predicate

slot	predicate component	observation
-2	reciprocal prefix <i>zia-</i>	grammaticalization of <i>iza=ra</i>
-1	valency increasing prefixes (causative <i>na-</i> and applicative <i>ka-</i>)	incompatible with non-inflecting verb roots
0	first and second person infixes < <i>u</i> > and < <i>i</i> >	if the verb starts with /a/, they behave as prefixes (<i>u-</i> and <i>i-</i>); \emptyset indexes 3rd persons and the 2PL
	inflecting root or non-inflecting root + auxiliary	
1	directional suffixes	
2	Aktionsart suffixes (group a)	
3	Aktionsart suffixes (group b)	

4	Aktionsart suffixes (group c)	some of them trigger auxiliary constructions
5	valency diminishing suffixes (simple passive $-\uparrow hy$ and facilitative passive $-\uparrow zy$)	position with respect to directional and Aktionsart suffixes is not completely straightforward: $-\uparrow zy$ can precede them in some contexts
6	miratives (lamentatives/frustratives) + auxiliary	trigger auxiliary construction with <i>na-</i>
7	gender of subject marker (relative clauses: subject and object nominalizers carrying information on the gender of the subject) <i>-ri/-ru</i> or <i>-i/-ni</i> restricted to relative clauses: <i>-hady/-ndy</i>	mandatory (inflectional)
8	past tense marker <i>-ka</i>	incompatible with suffixes pertaining to slots 10, 13 and 14
9	negative polarity marker <i>-su</i>	incompatible with suffixes pertaining to slot 14
10	future tense marker <i>-ba</i>	incompatible with suffixes pertaining to slots 8 and 14, as well as with some of the suffixes pertaining to slot 13 (i.e. firsthand-evidentiality markers)
11	<i>-a</i> suffix (remnant of the copula <i>ha-</i> after undergoing secondary grammaticalization)	it serves several purposes (see section on TAME)
12	<i>-na</i> suffix (remnant of the auxiliary <i>na-</i> after undergoing secondary grammaticalization)	its function is to mark a 1st or 2nd person subject (as opposed to a 3rd person subject)
13	(declarative or interrogative) mood & evidentiality markers	the polyexponential firsthand evidentiality markers are incompatible with suffixes pertaining to slots 8 and 10
14	imperative suffixes	incompatible with suffixes pertaining to

		slots 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13
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4.3. Valency-changing derivational affixes⁶⁸

Suruwahá possesses five different affixes used to increase or diminish the valency of verb roots: the reciprocal/reflexive morpheme *zia-*, the causative morpheme *na-*, and the applicative morpheme *ka-* precede the verb root, while the passive markers *-^hhy* and *-^zzy* immediately follow it. The causative and the applicative on one side, and the two different passive markers on the other side, occupy the same respective slots within the verb template and are thus incompatible with each other. However, a verb can simultaneously carry the reflexive marker, either the causative or the applicative marker, and one of the two passive markers, as in *zia-na-kahy-^zzy-*, “love each other”, which is derived from the basic verb root *kahy-* “desire” and literally means “cause each other to be desirable”.

4.3.1. The reciprocal/reflexive prefix *zia-*

The prefix *zia-*, depending on the context, can have a reflexive or a reciprocal meaning. It is a grammaticalization of, and can optionally be used to replace, the =*ra* case marked overt patientive argument *iza* (the third person reflexive/reciprocal pronoun meaning “himself”, “herself”, “oneself”, “itself” or “each other”) when present in a transitive sentence, and in this sense turn a bivalent verb into a monovalent verb.

- (145) ‘*Madi ijara nakuwitikia.*’
 madi **iza=ra** na-akuua-^zza-^hsi-i-ka-∅
 people themselves=OBJ CAUS-end-INSIDE-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
nariawaky.
 na-riauaky
 say-3M.PPST.DECL.FH

or:

- (146) ‘*Madi janakuwitikia.*’
 madi **zia-na-akuua-^zza-^hsi-i-ka-∅**
 people REC-CAUS-end-INSIDE-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
nariawaky.
 na-riauaky
 say-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “He said [to me] that they had exterminated each other.”

⁶⁸ Chapter 4.3. is a revised (i.e. shortened, restructured and partially rewritten) version of Chapter 5 of Huber Azevedo 2023 (21-31).

(145) and (146) are interchangeable.

zia- is only used on verbs inflected for the third person. In order to denote that a first or second person subject did something to themselves (as in “I cut myself”, or “Don’t you see yourself in the mirror?”), an overt =*ra* marked pronoun is needed.

4.3.2. The causative or permissive prefix *na-*

The causative or permissive prefix *na-*, which also exists in all other known Arawá languages,⁶⁹ can be attached to avalent, intransitive, and two or three transitive inflecting verbs.⁷⁰ In the first case, the avalent verb (which syntactically behaves as an intransitive verb taking the dummy subject *zama*) becomes an intransitive verb (syntactically behaving as a transitive verb inasmuch as it requires the dummy object *zama*). In the second case, the intransitive verb becomes transitive, allowing a causee or permittee argument taking the objective case =*ra*. In the third case, the transitive verb becomes ditransitive, and both the causee or permittee and the argument referring to the patient of the action performed by the latter take the objective case =*ra*.

Avalent → Intransitive

(147) *Zuby!* *Zama* *wahaxani!*
 zuby-∅ zama uahary-¹⁰si-ani-∅-∅
 wake.up-IMP EXPL be.bright-SEQ-F-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “Wake up! The day has already brightened!”

(148) *Wahara amasa* *kasirihia* *wada*
 uahara amasa ka-si-ri-ha uada
 mosquito be.numerous AUX-SEQ-M-BECAUSE sleep

nixumara, *zama* *giakiari,*
 n<i>a-i-su-mara zama g<i>akia-ri
 <1PL>AUX-M-NEG-SS EXPL <1PL>stare.at-M.NMLZ

zama *niawaharynawaky.*
 zama n<i>a-uahary-nauaky
 EXPL <1PL>CAUS-be.bright-1.PPST.DECL.FH

“Since there were so many mosquitoes, we could not sleep and just kept looking around until daybreak.”

⁶⁹ For Kulina, see Dienst (2014: 127-128); for Jarawara, see Dixon (2004:248-250); for Paumari, see Chapman & Derbyshire (1991:184-187); for Deni, see Koop & Koop (2008:8).

⁷⁰ The only occurrences of *na-* prefixed to transitive verbs in my corpus are found in sentences featuring the verbs “eat” and “drink”: *nahaua-* “feed” (someone something) and *nahauy* “offer (someone something) to drink”.

(Lit. Since the mosquitoes were very numerous, we did not sleep and we, the ones looking around, allowed it to dawn.)

Intransitive → Transitive

(150) *Mazarusama!*

mazaru-sama

die-IMP.NEG

“Please don’t die!” (includes the meaning “Please do not commit suicide!”)

(151) *Tara namazaruba!*

ta=ra

na-mazaru-ba-∅

2SG-OBJ CAUS-die-FUT-DECL.QEV

“I will kill you!”, “I will let you die!”, or “I will not stop you from committing suicide!”

Transitive → Ditransitive

(152) *Ibiahiniria*

i-bahini=ra

2SG.POSS-prey;F.POSS=OBJ

hawa nitiuba!

haua na-[↑]si-ri-su-ba-∅

eat AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-FUT-DECL.QEV

“I won’t eat the game hunted by you anymore!”

(Lit. I won’t eat your prey anymore!”)

(153) *Na zyrara hyzamara nahawabiara?*

na

zyra=ra

hyzama=ra

na-haua-i-ba-ra

1SG.POSS

son-OBJ

what-OBJ

CAUS-eat-M-FUT-CQ.CONJC

“What can I feed my son?”

While simply attaching the prefix *na-* to the verb root is sufficient in the case of most inflecting verbs (i.e. *mazaru-* → *namazaru-* “die” → “kill, let die”, *agia-* → *nagia-* “have children” → “give children”, *gaua-* → *nagaua-* “walk” > “make walk”, *suky-* → *nasuky* “be hot” → “heat up”, *hama-* → *nahama-* “cease” → “turn off”, *kamuny-* → *nakamuny-* “be missed” → “miss”, *uzy-* → *nuzy-* “be burned, blaze” > “burn, incinerate”, *uhama-* → *nuhama-* “be a pair” → “make a pair, bring a pair, buy a pair”, etc.), some verbs require further morphological adjustments in order to be causativized. A little group of verbs with a root ending in *naua* or *na* have the /n/ present in their final syllable replaced by a /d/, and some verb roots require even other additional changes:

<i>imanaua-</i>	→ <i>nimadaua-</i>	“heal, be cured”	→ “offer medical treatment”
<i>bany-</i>	→ <i>nabady-</i>	“arrive”	→ “bring”

<i>hinaua-</i>	→ <i>nahidaua-</i>	“be replaced”	→“replace”
<i>gynyzuua-</i>	→ <i>nagadyzuua-</i>	“appear”	→“show, make appear” ⁷¹
<i>agiha-</i>	→ <i>nagidaha-</i>	“be alive”	→“save someone’s life, rescue”
<i>guna-</i>	→ <i>nagudaha-</i>	“move as a group”	→“attract (a disease)”

Regarding the possibility of double causativization: The prefix *na-* can never be attached more than once to one same verb root.

<i>mazaru-</i>	“die”
<i>namazaru-</i>	“kill”
* <i>nanamazaru-</i>	(intended: “have somebody kill someone”)

(154) * <i>Dihijiria</i>	<i>madi</i>	<i>ahidiria</i>
Dihizi=ra	madi=∅	ahidi=ra
Dihiji=OBJ	people=SUBJ	his.son=OBJ
<i>nanamazaru</i>	<i>narixawaky</i>	
na-na-mazaru	na-ri-su-auaky	
CAUS-CAUS-die	AUX-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH	

(Intended: “People did not force Dihiji to kill his own son.”)

If we want to refer to the act of some primary participant causing a second participant to perform a transitive action affecting a third person or object, and the transitive verb that we want to use already carries the prefix *na-*, we need to represent the act performed by the primary participant as speech act having the secondary participant as the addressee. The speech act will be represented as a direct quotation of a command containing a directive for the secondary participant to execute the aforementioned transitive action upon the third person or object by the latter: “P1 told P2: ‘Cause P3 to...!’”.

(155) <i>Dihijiria</i>	<i>madi</i> : ‘ <i>Ara</i>	<i>zyrara</i>	<i>namazaru!</i>
Dihizi=ra	madi ara	zyra=ra	na-mazaru-∅
Dihizi=OBJ	people 2SG.POSS	son=OBJ	CAUS-die-IMP
	<i>madi</i>	<i>narixawaky.</i>	
	madi=∅	na-ri-su-auaky	
	people=SUBJ	say-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH	

“People did not make Dihiji kill his own son.”
(Lit. People did not tell Dihiji: ‘Cause your son to die!’)

⁷¹ Note that *gynyzuwa-* is an intransitive verb derived from the transitive verb *gania-* “see” by suffixation of *-¹zy*, further carrying the change-of-state-marking suffix *-ua*. Its literal meaning is “start to be visible”.

This same strategy of causativization is also used in the case of intransitive (dynamic) verbs that do not take the causative *na-* (i.e. *inaha-* “take a bath”):

- (156) ‘*Aru iniahabia’* *nixirianangai*
 aru inaha-i-ba-∅ na-[↑]si-ria-nangai
 1SG take.a.bath-M-FUT-DECL.QEV think-SEQ-M.IPFV-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I am considering taking a bath.”
 (lit. ‘I will take a bath!’, I am already thinking.)

- (157) **Azyrara* *niniaha!*
 ara.zyra=ra na-inaha-∅
 your.son=OBJ CAUS-bathe-IMP
 (Intended: “Have your son take a bath!”)

- (158) *Azyrara* ‘*Iniaha!*’ *na!*
 ara.zyra=ra inaha-∅ na-∅
 2SG.POSS.son=OBJ take.bath-IMP say-IMP
 “Have your son take a bath!” (lit. Tell your son: ‘Take a bath!’)

4.3.3. The applicative *ka-*

Suruwahá exhibits one morphological applicative prefix that can be attached to some two dozen intransitive or ambitransitive inflecting verb roots, turning them into transitive verbs. This prefix, found also in all other known Arawá languages,⁷² makes it possible that an additional, =*ra* case marked participant is introduced to the clause. The semantic role of this participant is not entirely predictable and depends on the meaning of the verb (It can be, among others, that of the theme, victim or beneficiary of the action described by the verb, or that of the stimulus of the depicted experience).⁷³

- uaizuma-* "sing" X=*ra kauaizuma-* "sing in honour of X, sing a song having X as its theme"
uhama- "be a pair" X=*ra kuhama-* "help X, keep X company, cause X to be a pair adding oneself to him/her/it"
maruma- "be excited" X=*ra kamaruma-* "be excited about X, enjoy X"
mahuua- “have wadding” *kanisi=ra kamahuua-* “fit the darts with wadding”
kuuy- “be painful” X=*ra kakuuy-* “cause pain to X by being there”

⁷² For Jarawara, see Dixon (2004:254); for Kulina, see Dienst (2014:128); for Paumari, see Chapman & Derbyshire (1991:290). Koop & Koop (2008) do not explicitly mention the existence of the applicative prefix in their description of Deni. However, verb forms carrying this prefix are listed in their dictionary as if they were basic verb roots (2008:pp.64).

⁷³ Dienst also mentions the irregular semantic effects of the applicative *ka-* for Kulina (see 2014: 129).

with his blowpipe], it [the animal] would not die anymore [because the curare would lose its lethal power].”

4.3.4. Causativization and applicativization of non-inflecting verbs with the suffixes *-da* and *-ka*

The causative and applicative prefixes discussed under 4.3.2. and 4.3.3. can only be combined with inflecting verb roots. Non-inflecting intransitive verbs that require the auxiliary *na-* to carry their inflectional information can be causativized with the suffix *-da*, and applicativized with the suffix *-ka* (directly attached to the root). Not only these suffixes increase the valency of the mentioned verbs permitting the addition of a =*ra* case marked lexical NP not allowed by the underived verb, but, further, they turn the verb from a non-inflecting into an inflecting verb.⁷⁴

<i>haba na-</i> “depart”	<i>habada-</i> “let go”	<i>habaka-</i> “go away with, tear out”
<i>suua na-</i> “disappear”	<i>suuada-</i> “make disappear”	<i>suuaka-</i> “disappear with, steal”
<i>suri na-</i> “lie on the ground”	<i>surida-</i> “lay down”	<i>surika-</i> “lie down with someone (to have sex)”
<i>nasa na</i> “sit on the ground”	<i>nasada-</i> “set/ put down”	<i>nasaka-</i> “put (a child) on ones lap; be seated together with something” ⁷⁵
<i>ita na-</i> “lie across”	(* <i>itada-</i>)	<i>itaka-</i> “go across (a river, over a bridge)”
<i>hizu na-</i> “dance”	<i>hizuda-</i> “make dance”	<i>hizuka-</i> “dance with”
<i>uyra na-</i> “move (oneself)”	<i>uyrada-</i> “move (something)”	<i>uyraka-</i> “move together with”
<i>sudu na-</i> “hang (=be hung)”	<i>sududa-</i> “hang (something)”	(<i>suduka-</i> ?) ⁷⁶
<i>sahu ny-</i> “fluctuate”	<i>sahudy</i> “park (the canoe)”	<i>sahuky-</i> “tie (the canoe) with a rope (at the dock)”
<i>hiri na-</i> “be coiled around” (the state of a rope) or “be tied with a rope”	(<i>hirida-</i> ?)	<i>hirika-</i> “tie (an apron) around one's waist, wear”

⁷⁴ As a matter of transparency, it must be said that this topic needs further investigation. Since most of the sentences featuring the verbs *habaka-*, *habada-*, *uyrada-*, *uyraka* etc. present in my corpus are bare commands, it is not clear to me how all of them are inflected.

⁷⁵ The “thing” with which one is seated can be something abstract (e.g. the action of watching a movie, or some work)

⁷⁶ This form is not attested in my corpus, but I don't exclude the possibility of it existing.

4.3.6. The passives -[↑]hy and -[↑]zy

Suruwaha exhibits two different passive suffixes: -[↑]zy and -[↑]hy. They trigger the raising of the preceding last vowel of the verb stem to /y/.

Adopting the terminology used by Malchukov & Nedjalkov in their paper on valency classes in Even (see 2015:593), the -[↑]zy suffix can be characterized as “potential” or “facilitative” passive marker. Roughly corresponding to the English suffix *-able* (except for the fact that it does not adjectivize the verb to which it is attached), it denotes the susceptibility of someone or something to undergo the action described by the verb root, or their power to make someone (an optional =*ha* marked specific participant, or the general public left unspecified) feel the desire to perform the action described by the verb onto the referent of the NP serving as its subject. -[↑]zy is typically suffixed to transitive (bivalent) verbs such as *kahy-* “desire”, *haua-* “eat”, *hauy-* “drink” or *gania-* “see”, turning them into monovalent or extended monovalent verbs (*kahyzy-* “be nice, be desirable”, *hauzyzy-* “be edible, be potable”, *gynyzy-* “be visible”). However, there is also a little group of monovalent and extended monovalent verbs that can be passivized with this suffix: Attaching -[↑]zy to the existential verb *ha-* “live, be (in the world)” results in an aivalent verb (*hyzy-*) that describes the capacity of “things” (the general context, the world, the environment, a situation...) to instill satisfaction with one’s own existence, thereby inducing the wish to continue living (instead of killing oneself by drinking poison). Attaching -[↑]zy to a verb of locomotion that requires a =*ha* marked oblique argument specifying the ground on which the primary argument moves forward creates another monovalent verb taking as its subject the referent of the original oblique argument (e.g. the path being walked on, the tree being climbed, the river being navigated, etc.). The derived verb describes the suitability of this original oblique argument to be used as a travel itinerary.

(166) *Na zamuniria aru kwahynai!*
 na zamuni=ra aru=∅ k<u>ahy-na-i-∅-∅
 1SG.POSS daughter=OBJ 1SG=SUBJ <1SG>love-1SG-M-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “I love my daughter!”

(167) *Tahawa mama kahyzyri?*
 ta=haua mama kahy-[↑]zy-ri-∅-∅
 2SG=OBL cassava love-FPASS-M-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Do you like cassava?”
 (Lit. Is cassava lovable within you?)

(166) exemplifies the use of the transitive verb *kahy-* in active voice. In this sentence, the verb takes two core arguments - one agentive (the first person singular, playing the semantic role of experiencer) and one patientive (“my daughter”, playing the semantic role of stimulus). (167) shows an example of the use of the same verb in facilitative passive voice. After having been suffixed with ^{-1}zy , the verb can only index one participant via person and gender inflectional morphology (the original stimulus converted into sole subject), and one optional oblique argument corresponding to the experiencer (in the above sentence, *ta=haua* “within you” does not actually add any relevant information because the inflectional morphology of the verb, indicating that the speaker is specifically asking for firsthand information, already makes it very clear who is the person from whose viewpoint the assessment of the cassava’s lovability is made; it is there mainly for the purpose of emphasis).

(168) *Abiji* *hariaki?*
 abizi ha-ria-ki
 father.2SG.POSS exist-M.IPFV-M.PPST.PQ.FH
 “Is your father still alive?”
 (Lit. Was your father still existing [when you last saw him]?)

(169) *Tahawa* *zama hyzyru?*
 ta=haua zama ha- ^{-1}zy -ru- \emptyset - \emptyset
 2SG-OBL EXPL exist-FPASS-F-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Is existence bearable to you?”
 (lit. Is it existable within you?)

(168) and (169) contain examples of the use of *ha-* without and in combination with the suffix ^{-1}zy . While the not passivized *ha-* agrees with a “real” subject playing the semantic role of theme (“your father”, which is a masculine NP), the passivized verb *hyzy-* is only capable of taking the grammatically feminine expletive word *zama* as its formal subject argument.

(170) *Hamiadi* *agihia* *gawari*
 hauini.madi agi=ha gaua-ri
 child.PL trail=OBL walk-M.NMLZ
 “children walking on the trail”

(171) *Hahabiri agi gawyzyru?*
 Hahabiri agi gaua- ^{-1}zy -ru- \emptyset - \emptyset
 Hahabiri trail walk-FPASS-F-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Is it easy/enjoyable to walk on the Hahabiri trail?”

(Lit. Is the Hahabiri trail walkable?)

(170) and (171) exemplify the use of the extended monovalent verb *gaua-* without and together with the suffix *-¹zy*. While the underived verb *gaua-* implies one core and one oblique argument (*hamiadi* “the children”, unmarked for case, and *agi*, case-marked with =*ha*), the passivized form *gauzy-* bears only one participant (in the sentence above represented by the toponym *Hahabiri agi*).

Regarding the passive suffix *-¹hy*, it can be attached to trivalent verbs such as *iha-* “give”, to bivalent verbs such as *gania-* “see” or *zaua-* “be angry (at)” and all of the aforementioned (extended or simple) monovalent verbs that are also suitable to be suffixed with *-¹zy*. Verbs carrying the suffix *-¹hy* are necessarily agentless, and (differently from verbs taking the suffix *-¹zy*) do not normally allow any oblique argument.⁷⁷

(172) *Hyzama kahini jawanawani?*
hyzama kahini z<i>aau-nauani
what interest;3F.POSS <2SG>be.angry-2SG.IPFV.HPST.CQ.FH
“Why are you angry?”
(Lit. Over what thing’s interest generating property are you projecting your anger?⁷⁸)

(173) *Hadyra jawanawani?*
hady=ra z<i>aau-nauani
who=OBJ <2SG>be.angry-2SG.IPFV.HPST.CQ.FH
“Who are you angry with?”

(174) *Kahini zawihinxuba!*
kahini zaua-¹hy-ni-su-ba-∅
interest;3F.POSS be.angry-PASS-F-NEG-FUT-DECL.QEV
“This won’t be a point of contention!”
(Lit. Its power to arouse concern will not be an object of anger!)

(172) to (174) exemplify the use of the verb *zaua-* in active and passive voice. In (172), where it does not carry the passive suffix *-¹hy*, it implies two participants: a second person singular subject (the aggressivity projecting individual) indexed by the verb’s

⁷⁷ As a matter of transparency, I need to admit that this is a topic needing further investigation. Since most speakers of Suruwahá do not use passive constructions very often, my corpus does not contain a big number of sentences featuring the passive suffix *-¹hy* on finite verb forms.

⁷⁸ As a matter of fact, since *zaua-* is a patientive ambitransitive verb, and, in addition to that, marking the patientive argument with the enclitic =*ra* is optional in most contexts, I was not able to conclusively establish whether *hyzama kahini* syntactically constitutes the agentive or the patientive argument in the sentence above (it could also be interpreted as further describing the second person indexed by the verb, which would imply the following literal meaning of the utterance: “You are enraged being the one interested in or motivated by what?”).

inflectional morphology, and a lexical NP with a complex meaning representing the target of the feeling of rage (*hyzama kahini* “the power of an unknown object under inquiry to arouse concern”). In (173), it also implies two participants (“you” and “who”). The passivized form *zauyhy-* in (174) only allows one participant playing the role of object of anger (the inalienably possessed noun *kahini*, which indexes a not overtly stated feminine third person possessor, “it”).

- (175) *Amadini ini zuhu hawyriagi.*
 amadini ini zuhu hawy-riagi
 mother.3.POSS 3SG.F.POSS breast drink-3M.IPFV.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He is nursing at his mother’s breast.”
 (Lit. He is drinking his mother’s breast)

- (176) *Na zuhu hawy syhysuhwa*
 na zuhu hawy na-⁰si-hy-ru-su-ha
 1SG.POSS breast drink AUX-SEQ-PASS-F-NEG-BECAUSE

haha nasagwani.
 haha na-ru-su-aguani
 produce.liquid AUX-F-NEG-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “My breasts are not producing milk because they have not been drunk from recently.”

(175) and (176) show an active voice and a passive voice construction involving the verb *hawy-* “drink”. Since the passive voice construction does not allow for an agent, in Suruwahá it is impossible to say “my breasts are being drunk from by my son” (only “they are being drunk from”).

- (177) *Adaha buhwa agi tijuwa gawyhyru*
 adaha buha agi tizuua gaua-¹hy-ru
 earth below trail beautiful walk-PASS-F.NMLZ

duwaduwaruru
 duuaduua-ru~ru
 undulate-F-ITER
 “A beautiful underworld trail, undulating while being walked on.”

(177) is an excerpt of a shamanic song text exhibiting a passive voice construction featuring the extended monovalent verb *gaua-*. The sole argument “beautiful underworld trail” of the passivized verb *gauyhy-* “be walked on” corresponds to what would be the oblique argument if the sentence were elaborated in active voice.

4.4. Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is used to add an emotional (i.e. evaluative), intensifying or attenuative component to a predicate. It can also be used to indicate the recurrence of the action described by the verb. However, since Suruwahá also possesses specific suffixes to indicate repetitive actions (⁻¹*ryga* “one after the other”, see section 4.7.) or the recurrence of a certain behavior (⁻¹*zaua* “all the time”, see section 4.7.), speakers tend to choose reduplication over the available Aktionsart suffixes only in situations in which they wish to express or suscite emotions (disdain or admiration).

Two formal options for verbal reduplication are available: a.) Repetition of the first syllable of the verb (i.e. if the verb begins with a vowel, the consonant immediately following this vowel is also repeated); this type of reduplication is the most frequently used, and can apply to any (basic or causativized/applicativized) verb b.) Repetition of the whole verb. The repetition of the whole verb can be applied more than once. This type of reduplication is most frequently applied to verbs that describe actions which are repetitive, cyclical, or rhythmic by nature (such as shaking, the flapping of wings, paddling a canoe, the blinking of a light, undulating, the reverberating of footsteps, the beating of the heart, etc.).

Exactly as described by Dixon for Jarawara (2004:99), irrespective of whether a particular verb undergoing reduplication is inflecting or non-inflecting, its reduplicated forms are always non-inflecting, requiring the auxiliary *na-* to carry their inflectional morphology. Below I provide examples for each type of reduplication.

Initial syllable

- (178) *Zymy kahini akakuwy nariawaky madi.*
 zymy kahini ak~akuuy na-riauaky madi
 teeth.M motif;3F.POSS ITER~end AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH people
 “Many people met their end due to tooth-related suffering.”⁷⁹

- (179) *Mamahiki nariawaky.*
 ma~mahiki na-riauaky
 ITER~lie AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “He told one lie after the other”.

- (180) *Kakahyzysa nyzy jahagwani.*
 ka~kahy-¹zy-sa na-¹zy na-¹⁰zaha-ru-gani
 DIM~desire-FPASS-ALMOST AUX-CONTR AUX-DUR-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I cannot say I really like it.”
 (Lit. It is almost a little desirable for a while).

⁷⁹ In this context, the verb *akuua-* “to end” is used euphemistically to denote suicide.

In (180) the speaker used reduplication of the initial syllable of the verb *kahyzy*- “be desirable” together with the suffix *-sa* meaning “almost” in order to make it clear that the object that she describes is “not really” - instead of “quite” - nice.

Entire verb

- (181) *Wyrawyra nasama!*
 uyra~uyra na-sama
 ITER~move AUX-IMP.NEG
 “Don’t keep moving all the time!”
- (182) *Ydy zama jubyjuby naru hyzama hawani? - Amuwa.*
 ydy zama ziuby~ziuby na-ru hyzama ha-uani amuwa
 there thing ITER~twinkle AUX-F.NMLZ what be-3F.HPST.CQ.FH firefly
 “What is that thing twinkling over there?” - “A firefly.”

It is important to note that reduplication is also a phenomenon observed in shamanic song texts. In this context, reduplication can be applied to any type of word, not just verbs, and its function is primarily aesthetic rather than grammatical. In song texts, reduplication often involves the repetition of the two or three last syllables of a word, in addition to the repetition of the first syllable.⁸⁰

Differently from what is observed by Dienst (2014:21) for Kulina, and by Dixon (2004:267) for Jarawara, in Suruwahá reduplication is not used as a means for deriving agent nouns from a verb.

4.5. Other non-linear derivations

Suruwahá possesses another non-linear means of forming diminutives, which can be used separately or in combination with the reduplication of the first syllable of the verb stem: This method involves palatalizing (inserting an [j] immediately after) all or most consonant segments present in verbs describing characteristics (colors, sizes, aesthetic qualities). Below I provide some examples:

<i>adaha ku-</i>	“be short in height”	<i>adiahia ku-</i> or <i>adi~adiahia ku-</i>	“be quite short”
<i>ada-</i>	“be red”	<i>adia-</i>	“be reddish/orange/pink”
<i>asa-</i>	“be black”	<i>asia-</i> or <i>asi~asia ku-</i>	“be blackish/ quite dark/ dark green/ dark brown”
<i>kara-</i>	“be white”	<i>karia-</i> or <i>kiaria-</i>	“be impressively white/ be whitish”

⁸⁰ In Huber Azevedo (2016) I discuss the formal properties of Suruwahá song texts.

<i>tahuua ku-</i>	“be lightweight”	<i>tiahuuia ku-</i> or <i>tia~tiahuuia ku-</i>	“be featherlight”
<i>tutu ku-</i>	“be short in length”	<i>titu ku-</i>	“be really short”
<i>tizuuu-</i>	“be beautiful”	<i>tizuuia-</i> or <i>ti~tizuuia ku-</i>	“be cute”
<i>kahyzy-</i>	“be nice”	<i>ka~kahizi ku-</i>	“be cute”
<i>damu ku-</i>	“be short in height”	<i>diamu~diamu ku-</i>	“be tiny/dwarf-sized”

While the palatalization of the onsets of all syllables of a word as a means of modifying their meaning from “neutral/prototypic” to “judgmental/approximative” is applied mostly to verbs, my corpus of Suruwahá also contains two examples of it being applied to a noun and an adverb, respectively:

<i>Suruuaha</i>	“the Suruwahá”	<i>Siuriuuiahia</i>	“the worthless Suruwahá people”
<i>hiadamasy</i>	“now”	<i>hiadiamiaisi</i>	“a few moments ago (you just lost it)” or “immediately (hurry up!)”

4.6. Directional and situational suffixes (slot 1)

Suruwahá has a set of seventeen suffixes of optional use that serve the purpose of informing the direction or location of the event described by the verb. Nine of them are geocentric (i.e. they describe the direction or location of the action denoted by the verb with respect to topographic features). Two are egocentric (i.e. they use the speaker’s position as the frame of reference). Four are allocentric (i.e. use the location of another person or object of interest as the spatial reference). And two (“in circles”, “in a straight line”) describe the shape of the movement itself. These suffixes, also found in all other known Arawá languages,⁸¹ attach directly to the right side of the inflecting verb or the auxiliary of the non-inflecting verb.⁸²

Some of the directional suffixes (e.g. *-ry*) require the raising of an /a/ in the immediately preceding syllable to /y/. Others (e.g. *-za*) cause the raising of any vowel in the immediately preceding syllable to /i/ (if it is not already /i/). Yet others (e.g. *-uma*) trigger the

⁸¹ For Kulina, see Dienst (2014:118). For Deni, see Koop & Koop (2008:22); for Paumari, see Chapman&Derbyshire (1998:311-312). Deni and Kulina possess more directional suffixes than Suruwahá.

⁸² The combinations of the verb “to travel/walk/go as a group” with different directional suffixes result in unique forms, making it challenging to determine the “actual” basic form of this verb - whether it is *guna-* or *gutu-* (my corpus does not contain any instance of this verb without directional suffixes). The forms are the following: *gunamyza-* “go meet as a group”; *gunyry-* “collectively step down from the hammocks to the ground in order to leave for a trip”; *guturu-* “travel downstream as a group”; *gutuna-* “collectively go to the port in order to undertake a trip by boat”; *gunyza-* “(a community as a whole) come visit”; *gutumuraua-* “(a travel party) disembark from the canoes and head to land”; *gunamuna-* “travel upstream as a group”; *gunatyza-* “travel westwards as a group”.

deletion of the preceding vowel. I will mark the suffixes that trigger raising of the preceding vowel with an \uparrow , and the suffixes that require the deletion of the preceding vowel with an \emptyset .

- \emptyset uma	“up, upward”
- \uparrow ry	“down, downward”
- \uparrow ryza	“into the ground”
-ha	“into the water”
-tuna	“toward the shore of a body of water”
-mura	“away from the water, inland”
-muna	“upstream”
-turu	“downstream”
-tyza	“from the east toward the west”
- \emptyset yza	“hither”
-uada	“thither”
- \emptyset tuka	“to the opposite side”
-myza	“approaching someone/something”
- $\uparrow\emptyset$ za	“between, through, inside”
-byza	“out of a recipient”
-bamyzaga	“in circles”
-hauada	“in a straight line”

Some of the directional suffixes themselves undergo substantial changes when immediately followed by the sequential suffix $-\uparrow si$. For instance, $-\uparrow ry$ and $-\emptyset yza$ are completely deleted before $-\uparrow si$, with their deletion compensated by the lengthening of preceding vowel, raised to /i/⁸³. Specifically, $-byza + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-bati$, $-myza + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-misi$, $-tyza + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-tuti$, $-turu + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-tusi$, $-\emptyset tuka + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-tuki$, $-uada + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-uati$, and $-kamyza + -\uparrow si$ becomes $-kamisi$. In the following, I provide examples of the use of each directional suffix, and offer further details on their semantics.

$-\emptyset uma$

(183)	<i>Abi</i>	<i>hiri</i>	<i>numahawa,</i>	<i>hytykuma!</i>
	abi	hiri	na- $\emptyset uma$ - \emptyset -haua	hytyka- $\emptyset uma$ - \emptyset
	fire	be.in.flames	AUX-UP-M-DES	fan-UP-IMP
	“Fan the fire up so that the flames rise!”			

⁸³ The resulting form of verbs simultaneously suffixed with $-\emptyset yza$ and $-\uparrow\emptyset si$ is not always predictable: *guna* “travel together” + $-\emptyset yza + -\uparrow\emptyset si$ becomes *guniti-*, while *aka* “hold in one’s hand” + $-\emptyset yza + -\uparrow\emptyset si$ becomes *akisi-* (**gunisi-* and **akiti-* are incorrect).

- (184) *Hia gawyza!*
 hia gauyza- \emptyset
 here stand-IMP
 “Wait here!”
 (Lit. Stand here!)
- (185) *Gawyzuma!*
 gauyza- \emptyset **uma**- \emptyset
 stand-UP-IMP
 “Stand up!”

In (183), the suffix *- \emptyset uma* appears twice: in the matrix clause *hytykuma!*, where it gives the action of *hytyka-* “fanning the fire” a vertical direction, and then again in the subordinate clause that describes the intended effect of the action of fanning - the rising of the flames. In (184) and (185), imperative clauses feature the verb *gauyza-* “stand” with and without the suffix *- \emptyset uma*. The bare verb *gauyza-* describes the standing position of a person, while suffixed with *- \emptyset uma*, it signifies the transition from sitting or lying on the ground to standing. It is important to note that *- \emptyset uma* always indicates movement perpendicular to the ground. When speakers describe movements from lower to higher positions in terrain (such as traveling up a river, or climbing a mountain), they always use the more specifically hydrography-related suffixes *-mura* (“away from the riverbank, uphill”) and *-muna* (“upstream”).

- \uparrow ry

- (186) *Gawyry!*
 gaua- \uparrow **ry**- \emptyset
 go-DOWN-IMP
 “Go down [out of my hammock]!”
- (187) *Nasadyry!*
 nasa-da- \uparrow **ry**- \emptyset
 sit-CAUS-DOWN-IMP
 “Put it down!”

The suffix *- \uparrow ry* has the exact opposite meaning of *- \emptyset uma*. Just as the latter, it always indicates movement perpendicular to the ground, and is never used to describe movements from higher to lower geographical positions (such as traveling down a river, or walking down a slope).

- \uparrow (\emptyset)ryza

- (187) *Adaha buhwa huriatini suwa nyryza*
 adaha buha huriatini suua na- \uparrow **ryza**
 ground beneath bark.trumpet.sound disappear AUX-INTO.GROUND
 “Beneath the ground, the sound of bark trumpets fading away.”
- (188) *Garyzuma! Kiazahini uhywa!*
 gaua- \emptyset **ryza**- \emptyset **uma**- \emptyset k<i>azahini uhy- \emptyset -ua
 step-DOWN.ONTO-UP-IMP <1PL.POSS>weight;F.POSS measure-M-DES
 “Step down onto it [the scale] so I can measure your weight!”

The suffix $^{-\uparrow}ryza$ denotes that an event occurs while penetrating the ground, or stepping (down) onto a surface. (187) is an excerpt from a shamanic song text in which a spirit describes a hunting expedition undertaken by a group of souls of deceased humans. In this song, $^{-\uparrow}ryza$ is attached to the auxiliary verb pertaining to the verb “to disappear” which describes the sound of the hunters’ blowing instruments. The sound fades away more and more as the hunters walk along an underworld trail, becoming more and more vertically distant from the surface of the earth. In (188) $^{-\uparrow}ryza$ is used together with $^{-\circ}uma$ to describe the directionality of the step given by a person asked to step onto a medical scale (the foot of this person moves downward onto a surface, but its final position is a place above the level of the ground, which explains the combination of $^{-\uparrow}ryza$ with $^{-uma}$.)

-ha

- (189) *Kabykana* *giamukwahanawaky.*
 kabykana g<i>amuka-**ha**-nauaky
 fishhook <1PL/2SG>throw-**INTO.WATER**-1M.PPST.FH
 “We went to fish.”
 (Lit. We threw fishhooks into the water)

The suffix *-ha* is mostly used in the context of fishing, washing or cooking activities, as it describes the direction of the motion described by a verb into a body of water. It is the cognate of Kulina/Deni $^{-\uparrow}pha$ (cf. Dienst 2014:119, and Koop&Koop 2008:20).

-tuna

- (190) *Na* *bamibiara* *agatunahu!*
 na bami=ba=ra aga-**tuna**-hu
 1SG.POSS water=FUT=OBJ take-**GO.TO.SHORE**-IMP
 “Please go fetch water for me at the shore!”

The suffix *-tuna* is attached to a verb to indicate that the person performing the action was not near the water previously and therefore needs to go to the shore to carry out the action. It is the counterpart of *-mura* (see below).⁸⁴

-mura

- (191) *Gitumurawixiri* *Funai iri* *udaha*
 g<i>utu-**mura**-ua- $^{-\uparrow}$ si-ri Funai iri uda=ha
 <1PL>go.together-**UP.BANK**-SEQ-M.NMLZ Funai 3M.POSS house=LOC

⁸⁴ This suffix needs further investigation. I only ever heard it being used when the speaker also was not near the water, and I am not sure which suffix (or combination of suffixes) would be used to say “Come fetch water.”

wiatianawaky.

u<i>ada-[↑]si-anauaky

<1PL>sleep-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH

“Having gotten out of our canoes and climbed onto dry land, we slept at FUNAI’s house.”

The suffix *-mura* implies moving away from the water’s edge and onto dry land. In my corpus, it is consistently attached to *gutu-* “(collectively) walk”, distinguishing it from its more productive cognates found in Deni, Kulina and Paumari languages.

-muna

- (192) *Baumi Suruwaha* *iri* *zawada* *bahiniria*
Baumi Suruuaha iri zauada bahini=ra
Valmir Suruwahá 3M.POSS hunting.expedition game;3F.POSS=OBJ

‘*Tuhwamunabia!*’

tuha-**muna**-i-ba-∅

deposit-**UPSTREAM**-M-FUT-DECL.QEV

“Valmir declared that he will leave the game hunted by the Suruwahá during their hunting expedition [realized downstream] upriver.”

(Valmir said: ‘I will leave the victims of the Suruwahá’s hunting expedition upriver!’)

nagi.

na-ri-gi

say-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH

The suffix *-muna* indicates that the action described by the verb occurs after its subject has traveled upriver (not mattering whether they went walking along the shore, or traveling by canoe). This suffix does not possess direct cognates in Deni, Kulina and Paumari, as in these languages, the suffixes addressing traveling up the river have more specific meanings (i.e. they further specify whether the action realized upstream is performed after traveling upstream by boat (on the water) or walking along the shore).⁸⁵

-turu

- (193) ‘*Banytuxihama?*’ *nixangai*
bany-**turu**-[↑]si-ha-ma na-[↑]si-angai
arrive-**DOWNSTREAM**-SEQ-HPST-PQ.CONJC say-SEQ-1.HPST.DECL.FH
“I wonder whether he has already arrived downstream.”

The suffix *-turu* has the opposite meaning of *-muna*, indicating that the event referred to by the verb happens after its subject traveled down a stream, river or creek.

⁸⁵ The available literature does not discuss this topic in detail. I obtained explanations on the use of *-thima* versus *-thia* (Deni) and *-thima* versus *-baoni* (Paumari) directly from speakers of these languages.

-tyza

- (194) *Timia gunatyzandy* *nahyku?*
tima guna-tyza-ndy nahy-ku
2PL travel.as.group-**EAST.TO.WEST**-F.PNMLZ be.big-F.PPST.PQ.FH
“Was the boat in which you guys traveled westwards big?”

- (195) *Tiwitiwi* *zama sukurura*
tiuitiui zama suky-ru=ra
fork.tailed.flycatcher EXPL be.hot-F.NMLZ=OBJ

akatutiagwani.

aka-tyza-¹⁰si-aguani

carry-**EAST.TO.WEST**-SEQ-3F.HPST.DECL.FH

“The fork-tailed flycatcher has carried the summer westwards.”

The suffix *-tyza* indicates that the action described by the verb occurs in an east-west direction. Both example sentences above were uttered in contexts where English speakers would likely use egocentric spatial language involving the verbs “come” and “bring”: The speaker who produced (194) was interested in the means of transport used by her interlocutors in order to “come” from the city of Lábrea to her village (the straight line connecting the two places runs exactly east-west). (195) is a comment on the migratory movement of the *tiuitiui* birds, heralding the arrival of the Amazonian dry season. The fork-tailed flycatcher bird spends the months between November and March in Southeastern Brazil, but around the month of April travels westwards to the Amazon.⁸⁶ Interestingly, I have not found a suffix with the opposite meaning of *-tyza* (meaning “from west to east”).

-⁰yza

- (196) ‘*Wakixibia*’ *xinkiamara*
u-aka-⁰yza-¹⁰si-ri-ba-∅ na-¹⁰si-ni-ka-mara
1SG-hold.in.hand-**HITHER**-SEQ-M-FUT-DECL.QEV say-F-PPST-SS
akyza *xisawanki.*
aka-⁰yza na-¹⁰si-ru-su-auaniki
hold.in.hand-**HITHER** AUX-SEQ-F-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
“Even though she promised to bring it, in the end she did not.”
(Lit. After saying ‘I will carry it hither’, she did not carry it hither.)

⁸⁶ Marini et al. (2009) presents data on the migratory habits of this bird species.

- (197) *‘Wakibia’* *xinkiamara*
 u-aka-^{†0}si-ri-ba-∅ na-^{†0}si-ni-ka-mara
 1SG-carry-SEQ-M-FUT-DECL.QEV say-F-PPST-SS

aka *xisawanki.*
 aka na-^{†0}si-ru-su-auaniki
 carry AUX-SEQ-F-NEG-3F.PPST.DECL.FH

“Even though she promised to hold it in her hands, in the end she did not.”
 (Lit. After saying ‘I will carry it’, she did not carry it.)

The suffix *-⁰zya* indicates that the action described by the verb approaches the speaker. This is illustrated in examples (196) and (197), which show the same sentence with and without the suffix on the verb *aka*- “hold/carry something in one’s hands.” In (196) the speaker cites a person promising to bring an object closer to the speaker (i.e. transporting it from the city of Manaus to the house where she lives), while in (197) she refers to a person promising to merely hold the object in her hands, without implying movement toward the speaker.

Some verbs suffixed with *-⁰zya* exhibit irregular behavior, making their resulting meanings not entirely predictable. For example, the non-inflecting verb root *sudu na-* means “to dangle from a rope”, and is intransitive. However, *sudunya-* (which is inflecting) becomes transitive and denotes the action of pulling in a fish dangling from a fishing line.

-uada

- (198) *Imiaki* *iri* *huwiria*
 imaki iri huui=ra
 husband 3.M.POSS hammock=OBJ

tuwasawatiawanki
 tuuasa-**uada**-^{†0}si-auaniki
 drag.rope-**THITHER**-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH

“Then she pulled her husband’s hammock to the side, moving it away from hers.”

- (199) *Agawada!* (200) *Aga!*
 aga-**uada**-∅ aga-∅
 take-**THITHER**-IMP take-IMP
 “Go get it!” “Take it!”

- (201) *Suwa* *nawadawy* *xawaky*
 suua na-**uada**-uy na-^{†0}si-auaky
 disappear AUX-**THITHER**-DEPREC AUX-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “After that he disappeared [a fact that negatively surprised me].”

Even though *-uada* can be considered to form a pair with *-⁰zya*, its exact meaning depends on the verb to which it is attached, and the context. In some situations, as

exemplified by 198, it indicates that the object to which the action is applied will be (horizontally) moved away from its initial position. In other contexts, it indicates that the subject of the verb only executes the (transitive) action after going to another place (199), or that the action itself has a direction which conducts its subject away from his or her current location (201) or is of an expanding nature (*gaua*- “go” + *-uada* → “spread out”; *juuara*- “be long” + *-uada* → “grow long”; *hizara*- “speak to” + *-uada* → “spread/disseminate information”).

-⁰tuka

- (202) *Madi gatukwari, haba na*
madi gania-⁰tuka-ri haba na
 people see-**OPPOSITE.SIDE**-M.NMLZ depart AUX

kudawagi
 ku-daua-gi
 AUX-HAB-3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“People normally just go away without looking.”
 (Lit. People, being the ones looking in the opposite direction, normally just go away.)

The suffix *-⁰tuka* is not very productive, and needs further investigation. In my corpus, it only occurs together with the verbs *gania*- “see” and *gamuka*- “throw”. I am not entirely sure about its exact meaning. I translate it as “to the opposite side”. (202) is part of a description of the behavior expected from whoever wants to make sure they don’t “kill” their freshly sprouted tobacco seedlings by staring at them: They should “look the other way”.

-myza

- (203) *Na imiakihiamary*
na imaki=ha=mary
 1SG.POSS husband=LOC=NFOC
hwamixanai.
h<u>a-myza-¹⁰si-ana-i-∅-∅
 <1SG>be-**CONVERG**-SEQ-1SG.IPFV-M-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “I am coming to meet (and stay) with my own husband.”

- (204) ‘*Agi zanihia madi digiamixikia*’
agi zani=ha madi diga-myza-¹⁰si-i-ka-∅
 trail middle=LOC people have-**CONVERG**-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.QEV

nariawaky.
 na-ria-uaky
 say-M.DECL-3M.PPST.FH

“He told me that they caught up with them in the middle of the way [halfway between the house and the riverside].”

- (205) *Agamyza!*
 aga-**myza**-∅
 take-**CONVERG-IMP**
 “Come take it back!”

The suffix *-myza* indicates that an action implies a convergent movement (i.e. that the execution of an action involves approaching another person). If attached to the non-inflecting verb root *ziawiakia* “to be small”, it results in the inflecting verb *ziawiakiamyza-* meaning “to shrink, to grow smaller”.

-¹za

- (206) *Butunja!*
 butuna-¹**za**-∅
 snap-**THROUGH-IMP**
 “Snap it through [the stalk of the caranã leaf]!”

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|-------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (207) | <i>zomy</i> | <i>zama</i> | <i>kasanjaru</i> | <i>nany</i> |
| | zomy | zama | kasana- ⁰ za -ru | nany-∅ |
| | tooth;3M.POSS | thing | get.stuck- BETWEEN-F.NMLZ | deal- INSTRNMLZ |
| | “dental floss” | | | |
| | (Lit. tool for dealing with things that got stuck between someone’s teeth) | | | |

The suffix *-⁰za* indicates that the action described by the verb crosses (“goes through”) an object from one side to the other, or occurs between two things.

-byza

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------|---|
| (208) | <i>Agabyzasama!</i> | (209) | <i>Jagabatiru?</i> |
| | aga- byza -sama | | i-aga- byza - ¹ si-ru-∅-∅ |
| | take- OUT-IMP.NEG | | 2SG-take- OUT-SEQ-F-HPST-PQ.FH |
| | “Don’t take it out!” | | “Did you take it out already?” |

The suffix *-byza* has the meaning “out of a recipient”. (208) was produced by a person who wanted to prevent her interlocutor from taking an object out of a basket. (209) was a question asked to a surgeon by a patient who wanted to know whether he had already removed the stitches from a sutured area.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Since the description 'out of a recipient' is not adequate in all contexts, as in the verb *itabyza-* “put onto the fire to cook”, this suffix requires further investigation.

-bamyzaga

- (210) *Ara* *kuhwanibiara* *ganiabamyzaga!*
ara kuhani=ba=ra gania-**bamyzaga**-∅
2SG.POSS carrying.basket=FUT=OBJ see-**IN.CIRCLES**-IMP
“Go around the house to find a carrying basket for yourself.”
(Lit. “Go circumsee your future carrying basket!”)

The suffix *-bamyzaga* has the same meaning as the Latin prefix *circum-*. It describes the circular movement inherent to the action described by the verb root.

-hauada

- (211) *Jadahyha* *madi*
i-adahy=ha madi
1PL.POSS-grave;M.POSS=LOC people

tiridahawadadawagi.
tirida-**hauada**-daua-gi
hang-**IN.STRAIGHT.LINE**-HAB-3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“People normally hang them [dried, painted peach palm fibers] on a line within our graves.”

The suffix *-hauada* denotes that the action described by the verb arranges things or persons (either the subject of the verb, or the object of the transitive verb) in a (literal or metaphorical) straight line.

4.7. Aktionsart (slots 2 to 4)

In Suruwahá, slots 2 to 4 of the verb template accommodate three sets of optional suffixes that convey nuances of temporal aspects related to the action referred to by the verb. Following the definition adopted by Dienst in his grammar of Kulina, I will refer to these as *Aktionsart* suffixes: According to Dienst’s use of this term, *Aktionsart* “groups together all the verbal suffixes other than directionals which have a lexical meaning rather than a grammatical function.” (2014:123).⁸⁸

Slot 2

- ¹*zaha* “during some time”
-*gyra* “back to the starting point, again”
-¹*ryga* “repeatedly, rhythmically, one after the other (according to a list)”

⁸⁸ Dixon (2004) uses a different and more encompassing term, “miscellaneous suffixes”, to refer to the entire group of suffixes found in Jarawara that correspond to - and in some cases are cognates of - the suffixes that occupy slots 1, 2 and 3 of the predicate structure in Suruwahá.

<i>-ua</i>	“change of state”
<i>-gana</i>	“first, before another action”

Slot 3

<i>-kamyza</i>	“after sunrise, early in the morning”
<i>-bana</i>	“during the night”

Slot 4

<i>-daua</i>	“usually, normally, habitually, typically”
<i>-¹⁰zaua</i>	“always”
<i>-¹⁰si</i>	“then, after, already”
<i>-¹sa</i>	“almost”
<i>-¹nygazy</i>	“persevering, insisting”
<i>-nauahu</i>	“left behind, remaining”

While it is evident that at least three consecutive predicate slots are required to accommodate the different Aktionsart suffixes because some of them (e.g. *-¹⁰zaha*, *-kamyza* and *-¹⁰si*; *-gana* and *-¹⁰si*; *-gyra* and *-daua*, etc.) can be combined with each other and, in this case, follow a strict ordering, the classification of certain of the above-listed suffixes into specific slots presents unresolved challenges. The difficulty stems from two main issues. First, I could not find examples demonstrating the combination of each suffix in one slot with all suffixes from the other two slots (for example, my corpus does not contain any combination of *-gana* with *-kamyza*). Second, the absence of co-occurrences in my corpus (such as between the suffixes *-gyra* and *-gana*, or between *-¹⁰zaua* and any other Aktionsart suffix) does not necessarily imply that these suffixes cannot be combined. The lack of observed combinations could merely be a result of the limitations of the available data, rather than a definitive indication that these suffixes belong to the same slot (i.e. are mutually exclusive). In the following, I further discuss the semantics and behavior of each Aktionsart suffix listed above and offer examples of their use.

-¹⁰zaha

- (212) *Nasakijaha* *kubaha,* *aty* *nanxumara!*
 nasa-ka-¹**zaha** ku-baha aty na-ni-su-mara
 sit-APPL-**DUR** be-POL.IMP.PL talk AUX-F-NEG-SS
 “Please just stay sitting there for a while, without talking.”

- (213) *Harusury* *jahagwani*.
 ha-ru=su=ry ku-[↑]*zaha*-guani
 be-F.NMLZ=NEG=SIML be-DUR-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is as if she is not there.”
 (Lit. For a while, she is the one similar to a person not being there.)
- (214) *Aru mitia nijahahana, hyny jahagwani!*
 aru mita na-[↑]*zaha*-∅-hana hyny na-[↑]*zaha*-ru-gani
 1SG listen AUX-DUR-M-O>S be.silent AUX-DUR-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Even though I keep listening, it remains silent.”
- (215) *Masiki sarysary jaxagai.*
 masiki sarysary na-[↑]*zaha*-[∅]si-agai
 sun be.overshadowed AUX-DUR-SEQ-3M.IPFV.HPST.DECL.FH
 “The sunlight is now overshadowed [due to the clouds].”
- (216) *Tiatu kusy jahagwani.*
 Tiatu kusy na-[↑]*zaha*-ru-gani
 Tiatu smile AUX-DUR-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Tiatu is smiling.”

The suffix *-[↑]zaha* indicates that a person or object remains in a certain state, or keeps doing the action referred to by the verb for a while. It can be followed by the sequential suffix *-[↑]si*, which deletes its second syllable, as shown in (215). In (212), the speaker asks a group of persons to stay seated quietly (as they watch a full-length movie on television). In (213), she describes the subtle presence of a person who (lying in her hammock quietly, without taking part in the conversation) gives the others the impression of not being there at all (in this case, the suffix was used because it took the speaker some time to even notice the other person’s presence at the scene). In (214), a man describes his unsuccessful attempt (taking several minutes of his time) to hear something another person claims she is hearing (the song of the river, perceivable only to a shaman’s ears). (215) is a comment on the fact that, even though the day had been sunny so far, some clouds came up and covered the sun, so that it is now temporarily “shadowy”. (216) describes a person smiling. There is a little group of verbs describing states that by their very nature last some time, which never occur without being suffixed with *-[↑]zaha*.

If attached to inflecting verbs, *-[↑]zaha* causes raising of the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable to /i/ (see (212) above). If attached to the auxiliary of a non-inflecting verb or the copula *ku-* (as in (213, 214 and 215), it causes the deletion of the auxiliary or copula if the subject of the verb is the third person. If the subject is the first or second person, the vowel at the end of the auxiliary or copula is raised to /i/ (as in the subordinate clause in (214)).

-gyra

- (217) *Gwawryryri* *byky* *nitiumara*
g<u>aua-[↑]ry-ri byky na-[↑]si-i-su-mara
<1SG>step-DOWN-M.NMLZ be.distant AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-SS
ukwaxawadagixanawaky.
ukasia-uada-**gyra**-[↑]si-anauaky
lean.back-THITHER-**AGAIN**-SEQ-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
“Then, shortly before stepping down [from the hammock], I leaned back again
[because I wanted to sleep a little more]”.

- (218) *Anidiawara* *ihia**gyra**!*
anidaua=ra iha-**gyra**-∅
owner=OBJ give-**BACK**-IMP
“Give it back to the owner!”

The suffix *-gyra* means “again” (as in “a second time”) or “back” (to the starting point). In (217), it is used together with the directional suffix *-uada* on an intransitive motion verb (“to recline against something”) to indicate a motion away from the current position of the person (*-uada*) which at the same time conduces the person back to a position that she had previously occupied (the speaker, in her previous utterances, had described how she was sleeping while lying in her hammock, but then woke up from a nightmare, and sat up). In (218), *-gyra* is used together with the verb “to give” to convey that a person is not “simply” giving something to someone, but that she is returning it. Whenever *-gyra* precedes the suffix *-[↑]si*, it becomes *-gi*.

-[↑]ryga

- (219) *Ara* *xuru* *madi* *wiji*
ara siuru madi uizi
2SG.POSS younger.brother PL name;M.POSS

*kuz**ryga**!*
kuzy-[↑]**ryga**-∅
name-**ONE.AFTER.OTHER**-IMP
“Tell me the names of your younger brothers, one after the other!”

- (220) *Ta* *igiaty* *kiarukubandy*
ta igaty k<i>arukuba-ndy
2SG animal <2SG>kill.with.blowgun-F.PNMLZ

*nydy**ryga**!*
nydy-[↑]**ryga**-∅
enumerate-**ONE.AFTER.OTHER**-IMP
“Enumerate all the animals you have ever killed with your blowgun!”

The suffix *-ryga* indicates that the action described by the verb has an “enumerating nature” or implies “working through a list”, dealing with one item at a time.

-ua

- (221) *Hia hadanxihiana,*
 hia hadana-¹si-∅-hana
 here press-SEQ-M-O>S

tiahiawahy xisagani.
 tiahia-**ua**-hy na-¹si-ru-su-agani
 burn-**CoS**-FRUSTR AUX-SEQ-F-NEG-3F.HPST.DECL.FH

“Even if I press here [on this button], it [the flashlight] does not light up anymore.”

- (222) *Na jumadura nagadyzuwa!*
 na iumadu=ra na-gania-¹zy-**ua**-∅
 1SG.POSS knife=OBJ CAUS-see-FPASS-**CoS**-IMP

“Show me where my [disappeared] knife is!”

(Lit. Cause my knife to change from invisible to visible!)

The suffix *-ua* indicates a change of state. In the first example, the verb *tiahia*- “burn” is suffixed with *-ua* to denote the flashlight’s transition from the state not projecting light (i.e. of being turned off) to the state of projecting light (i.e. being turned on). In the second example, which was produced by a person accusing another of stealing, it is attached to the verb *nagadyzy*- “cause to be visible” to make it clear that its object needs to undergo a change of state (so it can be seen). It is important to note that not all causativized verbs take the suffix *-ua*: for example, *na-mazaru*- “to kill” does not take it even if one could argue that “to die” implies a change of state of a being from living to dead (because the verb *mazaru*- “to die” itself already implies a change of state, while *gany*-¹zy- “to be visible” does not).

Further investigation is needed to determine whether or not *-ua* can be combined with *-gyra*. My field notes include (223) below; however, since the speaker was speaking fastly and I was not able to double-check this example, I cannot guarantee that it is annotated correctly:

- (223) *Igiananzubuni nawasywagyra!*
 iganani zubuni na-uasy-**ua**-gyra-∅
 chest.F eye.F CAUS-be.tough-**CoS**-AGAIN-IMP

“Try to remember!”

(Lit. Cause your heart to be tough again.)

-gana

- (224) *Hia tuhwagana! Ari gunagyra*
hia tuha-**gana**-∅ ari guna-gyra
here place-**FIRST-IMP** 1PL walk.together-**AGAIN**
- kianabiada nangai.*
k<i>ana-ri-ba-da na-ngai
<1PL>AUX-M-FUT-DECL.CONJC say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“Put it here for now! We will come by here again on the way back.”

- (225) *Anidiawara hijaragansi!*
anidaua=ra hizara-**gana**-⁰si-∅
owner=OBJ speak-**FIRST-SEQ-IMP**
“Talk first to the owner!”

The suffix *-gana* means “first” or “temporarily”. It denotes that the action described by the verb is performed before a certain other event, or that it is of a provisional nature. Interestingly, there is no suffix meaning “after” occupying the same slot as *-gana* within the predicate structure. It is important to note that the suffix does not serve the purpose of linking an adverbial clause to a main clause (as in “Before doing this, he did that”). Clause-linking suffixes (i.e. switch-reference markers) will be discussed under 4.16.

-kamyza

- (226) *Arihiawa zama waharyru kahyzykamyza*
ari=haua zama=∅ uahary-ru kahy-zy-**kamyza**
1PL=OBL EXPL=SUBJ be.day-F.NMLZ desire-FPASS-**IN.THE.MORNING**
- xisuhwa, biruhwa*
na-¹⁰si-ru-su-ha biru=ha
AUX-SEQ-F-NEG.BECAUSE house.edge=LOC
- jurunakamixanawaky.*
z<i>uruna-**kamyza**-¹⁰si-anauaky
<1PL>gather-**IN.THE.MORNING-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH**

“Feeling bothered by the morning light, we gathered at the edge of the house.”
(Lit. Then, since to us the environment filled with light was not desirable anymore after sunrise, we gathered at the edge of the house after sunrise.)

The suffix *-kamyza* indicates that the event described by the verb occurred after sunrise (around 6-8 AM). In complex sentences including a main clause and an adverbial clause, as exemplified in (226), speakers often use the suffix twice (once attached to the predicate of the subordinate clause, and once attached to the predicate of the main clause).

While my own corpus does not contain any sentences in which *-kamyza* occurs together with other Aktionsart suffixes listed under slot 2 above, Márcia Suzuki’s unpublished dictionary includes a couple of sentences where it follows *-⁽⁰⁾zaha* (as in “Are you taking a moment to just sit in your hammock in the morning?”).

-bana

- (227) *Wasi* *tahyha* *madi wajumabanamiara,*
 uasi *tahy=ha* *madi uaizuma-bana-i-mara*
 young.man 3M.POSS.cover=LOC people sing-AT.NIGHT-M-SS
- gaha* *tymymara,* *wadadawagi.*
 gaha *tymy-∅-mara* *uada-dawa-gi*
 woolly.monkey imitate-M-SS sleep-HAB-3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“After spending the entire night singing at the young man’s cover,⁸⁹ people usually imitate the woolly monkey,⁹⁰ and then go to sleep.”

The suffix *-bana* is considered by speakers to be a counterpart of *-kamyza*. It indicates that the action described by the verb occurred during the night. In (227), the speaker could have used *-kamyza* in the second adverbial clause to emphasize that the ritual “imitation of the woolly monkey” occurred as soon as daylight broke (after people sang all night). Which, however, she did not.

-¹zaua

- (228) ‘*Nai* *hawixinihiama* *na* *nasikiara?’*
 nai *haua-¹si-ni-hama* *na* *nasi=ka=ra*
 my.mother eat-SEQ-F-PQ.HPST.CONJ 1SG.POSS curassow=PST=OBJ
- nijawangai,* *asana.*
 na-¹ziaua-ngai *aru=sana*
 say-ALWAYS-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH 1SG=ALSO

“I also constantly wonder whether my mother might have eaten my curassow.”
 (Lit. I always say: ‘Has my mother eaten my curassow [conjecture]?’)

- (229) *Na* *zamuniria* *niabutanaku?*
 na *zamuni=ra* *n<i>a-butana-ku*
 1SG.POSS daughter=OBJ <2SG>CAUS-be.pregnant-2SG.PPST.PQ.FH

⁸⁹ “The young man’s cover” is the standard term used to refer to the male rite of passage into adulthood. It is so named in allusion to the fact that during the ritual, adolescents who typically walked naked until that point receive their penis sheath (which covers the gland).

⁹⁰ “To imitate the woolly monkey” refers to a wrestling ritual during which people disguise themselves with tree leaves to resemble monkeys.

<i>Ibiahiniria</i>	<i>hwawijawawa!</i>
i-bahini=ra	h<u>aua- [↑] ziaua-∅-ua
2SG.POSS-prey;F.POSS=OBJ	<1SG>eat-ALWAYS-M-DES

“Did you get my daughter pregnant? [If so] I want to be able to always eat game hunted by you!”

The suffix *-[↑]zaua* means “always” or “constantly”. As mentioned above, it is not compatible with any other Aktionsart suffix. It requires the raising of the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable to /i/.

-daua

(230) <i>Hadaraka</i>	<i>akuwankiany,</i>	<i>madi nuzymara,</i>
hadara=ka	akuua-ni-kany	madi na-uzy-∅-mara
clearing=PST	be.finished-F-DS	people CAUS-burn-M-SS

<i>huriatiniria</i>	<i>madi ahunadawagi.</i>
huriatini=ra	madi ahuna- daua -gi
bark.trumpet=OBJ	people blow- HAB -3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“When the clearing is finished and the people have burnt it, they play bark trumpets.”

(231) <i>Hajini</i>	<i>hunagradawasagwani.</i>
haizini	huna-gyra- daua -su-aguani
woman	be.near.fire- HAB -NEG-3F.HPST.DECL.FH

“A woman does never come back near the cooking fire [to take food for herself, after she has finished cooking for the men at the occasion of a puberty ritual].”

(232) <i>Tiawakuru</i>	<i>hyzamara</i>	<i>hawadawawai?</i>
tiaukuru	hyzama=ra	haua- daua -uai
black.fronted.nunbird	what=OBJ	eat- HAB -3M.HPST.CQ.FH

“What are the feeding habits of the black-fronted nunbird?”

<i>Kubixa hawai,</i>	<i>xuruhwa hawai,</i>	<i>nadawagi.</i>
kubisa haua-i	siuruha haua-i	na- daua -gi
cricket eat-M	cockroach eat-M	AUX- HAB -3M.HPST.DECL.FH

“It eats crickets and cockroaches.”

The suffix *-daua*, which can also be used as a nominalizer (*daruna*- “to swim” → *darunadawa* “a swimmer”) adds a habitual meaning to the predicate. However, it is only used to discuss traditions shared by an entire society, or habits that characterize some plant or animal species as a whole, not the personal lifestyle of some individual. Verbs suffixed with *-daua* are incompatible with conjectural evidentials, future tense and preodiernal past tense suffixes (that is, *-daua* is restricted to firsthand and quoted evidentiality marked statements or questions about the present).

⁻¹si

- (233) *Abara byhangai.*
aba=ra byha-ngai
fish=OBJ cook-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I have cooked the fish.”
- (234) *Abara byxangai.*
aba=ra byha-⁻¹si-angai
fish=OBJ cook-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I have already cooked the fish.”
- (235) *Abara byharianangai*
aba=ra byha-ria-nangai
fish=OBJ cook-M.IPFV-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I am cooking the fish.”
- (236) *Abara byxirianangai*
aba=ra byha-⁻¹si-ria-nangai
fish=OBJ cook-SEQ-M.IPFV-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I am already cooking the fish.”
- (237) *Gwanianawaky*
g<u>ania-nauaky
<1SG>see-1SG.PPST.FH
“I saw it.”
- (238) *Gwanxanawaky*
g<u>ania-⁻¹si-anauaky
<1SG>see-SEQ-1SG.PPST.FH
“Then I saw it.”
- (239) *Hawa naxangai*
haua na-ri-su-angai
eat AUX-M-NEG-1SG.HPST.DECL:FH
“I have not eaten.”
- (240) *Hawa nixixangai*
haua na-⁻¹si-ri-su-angai
eat AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I have not eaten yet/anymore.”

The suffix ⁻¹si carries various meanings, such as “already”, “(not) anymore”, “then”, or “immediately”. It denotes that an action is viewed in its temporal relationship to a previous action or state, reflecting the speaker’s perspective on the sequence of events. Examples (233) and (234), (235) and (236), (237) and (238), and (239) and (240) show pairs of clauses that are identical except for the absence/presence of the suffix ⁻¹si, demonstrating their differences in meaning.

stem is reduplicated; the inflected auxiliary *na-* carries the durative suffix $-^{\uparrow\emptyset}zaha$, and a second auxiliary *na-* carrying the suffix $-^{\uparrow}zy$ (whose function needs yet to be discovered; this is not the facilitative passive marker) is inserted to the right side of the verb-stem suffixed with $-^{\uparrow}sa$.

$-^{\uparrow}nygazy$

- (244) *Suruwaha iri uda namyhy^{nygazy} nariawaky.*
 Suruuaha iri uda namyha-^{nygazy} na-riauaky
 Suruwahá 3M.POSS house be.high-**CONT** AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “The Suruwahá people’s communal houses continued to be high.”

- (245) *Jariuni ‘Haba! Kahyzy naxu!’*
 Ziariuni haba kahy-zy na-i- \emptyset -su- \emptyset
 Jariuni stop desire-FPASS AUX-M-HPST-NEG-DECL.QEV

nanikiany, hynynygazy na kuriawaky.
 na-ni-kany hyna-^{nygazy} na ku-riauaky
 say-F-DS say.this-**CONT** AUX AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH

“Even though Jariuni said: ‘Stop it! I don’t like this!’, he insisted.”
 (Lit. Even though Jariuni said: ‘Stop! It is not desirable!’, he simply kept saying/doing it again and again.)

The suffix $-^{\uparrow}nygazy$ (which is not to be confused with the grammatical imperfective aspect) denotes that an action persisted “on and on” beyond a certain reference point in time. it connotes that someone insists on continuing an action, even if he or she is expected to stop. $-^{\uparrow}nygazy$ triggers the raising of the preceding vowel to /y/, and requires an auxiliary construction with the verb *na-*.

-nauahu

- (246) *Ari miazasikiany, ja zamakaba*
 ari m<i>azaru- \emptyset si-i-kany zia zama=kaba
 1PL <1PL>die-SEQ-M-DS 1PL.POSS thing=FORMER

hanawahu xurubada nangai.
 ha-**nauahu** na- $\uparrow\emptyset$ si-ru-ba-da na-ngai
 exist-**BEHIND** AUX-SEQ-F-FUT-DECL.CONJ say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH

“When we die, our belongings are left behind.”

The suffix *-nauahu* has a similar meaning as *-nygazy* in the sense that it indicates the persistence of a state of being beyond a certain reference moment in time. However, it is used

specifically in the context of describing what happens after someone’s death (“behind the dead person’s back”). *-nauahu* triggers an auxiliary construction with the verb *na-*.

4.8. Miratives

Suruwahá employs two mirative suffixes to express unexpected or contrary outcomes, evoking surprise or disappointment in the speaker. The suffix, *-uy* indicates that something occurred despite it not being supposed or expected to happen, thereby negatively surprising or upsetting the speaker. I will refer to this suffix as depreciative. The suffix, *-hy* is typically (but not always) used together with negative constructions to signify that something did not happen, even though it was desired or expected, thus disappointing the speaker. I will refer to this suffix as frustrative. The mirative suffixes occupy slot 6 of the predicate; that is, they can be either directly attached to the verb stem or be preceded by directional suffixes, Aktionsart suffixes pertaining to slots 2 and 3, and/or the facilitative passive suffix *-[†]zy*.

Both the depreciative and the frustrative suffix turn the verb stem to which they are attached (an inflecting lexical verb or the auxiliary of a non-inflecting verb) into a non-inflecting verb, i.e. they require the auxiliary *na-* to follow the stem to which they attach, and to host all its inflectional morphology. If mirative suffixes are attached to verbs carrying the sequential suffix *-[∅]si*, *-[∅]si* also migrates onto the auxiliary.

Below, I will present pairs of example sentences. Each pair consists of two sentences that are identical except for the presence of the mirative suffix *-uy/ -hy* in one of them. This comparison will illustrate how these suffixes behave, and how they affect the sentence's semantic connotations.

-uy

- (247) *Haka tiuxangani.*
 haka t<i>uha-^{†∅}si-angani
 laugh <2SG>put-SEQ-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You are making fun of him.”

Haka tuhwawy nixangani!
 haka tuha-**uy** na-[†]si-angani
 laugh put-**DEPREC** AUX-SEQ-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You are making fun of him! How absurd, I did not expect this from you!”

- (248) *Aruwa gai jaharahwa!*
 aru=ra gai na-^{†∅}zaha-rahua
 1SG=OBJ look AUX-DUR-3F.CRIT

“She is staring at me, which is inappropriate.”

<i>Aruwa</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>jahawy</i>	<i>narahwa!</i>
aru=ra	gai	na- ¹⁰ zaha- uy	na-rahua
1SG=OBJ	look	AUX-DUR- DEPREC	AUX-3F.CRIT

“Look at this! There she is, staring at me! How inappropriate, I did not expect this from her!”

(249)	<i>Kari muturu</i>	<i>nahamixirihia,</i>	<i>zama</i>
	Kari muturu	na-hama- ¹⁰ si-ri-ha	zama
	Kari motor	CAUS-stop-SEQ-M-BECAUSE	EXPL

<i>satunini</i>	<i>buhwa giunitirianawaky.</i>
satunini	buha g<i>una- ⁰ yza- ¹⁰ si-rianauaky
darkness;F.POSS	<1PL>walk.together-HITHER-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH

“Since Kari had turned off the light generator, we walked home in the dark.”

<i>Kari muturu</i>	<i>nahamawy</i>	<i>xirihia,</i>
Kari muturu	na-hama- uy	na- ¹⁰ si-ri-ha
Kari motor	CAUS-stop- DEPREC	AUX-SEQ-M-BECAUSE

<i>zama satunini</i>	<i>buhwa</i>
zama satunini	buha
EXPL darkness;F.POSS	under

<i>giunitirianawaky.</i>
g<i>una- ⁰ yza- ¹⁰ si-rianauaky
<1PL>walk.together-HITHER-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH

“Since Kari had turned off the light generator, which we had not expected him to, we were forced to walk home in the dark.”

In (247) and (249), *-uy* is directly attached to the verb stem of an inflecting verb, and since this verb carries the sequential suffix, the latter migrates onto the auxiliary *na-* together with the inflectional suffixes. In (248), it is attached to the auxiliary of the non-inflecting verb *gai*, which is already suffixed with the durative suffix *-¹⁰zaha*. The ending *-rahua* is transferred to the *na-* auxiliary verb following *-uy*, whose addition to the clause is required by the mirative suffix. As shown in example (248), *-uy* is often combined with a special type of inflectional ending (first person singular *-nahia*, second person singular, *-nahua*, third person masculine *-riahia*, third person feminine *-rahua*) used for criticizing facts one is commenting on. This set of endings contrasts with the emotionally unmarked endings combining values for tense, declarative mood and firsthand evidentiality.

-hy

(250) *Aruwa timia zama ihia nasagwani.*
aru=ra tima zama iha na-ru-su-aguani
1SG=OBJ 2PL EXPL give AUX-F-NEG-2PL.HPST.DECL.FH
“You did not give me anything.”

Aruwa timia zama ihiahy
aru=ra tima zama iha-hy
1SG=OBJ 2PL EXPL give-FRUSTR

nasagwani!
na-ru-su-aguani
AUX-F-NEG-3SG.F.HPST.DECL.FH
“Wow! You did not give me anything even though I was expecting gifts! How disappointing!”

(251) *Tuhwagyra naxagi*
tuha-gyra na-ri-su-agi
put-BACK AUX-M-NEG-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
“He didn’t put it back.”

Tuhwagyrahy naxagi.
tuha-gyra-hy na-ri-su-agi
put-BACK-FRUSTR AUX-M-NEG-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
“Unfortunately, differently from what I had expected, he did not put it back.”

In (250), *-hy* is attached to a bare inflecting verb root not carrying any directional or Aktionsart suffixes, while in (251), it is attached to the inflecting verb *tuha-* “put” already suffixed with *-gyra*. In both examples, the negated auxiliary *na-* follows to indicate that the expected event did not happen.

In some contexts needing further investigation, speakers change the final vowel of the verb stem to /y/ instead of suffixing it with *-uy* or *-hy* in order to indicate that the event described by the verb emotionally affects them (or has emotionally affected them when it happened in the past).

In addition to the two mirative suffixes described above, my corpus contains several occurrences of a further mirative (?) suffix whose semantics and grammatical behavior I still have doubts about: *-tyky/ -tiki*. In some contexts it expresses (mere) surprise (a surprise that does not have the character ‘dismay that something inappropriate happened, or disappointment that something expected did not occur). it occupies the last slot of the predicate.

(252) <i>Agariahukwary</i>	<i>kunitiki!</i>
Agariahu=ka=ry	ku-ni-tiki
Agariahu=KNOWN.FROM.PAST=SIML	be-F-MIR
“Wow! She looks exactly like Agariahu!”	

4.9. Negation

Negation of declarative and interrogative clauses marked for firsthand or inferred evidentiality is asymmetrical in Suruwahá: This means the negative morpheme is attached to an auxiliary added to the clause specifically for the purpose of negation, rather than directly to the lexical verb. In contrast, standard negation of declarative clauses marked for quotative evidentiality can optionally be symmetrical, with no discernible difference in meaning between the two possible constructions.

The same negator, *-su*, is used in both declarative and interrogative clauses. It occupies the predicate slot immediately after the slot reserved for gender agreement markers in statements marked for firsthand evidentiality. In statements marked for quotative or inferred evidentiality, it follows the prehodiernal past tense marker *-ka* (if used). Imperative clauses use a different negation suffix, *-sama*, which can attach either directly to the verb stem, or to the auxiliary *na-*. It is attached directly to the stem of the lexical verb when the speaker wants to simply, categorically forbid another person to do something (“Do not do this!”), while attaching it to the auxiliary *na-* adds a durational connotation to the negative command (“Do not keep doing this all the time!”).

Negating copula clauses implies integrating *=su* into the cluster of phrasal suffixes attached to the right side of the noun phrase that serves as the subject complement (after the nominal tense marker and before the information structure marker), rather than attaching it to the copula predicate itself. This means that to say “he is not human”, one literally says “he is a non-human”. Additionally, in this case the “neutral” copular verb *ha-* is replaced by the “comparative” copular verb *ku-*, which denotes an approximative, inferior, provisional, or negative way of being. When *ha-* is “directly” negated with an auxiliary suffixed with *-su*, speakers interpret the clause as intransitive (“there is no...”, “...does not exist”) rather than a copula clause (“he is not...”).

4.9.1. Asymmetrical negation

In asymmetrically negated clauses, the negative suffix *-su* takes the auxiliary *na-* as its host.⁹¹ An additional auxiliary verb *na-* is added to the clause even if the verb to be negated is non-inflecting and therefore already followed by an auxiliary in the original non-negated clause. Valency changing affixes, directional suffixes and Aktionsart suffixes pertaining to slots 2 and 3 remain attached to the lexical verb in negated contexts. However, the sequential suffix *-¹⁰si*, if used, migrates onto the auxiliary *na-*, along with person and gender agreement markers and TAME (or switch-reference) suffixes.

The suffix *-su* is affected by the phonological influence of both the gender of subject marking suffix to its left side (often dropped in fast speech) and the polyexponential TAME-suffix to its right side. As a result, its final superficial form can vary, appearing as [su], [çju], [çja] or [sa]. In negated clauses marked for conjectural evidentiality - as shown in example (270) - the three suffixes attached to the auxiliary *na-* merge so extensively that the negator itself becomes undistinguishable.

Examples:

Declarative clause, inflecting verb, firsthand evidentiality, absence of sequential suffix

(253) *Hwawangai.*

h<u>aua-ngai
<1SG>eat-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I have eaten it.”

(254) *Hawa naxangai.*

haua na-ri-**su**-angai
eat AUX-M-**NEG**-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“I have not eaten it.”

(255) *Hiawangani.*

h<i>aua-ngani
<2SG>eat-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
“You have eaten it.”

⁹¹ There is one context in which *-su* attaches to the auxiliary *ku-* instead of the auxiliary *na-*: When one wants to say that “something does not exist anymore”.

<i>Haa</i>	<i>kusuwawy</i>	<i>xawaky.</i>
ha	ku -su-ua-uy	na- ¹⁰ si-uaky
be	AUX-NEG-CoS-DEPREC	AUX-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
“Unfortunately, he did not exist anymore (i.e. he had died).”		

- (256) *Hawa niasangani.*
 h^aua n<i>a-ru-**su**-angani
 eat <2SG>AUX-F-**NEG**-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You have not eaten it.”
- (257) *Hawagwani.*
 h^aua-ru-guani
 eat-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “She has eaten it.”
- (258) *Hawa nasagwani.*
 h^aua na-ru-**su**-aguani
 eat AUX-F-**NEG**-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “She has not eaten it.”

In declarative clauses marked for firsthand evidentiality, the negative suffix *-su* follows the masculine gender suffix *-ri*, which causes the palatalization of its initial /s/ (even if the speaker decides to drop it), or the feminine gender suffix *-ru*, which does not affect the initial /s/. It is followed by the polyexponential suffix indicating person, tense, mood and evidentiality, which always deletes its final /u/.

Declarative clause, inflecting verb, firsthand evidentiality, presence of sequential suffix

- (259) *Hwawixangai.*
 h<u>a^ua-[↑]si-angai
 <1SG>eat-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I have already eaten it.”
- (260) *Hawa nixixangai.*
 h^aua na-[↑]si-ri-**su**-angai
 eat AUX-SEQ-M-**NEG**-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I have not eaten it yet/anymore.”
- (261) *Hiawixangani.*
 h<i>a^ua-[↑]si-angai
 <2SG>eat-SEQ-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You have already eaten it.”
- (262) *Hawa nixisangani.*
 h^aua na-[↑]si-ru-**su**-angani
 eat AUX-SEQ-F-**NEG**-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You have not eaten it yet/anymore.”
- (263) *Hawixagi.*
 h^aua-[↑]si-agi
 eat-SEQ-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He has already eaten it.”

- (264) *hawa xixagi*
 haua na-¹si-ri-**su**-agi
 eat AUX-SEQ-M-NEG.3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “He has not eaten it yet/anymore.”

Examples (259) to (264) are an illustration of how negating clauses carrying the sequential suffix $-^1si$ implies the migration of this suffix onto the auxiliary. The example pairs (259) and (260), and (263) and (264) also show how the superficial form of $-su$ can become identical to the superficial form of the sequential suffix.

Declarative clause, inflecting verb, quotative evidentiality

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(265) <i>Hawai.</i>
 haua-i-\emptyset-\emptyset
 eat-M-HPST-DECL.QEV
 “that he has eaten it (today).”</p> | <p>(266) <i>Hawa naxu.</i>
 haua na-i-su-\emptyset
 eat AUX-M-NEG-DECL.QEV
 “that he has not eaten it (today).”</p> |
| <p>(267) <i>Hawakia.</i>
 haua-i-ka-\emptyset
 eat-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
 “that he has eaten it (yesterday)”</p> | <p>(268) <i>Hawa nakiasu.</i>
 haua na-i-ka-su
 eat AUX-M-PPST-NEG-DECL.QEV
 “that he has not eaten it (yesterday).”</p> |

Examples (265) to (268) show declarative clauses marked for quotative evidentiality, and their negated counterparts (I have omitted the matrix clause containing the utterance predicate “I/you/he/she/ said”, which would normally follow the quotations due to space constraints). In these, the negative marker follows the tense marker (which is zero for hodiernal past), and is not followed by any other suffix (because quotative evidentiality, opposed to conjectural evidentiality, is zero marked in the sense that it is indicated by omitting the conjectural suffix $-da$).

Declarative clause, inflecting verb, inferred evidentiality

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(269) ‘<i>Hawadia.</i>’
 haua-ri-\emptyset-da
 eat-M-HPST-DECL.CONJC
 “He must have eaten it.”</p> | <p><i>nangai.</i>
 na-ngai
 say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH</p> |
| <p>(270) ‘<i>Hawa nata</i>’
 haua na-ri-\emptyset-su-da
 eat AUX-M-HPST-NEG-DECL.CONJC
 “He probably has not eaten it.”</p> | <p><i>nangai.</i>
 na-ngai
 say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH</p> |

As already mentioned above, in negated declarative clauses marked for inferred evidentiality, the gender marker, the negator and the conjectural evidential are merged into one sole syllable, $-ta$.

Declarative clause, inflecting verb carrying a directional and a sequential suffix, firsthand evidentiality

(271) *Akixawaky*
aka-⁰yz^a-¹⁰si-auaky
hold-HITHER-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
“Then he brought it.”

(272) *Akyza xixawaky*
aka-⁰yz^a na-¹⁰si-ri-**su**-auaky
hold-HITHER AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-3M.PPST.FH
“He did not bring it after all.”

(271) versus (272) illustrate how directional suffixes are not attached to the auxiliary in negated contexts.

Declarative clause, non inflecting verb, firsthand evidentiality

(273) *Haba xawanki.*
haba na-¹⁰si-auaniki
depart AUX-SEQ-3F.PPST.FH
“Then she went away.”

(274) *Haba na xisawanki*
haba na na-¹⁰si-ru-**su**-auaniki
depart AUX AUX-SEQ-F-NEG-3F.PPST.FH
“She ended up not going away.”

(273) versus (274) show how, when negating a non-inflecting verb that already requires an auxiliary to carry its inflectional morphology, an additional auxiliary is added to the clause as a host for the negative construction. In the negated context, the first auxiliary does not carry any suffixes (it would, though, carry the directional suffixes and the Aktionsart suffixes pertaining to slots 2 and 3 if there were any).

Polar question, inflecting verb, firsthand evidentiality

(275) *Wiadanaru?*
u<i>ada-naru
<2SG>sleep-2SG.IPFV.HPST.PQ.FH
“Are you sleeping?”

(276) *Wada niasanaru?*
uada n<i>a-**su**-anaru
sleep <2SG>AUX-NEG-2SG.IPFV.HPST.PQ.FH
“Are you not sleeping?”

(275) versus (276) illustrate that questions are negated in the same manner as declarative clauses. Specifically, the negator is attached to the auxiliary verb *na-* before the polyexponential ending that carries the information on TAME plus gender of subject.

4.9.2. Symmetrical standard negation

As already mentioned above, symmetrical standard negation is possible (but not mandatory) if the verb to be negated is marked for quotative evidentiality. Two different constructions, (278) and (279), can be used in order to negate (277):

(277)	<i>‘Hwawakia.’</i>	<i>nangai.</i>
	h<u>aua-i-ka-∅	na-ngai
	<1SG>eat-M-PPST-DECL.QEV	say-1SG.HPST-DECL.FH
	“I said ‘I ate it.’”	

(278)	<i>‘Aru hawa nakiasu.’</i>	<i>nangai.</i>
	aru hawa na-i-ka- su -∅	na-ngai
	1SG eat AUX-M-PPST- NEG -DECL.QEV	say-1SG.HPST-DECL.FH
	“I said ‘I did not eat it.’”	

(279)	<i>‘Hwawakiasu’</i>	<i>nangai.</i>
	h<u>aua-i-ka- su -∅	na-ngai
	<1SG>eat-M-PPST- NEG -DECL.QEV	say-1SG.HPST-DECL.FH
	“I said ‘I did not eat it.’”	

In (278) the negative suffix *-su* is hosted by the auxiliary *na-*, while in (279) it is directly attached to the non-negated form *hwawakia* “I ate it.”

4.9.3. Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives are formed by attaching the suffix *-sama* to the verb form used to express a positive command. However, in order to negate commands given to more than one person, *-sama* is inserted into the predicate before the plural imperative suffix *-ha*:

(280)	<i>Hawa!</i>	(281)	<i>Hawaha!</i>
	haua-∅		haua-ha
	eat-IMP.SG		eat-IMP.PL
	“Eat it!” [one addressee]		“Eat it!” [more than one addressee]

(282)	<i>Hawasama!</i>	(283)	<i>Hawasamaha!</i>
	haua-sama-∅		haua-sama-ha
	eat-IMP.NEG-IMP.SG		eat-IMP.NEG-IMP.PL
	“Don’t eat it!” [one addressee]		“Don’t eat it!” [more than one addressee]

If, instead of “simply” (categorically) prohibiting a certain action to someone, the speaker wants to prevent her or his interlocutor(s) from keep doing something “all the time”,

the negative imperative suffix *-sama* is attached to the auxiliary *na-* instead of the lexical verb.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(284) <i>Hawa nasama!</i>
 haa na-sama
 eat AUX-IMP.NEG
 “Don’t keep eating!”</p> | <p>(285) <i>Hawa nasamaha!</i>
 haa na-sama-ha
 eat AUX-IMP.NEG-IMP.PL
 “Don’t keep eating!” [more than one addressee]</p> |
|--|--|

Regarding the negation of polite imperatives stated by using the suffix *-bu*, it is formed by adding a second person infix to the verb (which is omitted in commands marked for positive polarity), and using the suffix *-rubu*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(286) <i>Banasama!</i>
 bana-sama
 touch-IMP.NEG
 “Do not touch it!”</p> | <p>(287) <i>Bianarubu!</i>
 b<i>ana-rubu
 <2SG>touch-POLIMP.NEG
 “Please do not touch it!”</p> |
|---|--|

4.9.4. Negative copula clauses

As already mentioned above, copula clauses are negated by attaching the negative morpheme =*su* to the noun phrase serving as the subject complement, rather than the copula predicate itself. And additionally, the copula verb *ha-* is replaced by the verb *ku-/ka-*. As shown in (292), if one negates the verb *ha-* instead of the noun phrase serving as the subject complement of the copula clause, the sentence will be interpreted as a description of the absence of someone/something (“there is no...at this place”), rather than as a negative classification (“this is not a...”).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(288) <i>Jadawa hwanangai.</i>
 izadaua h<u>a-nangai
 human.being <1SG>be-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I am a human being.”</p> | <p>(289) <i>Jadawasu kwanangai.</i>
 izadaua=su k<u>a-nangai
 human.being=NEG <1SG>be-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I am not a human being.”
 (Lit. I am a non-human being.)</p> |
| <p>(290) <i>Jiwi hagi.</i>
 ziui ha-ri-gi
 capuchin.monkey be-M-3M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “This is a capuchin monkey.” or “There is a capuchin monkey [here].”</p> | |

Suruwahá grammatically distinguishes seven different combinations of person-number:

- first person singular
- first person plural
- second person singular
- second person plural
- third person singular masculine
- third person singular feminine
- third person plural

The language does not specify clusivity and does not have specific forms for dual persons. This means the first person plural may or may not include the addressee and can refer to either two or more persons.

The first person (both singular and non-singular) triggers masculine agreement of the verb, while the second person (both singular and non-singular) triggers feminine agreement, regardless of the gender of the speaker or addressee. For the third person singular, the verb can carry masculine or feminine agreement markers. If the referent is a masculine noun, the verb will carry a masculine ending. Conversely, if the referent is a feminine noun, the verb will carry a feminine ending. The third person plural (only available for human subjects) triggers masculine agreement of the verb, even if the referent is a group exclusively consisting of women.

As already mentioned in section 3.1., the language only possesses five free personal pronouns: *aru* 1SG, *ta* 2SG, *ari* 1PL, *tima* 2PL, and *madi* 3PL. It lacks free pronouns for the 3SG (both masculine and feminine), except for demonstratives, interrogatives, and the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun (which are all gender neutral from a morphological viewpoint). And it only has two verbal subject person affixes: <u>/ u- for indexing a first person singular subject, and <i>/ i- for indexing either a second person singular or a first person plural subject.⁹³ If a verb root does not carry any person affix, this means its subject is either a third person or the second person plural. Even though in Proto Arawá (and all other contemporaneous Arawá languages), there were (still are) two different prefixes for the 2SG/PL and the 1PL, *ti-* and *i-*, in Suruwahá the second person prefix *ti-* has lost its initial /t/

⁹³ These morphemes are prefixes when the verb begins with the vowel /a/ or /u/, and infixes when the verb begins with a consonant.

becoming thus identical with the second person singular prefix. Additionally, in Suruwahá this prefix has completely disappeared from the 2PL.

Since both the <*i*> affix and the zero form are ambiguous, and the <*u*> affix, despite unambiguously indexing the first person singular, is only compatible with verb stems beginning with /*a*/ or a back consonant (/ka/, /ga/, or /ha/) - making it unsuitable for most verbs - the subject person affixes in Suruwahá are insufficient to fulfill their function of indexing the person of the subject on their own. In some contexts (see the yellow-shaded cells in the table below), the hearer can determine the person being referred to by analyzing the combination of a specific person-marking affix (or its absence) with a gender-marking suffix (slots 7 and/or 13 of the verb). Alternatively, if the zero person affix is used, the hearer must rely on the combination of a free person pronoun preposed to the verb with a masculine or feminine gender-marking suffix (see the blue-shaded cells in the table below) in order to determine whether his or her interlocutor is referring to a third person or the second person plural.

Table 10. Person and gender agreement of the verb

subject	free pronoun	circumstances in which the free pronoun is mandatory	verbal person prefix/infix	circumstances in which the prefix/infix is used	verbal gender agreement
1SG	<i>aru</i>	when the first syllable of the verb is not / <i>a</i> /, / <i>ha</i> /, / <i>ga</i> / or / <i>ka</i> /, and the verb does not carry a polyexponential ending including information on person of subject	<i>u-</i> or < <i>u</i> >	when the first syllable of the verb is / <i>a</i> /, / <i>ha</i> /, / <i>ga</i> / or / <i>ka</i> /	M
2SG	<i>ta</i>	when the first syllable of the verb is / <i>i</i> /, and the verb does not carry a polyexponential ending including information on person of subject	<i>i-</i> or < <i>i</i> >	always (exception: when the nucleus of the first syllable of the verb already is / <i>i</i> /)	F
3SG.F	-	-	-	-	F
3SG.M	-	-	-	-	M

1PL	<i>ari</i>	when the first syllable of the verb is /i/, and the verb does not carry a polyexponential ending including information on person of subject	<i>i-</i> or <i><i></i>	always (exception: when the nucleus of the first syllable of the verb already is /i/)	M
2PL	<i>tima</i>	always	-	-	F
3PL	<i>madi</i>	always (exception: in the main clause, if the pronoun was already used in the preceding same-subject marked subordinate clause)	-	-	M

Below, I present the conjugation paradigms of the verbs *gaua*- “walk”, *ahuha*- “be slow”, and *iha*- “give” (hodiernal past, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality) as an illustration. Brackets indicate a given morpheme is optional (i.e. typically omitted in fast speech).

gaua- “walk”

	free person pronoun preceding the verb	verb root + person infix	gender marking suffix	polyexponential ending: hodiernal past, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality	unsegmented superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>(aru)</i>	<i>g<u>aua</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>(aru) gwawangai</i>	"I walked"
2SG	<i>(ta)</i>	<i>g<i>aua</i>	-	<i>ngani</i>	<i>(ta) giawangani</i>	"you walked"
3SG.F	-	<i>gaua</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>gawa(ru)gwani</i>	"she walked"
3SG.M	-	<i>gaua</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>gawa(ri)gi</i>	"he walked"
1PL	<i>(ari)</i>	<i>g<i>aua</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>(ari) giawangai</i>	"we walked"
2PL	<i>tima</i>	<i>gaua</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>timia gawagwani</i>	"you walked"
3PL	<i>madi</i>	<i>gaua</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>madi gawa(ri)gi</i>	"they walked"

ahuha- “be slow, take time to do something”

	free pronoun preceding the verb	verb root + person infix	gender marking suffix	poly-exponential ending: hodiernal past, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality	unsegmented superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>(aru)</i>	<i>u-ahuha</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>(aru) wahuhwangai</i>	"It has taken me time"
2SG	<i>(ta)</i>	<i>i-ahuha</i>	-	<i>ngani</i>	<i>(ta) jahuhwangani</i>	"It has taken you time"
3SG.F	-	<i>ahuha</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>ahuhwa(ru)gwani</i>	"It has taken her time"
3SG.M	-	<i>ahuha</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>ahuhwa(ri)gi</i>	"It has taken him time"
1PL	<i>(ari)</i>	<i>i-ahuha</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>(ari) jahuhwangai</i>	"It has taken us time"
2PL	<i>tima</i>	<i>ahuha</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>timia ahuhwa(ru)gwani</i>	"It has taken you time"
3PL	<i>madi</i>	<i>ahuha</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>madi ahuhwa(ri)gi</i>	"It has taken them time"

iha- “give”

	free pronoun preceding the verb	root + person infix	gender marking suffix	polyexponential ending: hodiernal past, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality	unsegmented superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>aru</i>	<i>iha</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>aru ihiangai</i>	"I have given it"
2SG	<i>(ta)</i>	<i>iha</i>	-	<i>ngani</i>	<i>(ta) ihiangani</i>	"You have given it"
3SG.F	-	<i>iha</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>ihia(ru)gwani</i>	"She has given it"
3SG.M	-	<i>iha</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>ihia(ri)gi</i>	"He has given it"
1PL	<i>ari</i>	<i>iha</i>	-	<i>ngai</i>	<i>ari ihiangai</i>	"We have given it"
2PL	<i>tima</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>gani</i>	<i>timia ihia(ru)gwani</i>	"You have given it"
3PL	<i>madi</i>	<i>iha</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>madi ihia(ri)gi</i>	"They have given it"

As shown in the tables above, for verbs whose first syllable is not an onsetless /i/ syllable (e.g., *gaua*- and *ahuha*-), the portion of the verb corresponding to the root + person infix is distinctive for the 1SG but identical for the 2SG and 1PL forms. However, the respective endings differ: they are *-ngani* for the 2SG and *-ngai* for the 1PL (within the

paradigm combining hodiernal past, declarative mood, and firsthand evidentiality).⁹⁴ The verb forms for the third person singular masculine and third person plural masculine, as well as for the second person plural and third person singular feminine, are entirely identical. In these instances, speakers of Suruwahá consistently use the free pronouns *madi* and *tima* to distinguish between plural and singular referents. For verbs beginning with /i/ (such as *iha-*, *ima-*, or *igana-*), which cannot carry person infixes, the forms for the 1SG and 1PL are also identical. Here as well, Suruwahá speakers consistently employ overt pronouns (*aru* and *ari*) to distinguish between singular and plural first-person subjects.

4.11. Gender marking suffixes

As can already be seen from the three conjugation tables that I have presented above, the gender of the subject can be marked twice in one single verb form. However, whether or not it can be marked more than once depends on whether the verb is coded for firsthand or non-firsthand evidentiality: Verbs marked for either quotative or inferential evidentiality only contain one monoexponential gender marker allocated in slot 7, while within verb forms marked for firsthand evidentiality, the polyexponential endings carrying information on person of subject, tense, mood and evidentiality also contain information on the gender of the subject. Since the gender information present in these endings somehow makes the specific gender markers in slot 7 redundant, speakers in fact typically drop the latter (only compensating their deletion by preserving their phonological influence on the subsequent syllable). No monoexponential gender marker is allowed in content questions marked for firsthand evidentiality.

Regarding the gender markers allocated in slot 7, there exists more than one morpheme for indicating each gender: *-ri*, *-i* or \emptyset for masculine, and *-ru* or *-ni* for feminine. The *-ri/-ru* pair is used in polar questions and declarative clauses marked for firsthand evidentiality, as well as in declarative clauses marked for inferred evidentiality. Conversely, the *-i* (or zero, if the final vowel of the verb stem is /y/ or /u/)/*-ni* pair, which also indicates the gender of the possessor in inalienably possessed nouns, is employed in declarative clauses marked for quotative evidentiality, in polar and content questions marked for inferred

⁹⁴ It is not possible to further segment these endings because *ga* alone has no function or meaning. However, it is worth noting that first- and second-person endings consistently include an additional *n-* or *na-* as their initial syllable compared to third-person endings across different paradigms. Additionally, masculine and feminine endings are distinguished by the presence of /ni/ in the feminine endings, either as the last or penultimate syllable, which is absent in the masculine endings.

evidentiality, in adverbial clauses (i.e., verbs carrying switch-reference markers), and in enumerations. Below I provide some examples:

-ri/-ru

Polar question, firsthand evidentiality

- (293) *Tahawa mama kahzyri?*
 ta=haua mama kahy-[↑]zy-**ri**-∅-∅
 2SG=LOC manioc desire-FPASS-**M**-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Do you like manioc?”
 (Lit. Is manioc desirable within you?)

* *Tahawa mama kahzy?*

- (294) *Tahawa kana kahzyru?*
 ta=haua kana kahy-[↑]zy-**ru**-∅-∅
 2SG=LOC sugarcane desire-FPASS-**F**-HPST-PQ.FH
 “Do you like sugarcane?”
 (Lit. Is sugarcane desirable within you?)

* *Tahawa kana kahzyrni?*

The noun *mama* “manioc” is masculine, while *kana* “sugarcane” is feminine. In “Is manioc desirable for you?” versus “is sugarcane desirable for you?”, the first verb form carries the suffix *-ri*, while the second, the suffix *-ru*. This would also be the case if prehodiernal instead of hodiernal past tense were used (In this case the forms would be *Mama kahzyriri?* “Did you like the manioc” and *Kana kahzyruru?* “Did you like the sugarcane?”).

Declarative clause, inferred evidentiality

- (295) *Mama kahzydia nangai.*
 mama kahy-zy-**ri**-∅-da na-ngai
 manioc desire-FPASS-**M**-HPST-DECL.CONJC think-1SG.HPST-DECL.FH
 “I would like some manioc.”
 (Lit. I think: ‘Manioc is probably desirable.’)

* *Mama kahzyda nangai.*

- (296) *Kana kahzyda nangai.*
 kana kahy-[↑]zy-**ru**-∅-da na-ngai
 sugarcane desire-FPASS-**F**-DECL.CONJC think-1SG.HPST-DECL.FH
 “I would like some sugarcane.”

(Lit. I think: ‘Manioc is probably desirable’.)

* *Kana kahzyndia nangai.*

In declarative clauses marked for inferred evidentiality, *-ri* and *-ru* can also be used. However, as shown in (295) and (296), they are typically dropped in fast speech, and their virtual presence can only be noticed because the consonant in the suffix following *-ri* is still mandatorily palatalized, while the suffix following *-ru* is not (*kahzyndia* versus *kahzyda*).

-i/-ni* or *zero/-ni

Declarative clause, quotative evidentiality, versus declarative clause, firsthand evidentiality

(297)	‘ <i>Zaniti kahzy.</i> ’	<i>Mahini</i>
	Zaniti kahy-zy-∅-∅-∅	Mahini
	Zaniti desire-FPASS-M-HPST-DECL.QEV	Mahihi
	<i>nanikia.</i> ’,	<i>Buti nagwani.</i>
	na- ni -ka-∅	Buti na- ru -gani
	say- F -PPST-DECL.QEV	Buti say- F -3F-HPST-DECL.FH

“Buti said that Mahini told her that Zaniti was nice.”

Example (297) shows a complex sentence containing a main utterance predicate marked for declarative mood and firsthand evidentiality ("Buti said") with an utterance complement (the quote of what Buti said). The complement itself contains an utterance predicate (“Mahini said”, marked for quotative evidentiality) and its complement (“Zaniti is nice”, also marked for quotative evidentiality).

This sentence illustrates the distinction between gender markers used in clauses marked for quotative evidentiality and those used in declarative clauses marked for firsthand evidentiality. In the main clause *Buti nagwani* ("Buti said"), the verb is marked with the firsthand evidentiality suffix appropriate for the clause, and the feminine gender marker *-ru* is used to agree with the subject “Buti”.⁹⁵

In the first-level embedded clause, ‘*Zaniti kahzy.*’ *Mahini nanikia* (“Mahini said that Zaniti was nice.”), the verb *na-* is marked for quotative evidentiality. The subject “Mahini” is a woman, so the verb carries the feminine gender marker *-ni*.

⁹⁵ Buti is a woman.

The second-level embedded clause (i.e., the innermost nested clause), *Zaniti kahyzy* (“Zaniti is nice.”), is also marked for quotative evidentiality. Here, the subject “Zaniti” is a man, and the verb *kahy-* ends with a high central vowel, so the zero masculine gender marker is used instead of *-ri* (if the verb did not end with the high central vowel, it would be *-i*).

Enumeration

(298)	<i>Aru gwawai,</i>	<i>Atuniani</i>	<i>gawani,</i>	<i>Bibi gwawai,</i>		
	aru	g<u>aui	Atuniani	∅-gaua- ni	Bibi	∅-gaua- i
	1SG	<1SG>go- M	Atuniani	3SG-go- F	Bibi	3SG-go- M

niarianawaky.

n<i>a-**ri**-anauaky

<1PL>AUX-**M**-1.PPST.DECL.FH

“Me, Atuniani and Bibi went (there).”

**Aru gwawari, Atuniani gawaru, Bibi gawari, niarianawaky.*

In enumerations like the one shown in (298), where the speaker wanted to provide a list of individuals who separately and simultaneously performed the action described by the lexical verb, the lexical verb is repeated once per participant. It carries only a *-i/-ni* gender marking suffix along with a possible person infix. Meanwhile, the auxiliary verb *na-* carries the TAME suffixes and a *-ri/-ru* gender marking suffix, agreeing with the gender of the group considered as a whole (e.g., in (298), this would correspond to the 1PL).

4.12. Tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality

In Suruwahá grammar, the marking of tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality occupies the final slot(s) of the predicate. These markers exhibit varying degrees of exponence, depending on whether or not the speaker employs firsthand evidentiality. Notably, while monoexponential tense suffixes combine with polyexponential mood + evidentiality suffixes in verb forms marked for quotative and inferred evidentiality, in verb forms marked for firsthand evidentiality, tense is not expressed separately: In this case, polyexponential person + gender + tense + mood + evidentiality suffixes are employed.

Aspect, relative tense (i.e. the 'pluperfect') and counterfactuality require separate discussion from absolute tense, mood, and evidentiality. This is because ongoing nature, anteriority in the past and hypotheticality are expressed through constructions that once were periphrastic and have undergone secondary grammaticalization. In these constructions, the

marker for imperfective aspect, relative tense and counterfactuality are remnants of the fusion between gender-specific nominalizers and the copula verb *ha-* following it.

Since the semantics of tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality can be more easily discussed individually, I will begin by examining the pragmatic choices speakers must make regarding each feature. Following this, I will present the morphological paradigms, detailing the conjugation patterns for all possible combinations of TAME markers. Last, I will discuss all the paradigms that are remnants of periphrastic constructions.

4.12.1. Tense

Suruwahá distinguishes three grammatical tenses: future, hodiernal past, and prehodiernal past. The future tense is used for statements about things that have not yet happened. The hodiernal past refers to events that occurred on the same day of speaking. And the prehodiernal past is used for events that took place before today, such as yesterday, some days ago, or even months or years ago. The time span covered by “last night” represents a gray zone insofar as it is not treated uniformly by all speakers. I have heard people employ both hodiernal and prehodiernal past endings when explaining to a nurse that their children had had fever the night preceding the day of the speech act.

While it is possible to express what English speakers would typically label as “present tense”, statements about ongoing events or habitual actions are formed by adding an imperfective aspect suffix (discussed in section 4.12.6) or a habitual suffix (*-daua*, discussed in section 4.7.) to a verb form marked for hodiernal past.

- (299) *Mamara* *hwawangai.*
 mama=ra h<u>aua-ngai
 bitter.manioc=OBJ <1SG>eat-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I have eaten manioc (earlier today).”

- (300) *Mamara* *hwawarianangai.*
 mama=ra h<u>aua-riana-ngai
 bitter.manioc=OBJ <1SG>eat-1SG.IPFV-1SG.M.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I am (still) eating manioc.”

By comparing (299) and (300), the reader will notice that the verb *haua-* ‘to eat’ carries a hodiernal past ending in both (299) and (300), but in (300), *-riana* is added to denote that the speaker is still eating as she speaks.

In clauses marked for one of the two subtypes of non-firsthand evidentiality - such as future-tense clauses or those describing events that occurred before one's birth, where firsthand evidentiality is not an option - the monoexponential tense suffixes are:

- Future: *-ba* (slot 10 of the predicate)
- Hodiernal past: zero
- Prehodiernal past: *-ka* (slot 8 of the predicate)⁹⁶

It is important to note that, since these verb forms marked for non-firsthand evidentiality are always the predicate of an utterance complement within an complex utterance clause whose main verb “to say” is mandatorily marked for firsthand evidentiality, the monoexponential tense markers that they carry do not inform the hearer about how much time has elapsed between the occurrence of the event depicted and the moment at which the clause is uttered, but rather, between the occurrence of the event and the moment at which the speaker has been informed about it by the provider of the quote (or the moment at which the speaker has made the conjecture that they are sharing with the addressee). Below, I provide some examples.

(301) ‘*Adami tani gwaniabia’ nariawaky.*
 adami tani g<u>ania-i-**ba**-∅ na-riauaky
 hill top <1SG>see-M-**FUT**-DECL.QEV say-3M.**PPST**.DECL.FH
 “He said that he would go to see the top of the hill.”

(302) ‘*Xahuni hasakiri Aniumaru iri udara*
 Siahuni hasakiri Aniumaru iri uda=ra
 Xahuni wind;3M.POSS Aniumaru 3M.POSS house=OBJ
nubixikia’ nariawaky.
 na-uby-[↑]si-i-**ka**-∅ na-riauaky
 CAUS-collapse-SEQ-M-**PPST**-DECL.QEV say-3M.**PPST**.DECL.FH
 “He said that after that, Xahuni’s wind [the wind caused by the deceased Xahuni’s soul] had made Aniumaru’s house collapse.”

⁹⁶ Note that these are the same markers also used on noun phrases to express nominal tense. The markers are allocated in different slots because whenever a clause is marked for negative polarity, the future tense marker precedes the negative suffix *-su*, while the prehodiernal past suffix follows it.

(303) *‘Ariria ‘Gawasama!’ nai.’*
 ari=ra gaua-sama na-i-∅-∅
 1PL=OBJ go-IMP.NEG say-M-HPST-DECL.QEV
 madi nariawaky.
 madi na-riauaky
 people say-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “They said that he had just told them not to go.”
 (Lit. They said: ‘He has said: ‘Do not go!’.’)

In (301), the monoexponential **future** tense marker *-ba* is used on the predicate of the utterance complement, zero marked for quotative evidentiality, while the polyexponential ending *-riauaky* (“third person masculine subject, declarative mood, firsthand evidentiality, **prehodiernal past**”) is used on the predicate of the main clause. This indicates that the action of “going to see the hill top” was intended to occur after the subject communicated his intentions in the past (before today). In (302), the **prehodiernal** past tense marker *-ka* is used within the quote, which we know was provided to the speaker some time ago because the predicate of the main clause also carries a suffix indicating prehodiernal past. In (303), the predicate of the utterance complement is zero marked for **hodiernal past**, while the predicate of the main clause is marked for prehodiernal past. This means that the informant being quoted witnessed the event on the same day he reported it to the speaker (which was not today).

4.12.2. Mood

In Suruwahá, mood is encoded at two distinct levels. First, there is a major distinction between declarative, interrogative, imperative, and desiderative clauses. Second, there are further subdivisions within most of these categories: declarative statements are subdivided into those expected by the interlocutor (i.e. answering a question) and those the speaker wants to emphasize are spontaneous (i.e. uttered as a result of his or her own initiative); interrogative clauses are subdivided into polar questions and content questions; and commands are further categorized into various imperatives based on their level of politeness and urgency.

Spontaneous versus expected declarations

Regarding the distinction between answers to questions and spontaneous declarations, the distribution of the two constructions is not strictly complementary. The verb forms used in answers to questions are unmarked in the sense that they can also be used in situations

where a statement is unsolicited or unexpected. However, declarations that emphasize spontaneity are marked: they are judged ungrammatical by native speakers if used in responses to questions by learners of the language.

From a morphosyntactic perspective, declarations marked as spontaneous are instances of insubordination.⁹⁷ The verb forms in these declarations are the same as those found in verbs marked for quotative evidentiality, which typically function as predicates of utterance complements in quotative constructions (i.e., subordinate clauses). As a result, these spontaneous declarations are perceived by the audience as emphatic self-quotations. Below, I provide an example of a conversational exchange illustrating three distinct communicative acts: an unsolicited declarative statement, a polar question expressing the addressee's interest, and a subsequent declarative statement reaffirming the initial information in response to the question. Additionally, I present a complex sentence containing a complement clause marked for quotative evidentiality, introduced by the utterance predicate "say." This is to highlight the formal identity of the verb in the complement clause with the verb form used in the unsolicited declarative clause.

(304) *Xakunini amixinkia!*
 Siakunini ama-[↑]si-ni-ka-∅
 Xakunini menstruate-SEQ-F-PPST-DECL.QEV
 “Xakunini has already had her (first) menstruation! (You did not ask me, but I am telling you anyway.)”

(305) *Amixuku?*
 ama-[↑]si-ru-ku
 menstruate-SEQ-F-3F.PPST.PQ.FH
 “(Really?) Did she already have her (first) menstruation?”

(306) *Hija, amixawanki.*
 hiza ama-[↑]si-auaniki
 yes menstruate-SEQ-F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Yes, she (indeed) already had her (first) menstruation.”

(307) *‘Xakunini amixinkia’* *Waniahariu narawanki.*
 Siakunini ama-[↑]si-ni-ka-∅ *Uaniahariu na-rauaniki*
 Xakunini menstruate-SEQ-F-PPST-DECL.QEV *Waniahariu say-3F.PPST.DECL.FH*
 “Waniahariu said that Xakunini had already had her first menstruation.”

⁹⁷ I use the term ‘insubordination’ as defined by Evans (2007:367), in order to refer to “[...] the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses.”

In the conversation, (304) is the opening sentence, initiated by Waniahariu, to break the news of Xakunini’s first menstruation to another woman. When the addressee echoed this statement as a polar question in (305), Waniahariu responded with (306), modifying the verb ending from *-ni-kia-∅* to *-auaniki*, since by that point in the conversation she was no longer volunteering information but answering a question. Later, in (307), Waniahariu’s addressee, who had not personally witnessed the event, reported this information to a third person, quoting Waniahariu’s speech. In both (304) and the quotative complement in (307), the verb forms are identical, while in both (306) and the main verb of (307), the verb endings are the same, reflecting the paradigm for the prehodiernal past, firsthand evidentiality, and declarative-answer-to-question mood.

Polar questions versus content questions

The forms of verbs used in content questions are distinct from those employed in polar questions. The distinction between polar question and content question is typically expressed by polyexponential suffixes that also convey information on evidentiality and (in case the evidentiality value is firsthand) on tense. Below are some pairs of clauses marked as polar versus content questions to illustrate this contrast.

(308) *Ahadi mazasikiama?*
 ahadi mazaru-¹si-∅-ka-**ma**
 father.3POSS die-SEQ-M-PPST-**PQ**.CONJC
 “I wonder whether her father has (already) died.”

(309) *Ahadi hyzama bahini mazasikiara?*
 ahadi hyzama bahini mazaru-¹si-∅-ka-**ra**
 father.3POSS what victim;3F.POSS die-SEQ-M-PPST-**CQ**.CONJC
 “I wonder what cause her father has died of.”

In examples (308) and (309), we see two forms of the verb *mazaru-* “to die,” both marked for a masculine third person subject, prehodiernal past tense, and inferred evidentiality. The suffix *-ma* in (308) indicates a polar question on a topic the speaker assumes the addressee does not have firsthand knowledge of. In contrast, the suffix *-ra* in (309) marks a content question about an event the speaker does not expect the interlocutor to have personally witnessed.

- (310) *Hyzama bahini hianxuwani?*
 hyzama bahini h<i>a-na-¹⁰si-**uani**
 what victim;F.POSS <2SG>be-2-SEQ-F.HPST.CQ.FH
 “What is the matter with you?”
 (Lit. You are being the victim of what?)
- (311) *Iri karuji hianxuru?*
 iri karuuizi h<i>a-na-¹⁰si-ru-∅
 3M.POSS driving.force;3M.POSS <2SG>be-2-SEQ-F-HPST.PQ.FH
 “Are you his driving force?”⁹⁸

Examples (310) and (311) feature two forms of the verb *ha-* “to be” marked for a second person (i.e., feminine) subject, hodiernal past tense, and firsthand evidentiality. The suffix *-uani* in (310) indicates a content question about something the interlocutor has personally witnessed. In (311), the absence of additional suffixes after the gender marker *-ru* (i.e., no further suffixes indicating tense and evidentiality separately, nor a polyexponential tense + evidentiality suffix) marks it as a polar question about a personal experience.

- (312) *Hadyra xiybuwanki?*
 hady=ra s<i>yby-**uaniki**
 who=OBJ <2SG>have.sex-F.PPST.CQ.FH
 “With whom did you have sex?”
- (313) *Kuxumara ta xiybuku?*
 Kusiuma=ra ta s<i>yby-ru-**ku**
 Kuxuma=OBJ 2SG <2SG>have.sex-F-F.PPST.PQ.FH
 “Did you have sex with Kuxuma?”

In examples (312) and (313), different forms of the verb *syby-* “(a man) have sex (with a woman)” are marked for prehodiernal past tense and firsthand evidentiality, indexing a second person singular (i.e., feminine) subject. The suffix *-uaniki* is used to ask a content question, while the suffix *-ku* is employed to ask a polar question.

Neutral, polite, suggestive, and urgent commands

In Suruwahá, there are four distinct subtypes of imperative clauses: simple imperatives, polite requests, exhortations (i.e. unsolicited advice intended as mere suggestions), and urgent requests meant to be followed immediately. The suffixes are the following:

⁹⁸ This is a sarcastic way of criticizing an individual who behaves aggressively toward another person (rhetorically questioning her or him whether they have the necessary moral standing to yell at others).

Table 11. Imperative suffixes

	singular addressee	plural addressee
simple command	-∅	- <i>ha</i>
polite request	- <i>bu</i>	- <i>baha</i>
exhortation	- <i>hu</i>	- <i>ha</i>
urgent request	- <i>rahu</i>	- <i>raha</i>

Below, I provide examples illustrating the uses of these suffixes:

- (314) *Akyza!*
 aka-⁰ya-∅
 carry-HITHER-IMP
 “Bring it!”
- (315) *Akyzabu!*
 aka-⁰ya-bu
 carry-HITHER-POLIMP
 “Please bring it!”
- (316) *Hamyza!*
 ha-myza-∅
 be-CONVERG-IMP
 “Go meet him!”
- (317) *Hamyzahu!*
 ha-myza-hu
 be-CONVERG-EXHORT
 “How about going to meet him? You should go.”
- (318) *Hixinia!*
 hisina-∅
 snuff-IMP
 “Snuff it (the tobacco)!”
- (319) *Hixiniarahu!*
 hisina-rahu
 snuff-URGIMP
 “Snuff it (the tobacco) now! I am losing my patience!”
- (320) *Gunyzaha!*
 guna-⁰ya-ha
 travel.as.group-HITHER-IMP.PL
 “Come visit”
- (321) *Gunyzabaha!*
 guna-⁰ya-baha
 travel.as.group-HITHER-POLIMP.PL
 “Feel invited to come visit!”

Note that differently from verb forms used in declarative and interrogative clauses, verb forms expressing commands do not carry subject person infixes and gender marking suffixes (exception: negated polite imperatives; see above under section 4.9.3.).

It is noteworthy that in plural imperatives, there are less distinctions between levels of politeness than in singular imperatives (as speakers explained to me that both the zero suffix and the *-hu* suffix are replaced by a *-ha* plural imperative suffix). Having lesser options for plural imperative forms makes sense insofar as imperatives directed towards individual persons are almost constantly used in everyday life, while plural imperatives are not.

4.12.3. Desideratives and permissives

Suruwahá possesses two different suffixes, *-ua* (third person forms: *-haua*) and *-haba*, employed to express desires whose realization depends on the cooperation or permission of other persons. These suffixes can be used with all subject persons.

- (322) *Tawadyra* *gwaniawa!*
 ta=uady=ra g<u>ania-∅-ua
 2SG=NEXT.TO=OBJ <1SG>see-M-DESID
 “Let me see what you have there (in your hand)!”
- (323) *Dynawa!* *Azy* *tahijahaba!*
 dynaua-∅ aru=zy tahiza-∅-haba
 step.aside-IMP 1SG=TOP pass-M-DESID
 “Step aside so I can pass!”
- (324) *Idiahy* *busukwabu!* *Ymy* *jaganiwa!*
 idahy busuka-bu ymy i-aga-ni-ua
 urucum rub.between.hands-POLIMP pulp;M.POSS 2SG-take-F-DESID
 “Rub the urucum (seeds) between your hands in order to extract the pulp!”
- (325) ‘*Turasyhawa!*’ *naru,*
 turasy-∅-haua na-ru
 be.tame-M-DESID say-F.NMLZ
 abi *aganirihia* *kunaharagwani.*
 abi aganyri=ha kunaha-raguani
 fire smoke;M.POSS=INSTR numb-3F.IPFV.HPST.DECL.FH
 “She is numbing it (the captured peccary piglet) with smoke because she wants him to become tame.”

Note that, while in English we typically use a subordinate clause introduced by “in order to...” to build purposive clauses, the Suruwahá verb forms carrying the *-ua/ -haba* ending are main clauses from a syntactic viewpoint. I was not able to determine any difference in meaning or contexts of use between *-ua* and *-haba*. From a pragmatic viewpoint, verb forms ending in *-ua/ -haba* are in a direct paradigmatic relationship with verb forms marked for unsolicited declarative mood and future tense because verb forms having the monoexponential future tense marker *-ba* as ending are used by speakers to express intentions whose implementation is not contingent on the cooperation or permission of third parties:

(326) *Aru iniahabia!*
 aru inaha-i-ba
 1SG take.bath-M-FUT
 “I am going to take a bath!”

(327) *Aru iniahawa!*
 aru inaha-i-ua
 1SG take.bath-M-DESID
 “I want to take a bath!”

(328) *Iniahambia!*
 inaha-ni-ba
 take.bath-F-FUT
 “I want her to take a bath!”
 (there is nothing preventing her)

(329) *Iniahanihiawa!*
 inaha-ni-haua
 take.bath-F-DESID
 “I want her to be able to bathe.”
 (The current conditions make it impossible for her to do so).

(326) is a sentence typically uttered by individuals on their way to go take a bath who, merely out of courtesy, want to let their interlocutor know their plans. (327) is employed if the speaker wants to let their interlocutors know that they would be unable to realize their desire on their own and need help (e.g. by someone waiting for another person to leave the bathroom so they can use it, or by a person who has recently suffered an accident and needs another person to help them to walk to the bathing place). If a speaker uses *-ba* and *-haua* on third person forms, as illustrated in (328) and (329), this means they want other individuals to do something.

Suruwahá, in addition to the desiderative suffixes *-ua* and *-haba*, possesses a suffix used to express a request for permission, or a warning: *-ky*. This suffix is typically preceded by the future tense marker *-ba*:

(330) *Ara huwihia gumabiaky!*
 ara huui=ha guma-i-ba-ky
 2SG.POSS hammock=LOC lie.in.hammock-M-FUT-PERMISS
 “Can I lie down in your hammock?”/
 “Watch out! If you don’t stop me I am going to lie down in your hammock!”

The suffix *-uari* is used if the speaker wants his or her interlocutor to know that he or she would really be pleased if the event described by the verb happened but is not actually making any request or expecting anything, just thinking aloud:

(331) ‘*Gwaniawari!*’ *nixangai.*
 g<u>ania-uari na-[↑]si-angai
 <1SG>see-DESID think-SEQ-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “I look forward to see it!”/ “It would be really nice if I could see it!”

In my corpus, only verb forms marked for the first person singular carry the suffix *-uari*.

4.12.4. Evidentiality

In Suruwahá, marking evidentiality is mandatory, as there are no finite verb forms that do not explicitly indicate one's source of information regarding the events described. Like mood, the encoding of evidentiality in Suruwahá occurs at two levels: first, a major distinction between firsthand and non-firsthand evidentiality, and second, a subdivision of non-firsthand evidentiality into quotative and inferred-or-conjectural evidentiality. From a pragmatic viewpoint, speakers need to choose one of three possible options.

There is no specific monoexponential suffix carrying the meaning “firsthand evidentiality”, but verb forms ending with a polyexponential suffix, and that do not carry any monoexponential tense suffix occupying slot 8 of the predicate are used by speakers to indicate that they have firsthand knowledge of the action described by the verb. This means: If the verb describes something that can be seen (e.g. *gaua-* “walk”), the speaker has seen it with their own eyes. If the verb describes any kind of sound or speech (e.g., *hizara-* “talk,” *nu-* “be barely hearable,” *uaizuma-* “sing”), the speaker has heard it with their own ears. If the verb describes some flavor (e.g., *sina-* “to be sweet,” *sihata-* “be sour”), the speaker has personally tasted it. If it describes a property requiring manipulation with one's hands (e.g., *kazaha-* “be heavy”), the speaker has touched or lifted it.⁹⁹ If the verb describes an emotion or feeling (e.g., *kamuny-* “evoke sadness”, *kuuy-* “be painful”), the speaker has personally felt it.¹⁰⁰

Predicates involving quotative and inferred evidentiality are structured differently from those marked for firsthand evidentiality. However, the two share a similar structure: Both require an utterance clause headed by the utterance verb *na-* “say, think”, marked for firsthand evidentiality, and an utterance complement headed by the verb describing the not personally experienced event, carrying monoexponential gender and tense markers. This utterance complement must itself contain additional utterance clauses with their corresponding utterance complements whenever the person quoted (i.e. the speaker's informant) did not personally witness the events reported, or whenever the inference made by the speaker is a hypothesis about what another person might have said or thought. Quotative and inferential statements differ in that:

⁹⁹ Verbs such as *kazaha-* “to be heavy” can only be marked for firsthand evidentiality + declarative mood if they do not index a first person subject. This is because, for a speaker to say “I am heavy [firsthand evidentiality]”, they would need to be able to lift themselves off the ground and carry their own bodies on their shoulders. However, it is possible to ask *K<u>azaha-ri?* “Am I heavy [according to your personal experience]?” by combining interrogative mood + firsthand evidentiality, as questions address the source of information available to the interlocutor.

¹⁰⁰ In Huber Azevedo (2023b), I provide further details on the semantics of evidential markers in Suruwahá.

- In sentences expressing conjectures, an additional overt marker (either *-da* “inferred evidentiality + declarative mood”, *-ma* “inferred evidentiality + polar-question-interrogative mood” or *-ra* “inferred evidentiality + content-question-interrogative mood”) follows the gender and tense markers within the verb heading the utterance complement clause, while in sentences expressing quotes, no further suffix follows the gender and tense markers (i.e. we can think of the quotative evidential marker as $-\emptyset$).
- In sentences expressing conjectures, the main verb *na-* “think, say” always indexes the first person singular, and is typically marked for hodiernal past tense, while in sentences containing quotes, it can index any person (the person of subject denoting the informant), and may be marked for any tense, corresponding to the moment when the speaker obtained the quote.

Below, I provide examples illustrating how each subtype of evidentiality is encoded, and how different types of evidential markers can be combined to indicate more complex evidentiary chains.

- (332) *Mazaxawaky*
 mazaru-¹si-**auaky**
 die-SEQ-3M.PPST.DECL.**FH**
 “Then he died (I was there when it happened).”
- (333) ‘*Mzasikia.*’ *nariawaky*
 mazaru-⁰si-i-ka- \emptyset **na-riauaky**
 die-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.**QEV** say-3M.PPST.DECL.**FH**
 “He₁ said that he₂ had died (The other day, I have personally heard him₁ reporting the fact, which he₁ claimed to have personally witnessed some days before telling me).”
- (334) ‘*Mzasikiada.*’ *nangai.*
 mazaru-⁰si-ri-ka-**da** **na-ngai**
 die-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.**CONJC** think-3M.PPST.DECL.**FH**
 “He must have died (I have personally just experienced the thinking process leading me to this assumption about an event having happened on a previous day).”
- (335) “*Mzasikiada.*’ *nai*’
 mazaru-⁰si-ri-ka-**da** **na-i- \emptyset - \emptyset**
 die-SEQ-M-PPST-DECL.**CONJC** say-M-HPST-DECL.**QEV**
nagwani.
 na-ru-**gani**
 say-M-3M.HPST.DECL.**FH**
 “She said that he has probably died (Earlier today, I have personally witnessed a

actually done). Additionally, some forms combining interrogative moods with first person subjects are nonexistent due to the fact that one does not normally need to ask others about actions that one has performed oneself.

firsthand evidentiality + declarative mood + hodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	-	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hwawangai</i>	I ate
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hiawangani</i>	you ate
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	-	<i>ga</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hawagwani</i>	she ate/ you ate
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	-	<i>g(a)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hawagi</i>	he ate/ they ate
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hiawangai</i>	we ate

firsthand evidentiality + declarative mood + prehodiernal past

							superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	-	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	-	<i>ky</i>	<i>hwawanawaky</i>	I ate
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hiawanawanki</i>	you ate
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>r(u)</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hawarawanki</i>	she ate/ you ate
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ua</i>	-	<i>ky</i>	<i>hawariawaky</i>	he ate/ they ate
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	-	<i>ky</i>	<i>hiawanawaky</i>	we ate

firsthand evidentiality + polar question + hodiernal past

				superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>hwawanari</i>	Did I eat?
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>hiawanaru</i>	Did you eat?
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ru</i>	<i>hawaru</i>	Did she eat?/ Did you eat?
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ri</i>	<i>hawari</i>	Did he eat?/ Did they eat?
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>hiawanari</i>	Did we eat?

firsthand evidentiality + polar question + prehodiernal past

					superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hwawanaki</i>	Did I eat?
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>hiawanaku</i>	Did you eat?
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>hawaku</i>	Did she eat?/ Did you eat?
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hawaki</i>	Did he eat?/ Did they eat?
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hiawanaki</i>	Did we eat?

firsthand evidentiality + content question + hodiernal past

					superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hwawanawai</i>	(What) did I eat?
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hiawanawani</i>	(What) did you eat?
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hawawani</i>	(What) did she/you eat?
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hawawai</i>	(What) did he/they eat?
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hiawanawai</i>	(What) did we eat?

firsthand evidentiality + content question + prehodiernal past

					superficial form	translation	
1SG	(gap)						
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hiawawanki</i>	(What) did you eat?
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hawawanki</i>	(What) did she/you eat?
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ua</i>	-	<i>ky</i>	<i>hawawaky</i>	(What) did he/they eat?
1PL	(gap)						

quotative evidentiality + declaration + hodiernal past¹⁰¹

				superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hwawanai</i>	(someone said:) "I ate."
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hiawanani</i>	(someone said:) "You ate."
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>hawani</i>	(someone said:) "She ate/ you ate."
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>hawai</i>	(someone said:) "He/they ate."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>hiawanai</i>	(someone said:) "We ate."

quotative evidentiality + declaration + prehodiernal past

				superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hwawakia</i>	(someone said:) "I ate."
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiawankia</i>	(someone said:) "You ate."
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hawankia</i>	(someone said:) "She ate/ you ate."
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hawakia</i>	(someone said:) "He/they ate."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiawakia</i>	(someone said:) "We ate."

¹⁰¹ Any of the forms marked for quotative or inferred evidentiality provided in the tables below (except the interrogative forms) require to be followed by the utterance verb *na-* carrying an ending from one of the paradigms listed above. If no utterance predicate follows, the form is interpreted as an unsolicited declaration about a personally witnessed fact.

quotative evidentiality + declaration + future

				superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>hwawabia</i>	(someone said:) "I will eat"
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>hiawambia</i>	(someone said:) "You will eat"
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>hawambia</i>	(someone said:) "She/you will eat"
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>hawabia</i>	(someone said:) "He/they will eat."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>hiawabia</i>	(someone said:) "We will eat."

inferred evidentiality + declaration + hodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	-	<i>da</i>	<i>hwawanadia</i>	"I must have eaten."
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	-	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawanada</i>	"You must have eaten."
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ru)</i>	-	<i>da</i>	<i>hawada</i>	"She/you must have eaten."
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	-	<i>da</i>	<i>hawadia</i>	"He/they must have eaten."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	-	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawanadia</i>	"We must have eaten."

inferred evidentiality + declaration + prehodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hwawanakiada</i>	"I must have eaten."
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawanakwada</i>	"You must have eaten."
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hawakwada</i>	"She/you must have eaten."
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hawakiada</i>	"He/they must have eaten."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>n(a)</i>	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawanakiada</i>	"We must have eaten."

inferred evidentiality + declaration + future

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hwawabiada</i>	"I will probably eat."
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawabada</i>	"You will probably eat."
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ru)</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hawabada</i>	"She/you will probably eat."
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hawabiada</i>	"He/they will probably eat."
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>(ri)</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>hiawabiada</i>	"We will probably eat."

inferred evidentiality + polar question + hodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	-	<i>ma</i>	<i>hwawanamia</i>	I wonder if I have eaten
2SG	(gap)						
3SG.F	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawanihiama</i>	I wonder if she have eaten
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	-	<i>ha</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawahama</i>	I wonder if he has/they have eaten
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	-	<i>ma</i>	<i>hiawanamia</i>	I wonder if we have eaten

inferred evidentiality + polar question + prehodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hwawanakiama</i>	I wonder if I have eaten
2SG	(gap)						
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawankiama</i>	I wonder if she have eaten
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawakiama</i>	I wonder if he has/they have eaten
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hiawanakiama</i>	I wonder if we have eaten

inferred evidentiality + polar question + future

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hwawabiama</i>	I wonder if I will eat
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hiawambiama</i>	I wonder if you will eat
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawambiama</i>	I wonder if she/you will eat
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hawabiama</i>	I wonder if he/they will eat
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hiawabiama</i>	I wonder if we will eat

inferred evidentiality + content question + hodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>hwawanaria</i>	I wonder (what) I have eaten
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>hiawanania</i>	I wonder (what) you have eaten
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawaniria</i>	I wonder (what) she has/you have eaten
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawaria</i>	I wonder (what) he has/they have eaten
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>hiawanaria</i>	I wonder (what) we have eaten

inferred evidentiality + content question + prehodiernal past

						superficial form	translation
1SG	(gap)						
2SG	(gap)						
3SG.F	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawaniara</i>	I wonder (what) she has eaten
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawakiara</i>	I wonder (what) he has/they have eaten
1PL	(gap)						

inferred evidentiality + content question + future

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hwawabiara</i>	I wonder (what) I will eat
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hiawambiara</i>	I wonder (what) you will eat
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>ni</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawambiara</i>	I wonder (what) she/ you will eat
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hawabiara</i>	I wonder (what) he/they will eat
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	-	<i>i</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>hiawabiara</i>	I wonder (what) we will eat

4.12.6. Imperfective aspect, pluperfect, and counterfactual statements

In Suruwahá, imperfectivity, anteriority in the past and hypotheticality are expressed through constructions that diachronically are best interpreted as remnants of former copula clauses with a relative clause as subject complement. These have undergone secondary grammaticalization (e.g., “He is the eating one” → “He is eating”; “He was the one having eaten” → “He had eaten”; “He would be the one eating” → “He would eat”). In these constructions, the markers for “imperfective aspect”, “relative tense” and “counterfactuality” (which are different for each subject person) are remnants of the fusion between gender-specific nominalizers and the copula verb *ha-*.

- (337) *Tawady bami haru?* - *Hija, bami hagwani.*
 ta=uady bami ha-ru-∅-∅ hiza bami ha-ru-gani
 2SG=near water be-F-HPST-PQ.FH Yes water be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Is there water (in the pot) near you?” - “Yes, there is water.”

- (338) *Tawady bami hararu? - Haragwani.*
 ta=uady bami ha-ra-ru-∅-∅ ha-ra-ru-gani
 2SG=near water be-IPFV-F-HPST-PQ.FH be-IPFV-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Is there **still** water **left** (in the pot) near you?” - “Yes, there is **still** some of it left.”

Compare:

- (339) *Bami haru hagwani.*
 bami ha-ru ha-ru-gani
 water be-F.NMLZ be-F-3F.HPST.DECL.FH
 “It is **being** water.” (“It is water, existing”.)

The difference in meaning between (337) and (338) consists in that the speaker who used (338) was interested in whether the water was “still” in the pot (instead of “simply” in the pot). Both predicates in (338) carry an additional *-ra*, which I glossed as IPFV because it is this very segment that adds an imperfective connotation to the clause. However, *-ra* is not a suffix like any other suffix in the sense that its form is different for each subject person. The “imperfective suffix” results from the fusion of the final *-ru* in *bami ha-ru* (as in (339)) with the initial syllable of the following word *ha-ru-gani*: ~~*ha-ru*~~*ha-ru-gani*.

To further illustrate the fact that there is no “simple” imperfective suffix, below is the full inflection paradigm for the verb *haua-*, marked for imperfective aspect:¹⁰²

						superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>huaua</i>	ria	na		<i>n(a)gai</i>	<i>hwawarianangai</i>	I am eating
2SG	<i>hiaua</i>	ra	na		<i>n(a)gani</i>	<i>hiawaranangani</i>	you are eating
3SG.F/2PL	<i>haua</i>	ra		(<i>ru</i>)	<i>gani</i>	<i>hawaragwani</i>	she is/ you are eating
3SG.M/3PL	<i>haua</i>	ria		(<i>ri</i>)	<i>g(a)i</i>	<i>hawariagi</i>	he is/ they are eating
1PL	<i>hiaua</i>	ria	na		<i>n(a)gai</i>	<i>hiawarianangai</i>	we are eating

To transform a “simple” verb form into one marked for imperfectivity, the segments shown in the two columns immediately following the column containing the verb stem + subject person infix need to be added. In verb forms marked for prehodiernal past (where, to the best of my knowledge, imperfectivity cannot be marked), these same segments (*-ria/ -ra* plus *-na* in the case of non-third persons) are used to distinguish declarations from content questions rather than statements about completed actions from statements about ongoing actions.

Compare:

- (340) *Hyzamara hawawaky? - Kimiria hawariawaky*
 hyzama=ra haua-uaky kimi=ra haua-riauaky
 what=OBJ eat-3M.PPST.CQ.FH maize=OBJ eat-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “What did he eat?” “He ate maize.”

¹⁰² As in the previous tables showing conjugation paradigms, in this table segments between brackets are omitted by speakers, but they still influence the way in which the immediately following syllable is pronounced.

Regarding verb forms marked for pluperfect meaning, they contain one to two additional *-ria* or *-ra* segments when compared to verb forms marked for a “simple” prehodiernal past. These *-rara* and *-riaria* sequences make sense when we consider them as resulting from the fusion of a relative clause finishing with a feminine or masculine nominalizer with an immediately following copula having lost its initial /h/, carrying a masculine or feminine gender marker:

- (341) *Karahi kahini Tiatu mazaxawanki.*
karahi kahini Tiatu mazaru-¹⁰si-auaniki
mirror reason;3F.POSS Tiatu die-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
“Tiatu died because of a (stolen) mirror.”
- (342) *Karahi kahini Tiatu mazaxurarawanki.*
karahi kahini Tiatu mazaru-¹⁰si-rara-uaniki
mirror reason;3F.POSS Tiatu die-SEQ-PQPRF-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
“Tiatu had died because of a (stolen) mirror.”¹⁰³

Compare:

- (343) *Tiatu mazaxuru harawanki.*
Tiatu mazaru-si-ru ha-ru-uaniki
Tiatu die-SEQ-F.NMLZ be-F-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
“Tiatu was the one who had already died.”

Below, I provide an example of a full inflectional paradigm of a verb marked for pluperfect:

					superficial form	translation
1SG	<i>mazasi</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>uaky</i>	<i>mazaxirianawaky</i>	I had already fainted away/ was already unconscious
2SG	<i>miazasiu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>uaniki</i>	<i>miazaxuranawanki</i>	You had already fainted away/ were already unconscious
3SG.F/2PL	<i>mazasiu</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>uaniki</i>	<i>mazaxurarawanki</i>	She/you had already fainted away/ were already unconscious
3SG.M/3PL	<i>mazasi</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>uaky</i>	<i>mazaxiriariawaky</i>	He/ they had already fainted away/ was or were already unconscious
1PL	<i>miazasi</i>	<i>ria</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>uaky</i>	<i>miazaxirianawaky</i>	We had already fainted away/ were already unconscious

¹⁰³ (342) could also be translated as: “Tiatu was dead because of a mirror.” By using the verb form *mazaxurarawanki* rather than *mazaxawanki*, the speaker indicated that she had personally seen Tiatu after she was already dead, though she had not witnessed the actual process of her dying (i.e., her suffocating by self-poisoning). In contrast, the verb form used by the speaker in example (341) suggests that this other speaker had been present during Tiatu’s final moments, seeing her both as she died and afterward.

Counterfactual statements are formed by contracting a copular verb marked for inferred evidentiality with a preceding relative clause. However, differently from what happens in the case of predicates marked for imperfective aspect or pluperfect, the copula does not lose its initial /h/ (only its condition as independent phonological word):

- (344) *Mitiarindia* *saransirihada*
 mita-ri=nda sarana-¹⁰si-ri-ha-da
 hear-M.NMLZ=CONTR answer-SEQ-M.NMLZ-be-DECL.CONJC
nangai.
 na-ngai
 say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “If I had heard (you), I would have answered.”
 (Lit. Being the one hearing, on the other hand, I would have been the one answering.)

- (345) *Médico* *wixinia* *xihadysuna*
 médico uisina na-¹⁰si-hady-su=na
 doctor cut AUX-SEQ-M.PNMLZ-NEG=CONTR
mazaxukwahawada *nangai*
 mazaru-¹⁰si-ru-ka-ha-ua-da na-ngai
 die-SEQ-F-PPST-be-CoS-DECL.CONJC say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “If she had not undergone surgery, she would have died.”
 (Lit. Being the one not having been cut by the doctor, she would have died, I say.)

Note that the copula carries the change-of-state suffix *-ua* when it is marked for prehodiernal past, while it does not when marked for hodiernal past.

4.13. Adverbial clauses

In Suruwahá, adverbial clauses (i.e., subordinate clauses that further contextualize the action described by the main predicate) are marked by special switch-reference suffixes occupying the last slot of the verb (i.e., the position that would be occupied by TAME suffixes in verbs heading a main clause). Even though they typically precede the main clause, they can sometimes be positioned after the main clause when a speaker spontaneously decides to add further comment or explanation.

The suffixes marking an adverbial clause as such do not convey information about the exact temporal relationship between adverbial and main clause (i.e. whether the action described by the adverbial clause occurs before or simultaneously as the action of the main verb, as indicated by English words like “after” or “while”). Nor do they indicate if the adverbial clause presents a condition or circumstance that contrasts with or challenges the

situation described in the main clause (e.g., “despite”, “even though”, etc.). Instead, these suffixes specify whether or not the subject or object of the verb to which they are attached is coreferential with the subject of the verb heading the main clause:

-kany indicates that the subject of the main clause and the adverbial clause are not coreferential.

-mara indicates that the subject of the main clause and the adverbial clause are coreferential.

-hana indicates that the subject of the main clause is different from the subject of the main clause, but coreferential to its object.

In the following, I provide some examples:

-kany

(346) *Masiki hadaha hixikiany bianximbiara?*
 masiki=∅ hady=ha ha-↑si-i-**kany** b<i>any-¹⁰si-ni-ba-ra
 sun=SUBJ which=LOC be-SEQ-M-**DS** <2SG>arrive-SEQ-F-FUT-CQ.CONJC
 “When will you arrive?”
 (Lit. The sun being at what place will you arrive?)

(347) *Mawaxu namyhakiany, Titukuri titu kuriawaky*
 Mauaisu namyha-i-**kany** Titukuri titu ku-riauaky
 Mawaxu be.tall-M-**DS** Titukuri be.quite.short AUX-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Mawaxu was tall, but Titukuri was quite short.” or:
 “Titukuri was quite short while Mawaxu was tall.”

(348) *Ari itumi miazasikiany adahanda*
 ari i-tumi m<i>azaru-¹⁰si-i-**kany** adaha=nda
 1PL 1PL.POSS-completeness;M.POSS <1PL>die-SEQ-M-**DS** Earth=CoT
hamahy naxubada nangai.
 hama-hy na-ni-su-ba-da na-ngai
 cease-FRUSTR AUX-F-NEG-FUT-DECL.CONJC say-1SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “We all will eventually die, but the Earth will never cease to exist.”
 Lit. “While the entirety of us (humans) will die, the Earth, in contrast, will never cease to exist.”

(349) *Zama bykynikiany gwawanawaky.*
 zama byky-ni-**kany** g<u>a-a-nauaky
 EXPL be.distant-F-**DS** <1SG>go-1SG.PPST.DECL.FH
 “I went there even though it was far away.”
 or “It was far away, but I went anyway.”

-hana

(354) *Aru tyzybixihiana, haa xixawaky.*
 aru tyzyby-[↑]si-i-**hana** ha na-¹⁰si-ri-su-auaky
 1SG search-SEQ-M-O>S be.there AUX-SEQ-M-NEG-3M.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Even though I searched for him, he was not there anymore.”

(355) *Aru gwanxihiana, tijuwa nasawanki.*
 aru g<u>ania-[↑]si-i-hana tizuua na-ru-su-auaniki
 1SG <1SG>see-SEQ-M-O>S be.beautiful AUX-F-NEG-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “I saw it, and it was not beautiful.” (Lit. As I saw it, it was not beautiful).

In (354), *-hana* is used because the person for which the subject of the adverbial clause is looking (the not overtly mentioned patientive argument of the verb *tyzyby-*) is coreferential with the subject of the main clause (The person who someone is looking for in the subordinate clause is the same person that is the one that is not there anymore in the main clause). In (355), *-hana* is used because the object seen by the first person subject indexed by the adverbial clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause (i.e. the entity described as “ugly” in the main clause).

In historical narratives, narrators often string together many (four, five, six, or even more) adverbial clauses carrying switch-reference markers before concluding their sentences with a main clause. Switch-reference markers are often the object of self-correction by speakers because, as they begin narrating an event focusing on a certain character, they may not yet have decided who or what will be the subject of the following clause, and once they decide, they need to go back and adjust the switch-reference marker accordingly.

There is one switch-reference marker in Suruwahá whose function I am currently not able to satisfactorily explain: *-kana*. (356) illustrates its use:

(356) *Mawaria gumarankiana, Ikiji gaduguwixirihia,*
 Mauaria guma-ra-ni-**kana** Ikizi gaduguua-[↑]si-ri-ha
 Mawaria lie.in.hammock-IPFV-F-? Ikiji borrow-SEQ-M-BECAUSE
kahi zawixawanki.
 kahi zaua-[↑]si-uaniki
 interested.party;3M.POSS be.angry-SEQ-3F.PPST.DECL.FH
 “Since Ikiji took the hammock (to rest) while Mawaria was still lying in it, she (Mawaria) became angry because of it (the hammock having been taken).”

In this example, the verb form *gumarankiana* has the person denoted by the name Mawaria (a girl) as its subject, which is coreferential with the subject argument of the main clause, *kahi* (“interested party”). The hammock (in which Mawaria is resting) serves as its

covert oblique argument and is coreferential with the possessor of the inalienably possessed noun that functions as the subject of the main clause (the object of contention).

To build adverbial clauses expressing **causal relations** or **reasons** (“since/because this happened, ...”), the gender markers *-ri/-ru* (rather than *-i/-ni*, as used in examples (346) to (356)) are attached to the verb indicating the reason or motif of the advent depicted by the main clause in combination with the suffix *-ha*. Since *-ri* and *-ru* can also behave as masculine and feminine nominalizers, and *=ha* is also used as clitic marking a noun phrase as oblique argument, it would make sense to interpret these clauses as having the literal meaning “for/ at/ due to XYZ being the one doing this or that,...”. Consider the following examples:

- (357) *‘Juma hixirihia madi hari xiri*
iuma ha-[↑]si-ri-ha madi hari na-[↑]si-ri
 cannibal.enemies be.there-SEQ-M-**BECAUSE** people run AUX-SEQ-M.NMLZ
Amahaha itiakikia.’ nariawaky,
Amaha=ha itaka-[↑]si-ka-∅ na-riauaky
 Amaha=LOC cross-SEQ-PPST-DECL.QEV say-3M.PPST-DECL.FH
‘hinihia’.
 hini=ha
 canoe=INSTR

“He said that, since the cannibal enemies were already there, the people, on the run, crossed the Amaha River by canoe.”

Alternative analysis:

- ‘Juma hixirihia madi hari xiri,*
*ziuma ha-[↑]si-ri=**ha** madi hari na-[↑]si-ri*
 cannibal.enemies be.there-SEQ-M.NMLZ=**OBL** people run AUX-SEQ-M.NMLZ
Amahaha itiakikia.’ nariawaky,
Amaha=ha itaka-[↑]si-ka-∅ na-riauaky
 Amaha=LOC cross-SEQ-PPST-DECL.QEV say-3M.PPST-DECL.FH
‘hinihia’.
 hini=ha
 canoe=INSTR

“He said that, due to the cannibal enemies being there already, the people, on the run, crossed the Amaha River by canoe.”

- (358) *Masa* *hiawixuruhwa*
 masa h<i>aua-¹si-**ru-ha**
 peachpalm.fruit <2SG>eat-SEQ-**F-BECAUSE**
jamuzygixangani.
 i-amuzy-gyra-¹si-angani
 2SG-be.fat-AGAIN-SEQ-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “Since you have been eating peachpalm fruits, you have gained weight again.”

Alternative analysis:

- Masa* *hiawixuruhwa*
 masa h<i>aua-¹si-**ru=ha**
 peachpalm.fruit <2SG>eat-SEQ-**F.NMLZ=OBL**
jamuzygixangani.
 i-amuzy-gyra-¹si-angani
 2SG-be.fat-AGAIN-SEQ-2SG.HPST.DECL.FH
 “You have gained weight again from (you) eating peachpalm fruits.”

To form adverbial clauses that situate the action denoted by the main verb within a certain **season or period**—representing larger time frames such as “the summer”, “someone’s childhood”, or “the time when the ancestors of today’s animals were still humans”, rather than exact points in time—the gender markers *-i/-ni* combined with the suffix *-haua* are attached to the verb used to label the specified period.

- (359) *Aru* *zama* *sukinihiawa* *sasibiama?* *Zama*
 aru zama suky-ni-haua syza-¹si-ba-ma zama
 1SG EXPL be.hot-F-AS.LONG.AS arrive-SEQ-FUT-PQ.CONJC EXPL
hahanihiawa *sasibiama?*
 haha-ni-haua syza-¹si-ba-ma
 be.wet-F-AS.LONG.AS arrive-SEQ-FUT-PQ.CONJC
 “I wonder whether I will arrive during the summer or during the wet season.”
 (Lit. Will I arrive as long as it is hot, or will I arrive as long as it is wet?)

In this instance, the speaker used *zama sukinihiawa* rather than *zama sukinkiany* (with the switch-reference marker *-kany*) because she does not imply that she is asking whether she will arrive at the village at (or after) an exact point in time when the environment will be hot or cold. Instead, she refers to any unpredictable moment between May and October (the Amazonian summer) or between November and April (the Amazonian rainy season).

- (360) *Mahini mazaruruba hanihawa husukikiama?*
 Mahini mazaru-ru=ba ha-ni-haua husuky-[↑]si-ka-ma
 Mahini die-F.NMLZ=FUT be-F-WHEN be.born-SEQ-PPST-PQ.CONCJ
 “I wonder whether he was born shortly before Mahini died.”
 (Lit. I wonder whether he was born during the period in which Mahini was the one about to die.)

Here, the speaker did not intend to establish a direct temporal relationship between the birth of a male child and the exact moment of the event of Mahini’s death, but rather the year in which Mahini died.

5. Interjections, ideophones, and onomatopoeia

Interjections are independent exclamatory words. My research has identified the following interjections in Suruwahá:

<i>aa</i>	exclamation of pain
<i>ani</i>	“Uhm”, “Let me think” (placefiller in discourse while the speaker searches for words)
<i>bunda</i>	“Ok, I am ready! You can do it now.”
<i>ha</i>	“What?” “I did not understand.”
<i>haba</i>	“I don’t agree (to do this)!”
<i>hiza</i>	“Yes”
<i>hm m</i>	“I see”, “I understand”, “I am listening”
<i>huhu</i>	“Let’s go!”
<i>hyma</i>	“Come on, let’s do this!”
<i>hyna</i>	“Wow!”
<i>pia</i>	“I don’t want to do this!”, “Leave me alone!”
<i>sy</i>	“Oh no!”
<i>yy</i>	cry of fear
<i>zakahu</i>	“Wait!”

In addition to interjections, Suruwahá has many onomatopoeic and ideophonic expressions that represent sounds, movements, or sensations. Below, I provide a short (non exhaustive) list:

<i>au</i>	the sound of the fire (flames rising)
<i>duku</i>	the sound of bare feet stepping heavily on the ground; a person or

	animal walking with heavy steps
<i>hyhau</i>	the sound of a bird's wingbeat
<i>hau hau</i>	the sound of a dog barking
<i>hukutarihu</i>	the sound of an animal shaking water off its body after bathing
<i>iu iu iu</i>	the sound of a machete chopping something into pieces
<i>kizai kizai</i>	the clinking or clattering sound of ornaments as they collide together while dancing
<i>kytau kytau</i>	the sound of rubber boots stepping on the ground; an European walking
<i>kuti or kutu</i>	the sound of the heart beating with excitement or fear
<i>sahu</i>	the sound of something falling into a body of water
<i>sihyryryry</i>	the gushing sound of water or blood coming out of a deep wound
<i>tiakai</i>	the sound of a bone breaking
<i>tuu tuu</i>	the sound of gunshots
<i>uauakarakakau</i>	the sound of teeth chewing
<i>uynykyhy</i>	the sound of a limping person walking
<i>zzz</i>	the sound of a canoe gliding over the water's surface

6. Word order at the clause level

In Suruwahá, transitive main clauses exhibit high flexibility in constituent order. Since the syntactic roles of both core and oblique arguments can be clarified through the use of case-marking enclitics when necessary (as discussed in section 3.6.3), speakers can freely select from various constituent orders, such as SOV, OSV, VOS, VSO, SVO, or OVS, based on the focus they wish to convey (constituents to be emphasized are fronted). That said, OSV and SOV orders are statistically the most frequent. In intransitive clauses, the SV order is the default, while VS order is typically restricted to the second of two successive sentences, where it is sometimes used to create a chiasmic pattern for a poetic effect. For ditransitive clauses, the most common structure is subject - recipient - theme - verb (or subject - causee - object - verb), or alternatively recipient - subject - theme - verb (causee - subject - Object - verb). Copular clauses involving the verbs *ha-* “to be/exist” or *ziahuruua-* “to become/turn into” display a more rigid order: in cases with two overt noun phrases (one for the subject and one for the complement), the sequence is always subject - complement - verb; if only the complement is overtly expressed, the structure is NP - VP. Oblique arguments are usually positioned either immediately before or after the verb, with pre-verbal placement being more

common. Adverbial clauses and adverbs are normally placed before the verb, but they can also follow it when the speaker wants to add an afterthought.

7. Conclusions

This grammar of Suruwahá has aimed to provide a first outline of its phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures. While each chapter has detailed specific aspects of the language using a descriptive approach, without extensive typological categorization, this section offers a brief typological overview that situates Suruwahá within broader linguistic contexts.

In the section dedicated to **phonetics and phonology**, we observed that Suruwahá has only four vowels and eleven consonants, which categorizes both its vowel and consonant inventories as small according to the typology proposed by Maddison (2013) in the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS). The language exhibits a voicing contrast in both plosives and fricatives. The phoneme /p/ is absent from Suruwahá's current series of voiceless plosives, likely having been lost over time; in cognates where other Arawá languages retain /p/, Suruwahá consistently shows /h/. One of the most prominent features of Suruwahá phonology, absent in all other known Arawá languages, is the allophonic palatalization of consonants following /i/ and the labialization of back consonants following /u/. The canonical syllable structure of Suruwahá is (C)(C)V, where the second consonant in the onset can only be a glide - a /i/ or /u/ phoneme reduced to a [w] or [j].

Regarding prosodic structure, stress assignment, and syllable weight, Suruwahá words exhibit primary stress on the final syllable and secondary stress on the initial syllable. A notable aspect is that syllable length is determined by word length, as speakers appear to aim for a consistent overall word duration, typically modeled by a disyllabic word with two long syllables. Monosyllabic words undergo vowel lengthening through reduplication, resulting in two long syllables. Conversely, in words with more than two syllables, there is often a reduction or elision of the second (and sometimes the third) syllable, effectively shortening the word.

Suruwahá is a highly synthetic language, as defined by the typology proposed by Bickel and Nichols (2013). Inflection occurs in both verbs and inalienably possessed nouns. Most morphological markers—including those for gender of subject or possessor, subject person, TAME, mirativity, polarity, case, information structure, authenticity, similarity,

direction, and Aktionsart—are concatenative. Additionally, most grammatical markers are either suffixes or enclitics, rather than prefixes, infixes, proclitics or endoclitics. In contrast, a small number of markers, such as demonstratives and pronouns, as well as certain terms like *buha* “below” (which have been grammaticalized from inalienably possessed nouns into postpositions), are isolating. A few markers, such as diminutives, exhibit nonlinear morphology. Most grammatical markers in Suruwahá are monoexponential. An exception are the suffixes occupying the last slot within non-finite verbs, as they combine values for either person and gender of subject, tense, mood and firsthand evidentiality, or mood and non-firsthand evidentiality.

In the sections on **nouns** and **verbs**, we observed that Suruwahá has a sex-based gender system, assigning either masculine or feminine gender to all nouns. Free nouns possess inherent gender, while the gender of inalienably possessed nouns depends on the animacy and gender of the possessor. Notably, the gender of a noun cannot be determined based on its morphology. The verb obligatorily indexes both the grammatical gender and the person of its subject argument. Although plurality can be expressed by lexical means in Suruwahá—such as distinct person pronouns for singular and plural subjects, verbs meaning “be alone,” “be a pair,” and “be many” (whose relativized forms can modify nominals), as well as verbs like *guna-* “travel in a group” inherently implying a plural subject—number is not a grammatical category in Suruwahá. Clusivity is also absent in the language.

We found that Suruwahá exhibits three syntactic case categories, expressed by postpositional clitics: subject (zero-marked), object, and oblique. The semantic roles of oblique case (=ha) marked arguments include location, instrument, stimulus, and reason. Subject alignment is nominative-accusative, while object alignment is neutral (meaning that in ditransitive clauses, both non-agentive arguments are marked identically, with =ra). The language distinguishes between alienable and inalienable possession. Genitive constructions are coded differently from attributive ones, with possessive information always preceding the noun and attributes following it. Furthermore, Suruwahá collapses adjectives and relative clauses. It contains only two underived adjectives, “old” and “young,” while all other lexemes specifying attributes are verbs that must be relativized to function as modifiers of nominals.

Regarding determination, the language lacks articles and does not employ other grammatical means to distinguish between definite and indefinite. As for demonstratives,

although one could describe the type of contrast established by them as a “two-way distance contrast” following Diessel’s typology (2013), there are three different deictic terms that form pairs with the demonstrative *hi*, meaning “this one here-and-now”: *ydy* (“that one there at some distance in space”), *una* (“not the one you are implying”), and *hyy* (“the aforesaid - the one at some distance in discourse”). Suruwahá utilizes nominal tense to specify the temporal nature of categorical inclusion, indicating how the nominal referent fits within the time frame established by the predicate.

In the sections dedicated to analyzing the structure of the predicate, we observed that a main verb can include 17 different components (counting the root), nine of which are derivational in nature. Only the reciprocal/reflexive marker, as well as the causative/missive marker, are prefixed to the root, while all other derivational markers are suffixes. Among the inflectional morphemes, only the first and second person affixes are either prefixes or infixes, while gender and TAME markers follow the stem. The language features a large set of suffixes with adverbial meanings, including directional and Aktionsart suffixes. These suffixes specify the location or direction inherent to the action described by the verb, as well as the manner in which this action relates to other events.

In Suruwahá, tense and mood are strongly intertwined with the (mandatory) expression of evidentiality. The TAME suffixes occupying the last slot of the predicate of a main clause are polyexponential, combining values for tense, mood and evidentiality. Within the domain of past time reference, two different degrees of remoteness (hodiernal and prehodiernal) are distinguished. Regarding mood, there is a primary division between declarative, interrogative and imperative speech acts, all of which are further subdivided (polar versus content questions, unsolicited versus solicited statements, and neutral versus polite, exhortative and urgent commands). It is noteworthy that it is not only mandatory to state one’s information source, but, further, that any sentence needs to contain a verb form marked for firsthand evidentiality: this can be either the verb describing the event of interest, or, if one has not personally witnessed the event one wants to describe, the verb denoting the act of reporting the event, or conjecturing about it. Predicates marked for non-firsthand evidentiality always include a main utterance predicate marked for firsthand evidentiality, and an utterance complement clause (sometimes containing further nested utterance-plus-utterance-complement clauses) headed by a verb marked for either quotative or conjectural evidentiality.

Imperfective aspect is expressed through what I interpret as former periphrastic constructions, where the copula has merged with a non-finite (i.e., a gerund) verb form preceding it, becoming a suffix. This topic requires further reflection.

In Suruwahá, the most frequently observed word orders are OSV and SOV; however, since the language employs morphological case marking, other orders are also grammatically acceptable.

In addition to the question of how aspect is expressed—specifically, whether imperfectivity effectively cannot be marked on verbs inflected for prehodiernal past tense—several other areas remain open for further research, and some topics have been left unaddressed in this work due to time and space constraints. These include some irregularities in the inflection paradigms of copular verbs, the secondary grammaticalization of auxiliary and copular verbs (such as *na-* “do, say,” *ku-* “stay,” and *ha-* “be”) into suffixes; the issue of distributed exponence in inflected verbs; the nuanced meanings of different mirative markers; the use of tense markers in adverbial clauses; and the inventory and analysis of the syntactic behavior of onomatopoeic words and some adverbs, which are pervasive in everyday speech and storytelling.

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List of Abbreviations

∅	Morpheme deletes immediately preceding vowel or auxiliary na-
↑	Morpheme raises immediately preceding vowel to /i/
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agentive argument
APPL	applicative
ASSOC	associative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CEXP	counter-expectational
CONJC	conjunctural evidential
CONT	continuative
CONTR	contrastive
CONVERG	convergent direction
CoT	change of topic
CoS	change of state
CRIT	critique
CQ	content question
DECL	declarative mood
DEPREC	deprecativ
DES	desiderative/ destinative
DIM	diminutive
DS	different subject (switch-reference marker)
EXP	experiencer
EXPL	expletive
F	feminine
FB	father's brother
FH	firsthand evidential
FZ	father's sister
FZD	father's sister's daughter
FZS	father's sister's son
FPASS	facilitative passive
FRUSTR	frustrative
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HPST	hodiernal past
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental
INSTRNMLZ	instrumental nominalizer
IPFV	imperfective aspect

ITER	iterative
LOC	locative
M	masculine (within the discussion of kinship terminology: “mother”)
MB	mother’s brother
MBD	mother’s brother’s daughter
MBS	mother’s brother’s son
MIR	mirative
MZ	mother’s sister
NMLZ	nominalizer
NFOC	narrow focus marker
O	object
OBJ	objective case (i.e. patientive argument) marker
OBL	oblique case (i.e. oblique argument) marker
O>S	switch-reference marker: “the object of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause”
P	patientive argument
PASS	passive
PERMISS	permissive
POLIMP	polite imperative
POSS	possessor
PL	plural
PNMLZ	patientive nominalizer
PPST	prehodiernal past
PREV	preventive
PQ	polar question
PQPRF	plus quam perfect
QEV	quotative evidential
REC	reciprocal
RFL	reflexive
SIML	similative
S	subject
SG	singular
SEQ	sequential suffix
SS	same subject (switch-reference marker)
STIM	stimulus
SUBJ	subject case (i.e. S or A argument) marker
TOP	topic marker
URGIMP	urgent imperative
V	vowel (chapter on phonology) or verb (chapter on word order)
VIA	vialis

Observation regarding the glossing

In cases where one morpheme could have two alternative interpretations (such as the nominal prefix *i-*, which can denote either a second person singular possessor or a first person plural possessor), I glossed it according to its specific meaning in the given example. For instance, since *i-adahy* means "our graves," I glossed it as 1PL.POSS-grave;M.POSS rather than 1PL/2SG.POSS-grave;M.POSS. This approach aimed to avoid excessive unwieldiness and ensure greater clarity in the interlinear glossing.

Appendix

Inflectional paradigms of inalienably possessed nouns

1. Underived inalienably possessed nouns

Concept	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.F.POSS / 2PL.POSS	3SG.M.POS S/3PL.POSS	1PL.POSS
tongue	u-aby	i-abani	abani	aby	i-aby
root (compare: <i>abu-</i> "have roots")	-	-	aburi	abu(ri)ni	-
sperm, sap, resin	u-aduhy	i-aduhini	aduhini	aduhy	i-aduhy
palm heart	-	-	agaziri	agazini	-
palm leaf, lap, groin	u-ahaby	i-ahabani	ahabani	ahaby	i-ahaby
agricultural production, leaf, finger (compare: <i>aha-</i> "(soil) be fertile")	u-ahy	i-ahani	ahani	ahy	i-ahy
crumb	-	-	amiahiri	amiahini	-
blood (compare: <i>ama-</i> "bleed")	u-amy	i-amani	amani	amy	i-amy
space behind, time after	u-aniti	i-anitini	anitini	aniti	i-aniti
neck	u-asami	i-asamini	asamini	asami	i-asami
flank, bacon	u-asahy	i-asahani	asahani	asahy	i-asahani
skin, bark	u-asihi	i-asihini	asihini	asihi	i-asihi
saliva	u-asuhy	i-asuhani	asuhani	asuhy	i-asuhy
language, voice, sound (compare: <i>aty-</i> "speak, produce sound")	u-ati	i-atini	atini	ati	i-ati
bone	u-atuny	i-atunani	atunani	atuny	i-atuny
forehead, prow (of a canoe), headwaters, East	u-aty	i-atani	atani	aty	i-aty
feces, stomach contents, vomit, (coffee or tea) grounds	u-azuuy	i-azuuani	azuuani	azuuy	i-azuuy
victim, prey, cargo, causee	u-bahi	i-bahini	bahini	bahi	i-bahi
beak	u-banuhi	i-banuhini	banuhini	banuhi	i-banuhi
hand, paw	u-bihi	i-bihini	bihini	bihi	i-bihi
leg (person), arm (river), extension line (vine), beam (sun, lightning)	u-biri	i-birini	birini	biri	i-biri
eave, edge (house)	-	-	biraisi	biraisini	-
space below	u-buhy	i-buhani	buhani	buhy	i-buhy
fruit, restrictedness, singleton (compare: <i>buzi-</i> "produce fruits")	u-buzi	i-buzini	buzini	buzi	i-buzi
centre	-	-	bunini	buni	-
inside, bottom (of basket)	-	-	burini	huri	-
ankle	u-damakuri	i-damakurini	damakurini	damakuri	i-damakuri
foot, wheel (of a car), footprint	u-damy	i-damani	damani	damy	i-damy
testicle	u-danahy	i-danahini	danahini	danahy	i-danahy

place, site, location, container	u-duki	i-dukuni	dukuni	duki	i-duki
shadow	u-duriri	i-duririni	duririni	duriri	i-duriri
end	-	-	garisini	garisi	-
liquid, broth, juice, bathing place	-	-	hahani	hahy	-
nape	h<u>akuby	h<i>akubani	hakubani	hakuby	h<i>akuby
shoulder	h<u>akuri	h<i>akurini	hakurini	hakuri	h<i>akuri
arm	h<u>uasi	h<i>uasini	hiuasini	hiuasi	h<i>uasi
front (of the chest), palm (hand)	-	-	hukini	huki	-
space between (trees), space inside (a house)	-	-	hurini	huri	-
half, slice	-	-	yby/ ibi	ibini	-
buttocks	idadi	idadini	idadini	idadi	idadi
chest, thought, thorax, (sky) dome	igany	iganani	iganani	igany	igany
liquid, broth, juice, bathing place (compare: <i>haha</i> - "be wet")	-	-	hahani	hahy	-
bad odor, rot (compare: <i>hata</i> - "be putrid")	h<u>aty	h<i>atini	hatini	haty	h<i>aty
omen, prelude	-	-	imiri	imini	-
crown (tree)	-	-	inini	ini	-
thigh	inabuuy	inabuuni	inabuuni	inabuuy	inabuuy
egg	inahy	inahani	inahani	inahy	inahy
head	inaky	inakani	inakani	inaky	inaky
penis, tail (fish)	isimi	isimini	isimini	isimi	isimi
back	isi	isini	isini	isi	isi
mouth, bank (of a river)	izahi	izahini	izahini	izahi	izahi
liver	izaisi	izaisini	izaisini	izaisi	izaisi
heel	izisi	izisini	izisini	izisi	izisi
space in front of, time before, beginning	izuby	izubani	izubani	izuby	izuby
intention, focus, purpose, quest (compare: <i>kahy</i> - "desire, love")	u-kahi	i-kahini	kahini	kahi	i-kahi
furuncle, pus, brain	u-kahuuy	i-kahuuni	kahuuni	kahuuy	i-kahuuy
bile	?	?	kaisitikirini	kaisitikiri	?
spirit, value, leader, representative, vital principle, inspiration (compare: <i>karuuy</i> - "complement")	u-karuuzi	i-karuuzini	karuuzini	karuuzi	i-karuuzi
silk (of the maize plant)	-	-	kasukani	kasuky	-
weight	k<u>azahiri	k<i>azahini	kazahini	kazahiri	k<i>azahiri
hair (compare: <i>kuna</i> - "be hairy")	u-kuny	i-kunani	kunani	kuny	i-kuny
belly	makauy	m<i>akauani	makauani	makauy	m<i>akauy
cheek	marusy	m<i>arusani	marusani	marusy	m<i>arusy

trunk (tree), lower part, stern (of a canoe), West, lower course (of a river)	-	-	masani	masy	-
flower (compare: <i>maua-</i> "flourish")	-	-	mauani	mauy	-
topic, subject (of a story), story	u-muni	i-munini	munini	muni	i-muni
body, substance (compare: <i>nahy-</i> "be big, material, voluminous")	nahiri	i-ahirini	nahirini	nahiri	i-ahiri
fibre, vein	u-sahury	i-sahurini	sahurini	sahury	i-sahury
cloud, foam	-	-	sabini	sabiri	-
pot used for cooking (an animal)	-	-	siuhi	siuhuni	-
umbilicus	u-suburi	i-suburini	suburini	suburi	i-suburi
knee	u-suuaty	i-suuatani	suuatani	suuaty	i-suuaty
product artifact	u-taburi	i-taburini	tabu(ri)ni	taburi	i-taburi
clothes, coverage, blanket (compare: <i>taha-</i> "cover")	u-tahy	i-tahani	tahani	tahy	i-tahy
location, address, direction	u-tazuki	i-tazukini	tazukini	tazuki	i-tazuki
totality	u-tumi	i-tumini	tumini	tumi	i-tumi
space above	u-tyhymy	i-tyhymani	tyhymani	tyhymy	i-tyhymy
nose	uadi	u<i>adini	uadini	uadi	u<i>adi
elbow	uakuri	u<i>akurini	uakurini	uakuri	u<i>akuri
ear	uarubi	u<i>arubani	uarubani	uarubi	u<i>arubi
lung	uasaburi	u<i>asaburini	uasaburini	uasaburi	u<i>asaburini
stem	-	-	udani	udy	-
name	uizi	i-uizini	uizini	uizi	i-uizi
flesh, pulp, substance, muscle (compare: <i>ima-</i> "heal")	ymy	imani	imani	ymy	imy
mean, half (of long objects), centre (of a circle)	?	?	zani	zai	?
chin	u-zarady	i-zaradani	zaradani	zarady	i-zarady
hip	?	?	ziaribarini	ziaribari	?
eye (compare: <i>zuby-</i> "be awake")	u-zubi	i-zubuni	zubuni	zubi	i-zubi
tooth, (arrow) head (compare: <i>zuma-</i> "have teeth, be sharp")	u-zumy	i-zumani	zumani	zomy	i-zumy

2. Inalienably possessed nouns derived from verbs

Concept	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.F.POSS / 2PL.POSS	3SG.M.POS S/3PL.POSS	1PL.POSS
red colour (derived from <i>ada-</i> "be red")	u-adi	i-adini	adini	adi	i-adi
smoke (derived from <i>agany-</i> "pour smoke")	-	-	aganiri	-	-
astringency, resentment, grief	-	-	asini	asiri	-

(derived from <i>asy</i> - "be astringent")					
black colour (derived from <i>asa</i> - be black")	u-asiri	i-asini	asini	asiri	i-asiri
picture, photo (derived from <i>bydady</i> - "attach")	bydadyhiri	bidadihirini	bydadyhirini	bydadyhiri	bidadihiri
hole (dervied from <i>dady</i> - "be hollow")	-	-	dadirini	dadiri	-
contamination (derived from <i>gagy</i> - "be contagious")	g<u>agiri	g<i>agi(ri)ni	gagi(ri)ni	gagiri	g<i>agiri
walking style (derived from <i>gaua</i> - "walk")	g<u>aui	g<i>aui(ri)ni	gaui(ri)ni	gauiri	g<i>aui
joy, pleasure caused by something (derived from <i>kahzy</i> - "be desirable")	k<u>ahyziri	k<i>ahyzini	kahyzini	kahyziri	k<i>ahyziri
sadness or nostalgia caused by someone's absense (derived from <i>kamuny</i> - "cause sadness")	k<u>amuniri	k<i>amunini	kamunini	kamuniri	k<i>amuniri
weight (derived from <i>kazaha</i> - "be heavy")	k<u>azahiri	k<i>azahi(ri)ni	kazahi(ri)ni	kazahiri	k<i>azahiri
pain (derived from <i>kuuy</i> - "be painful")	-	-	kuuini	kuuiri	-
darkness (dervied from <i>zama satuny</i> - "be dark")	-	-	satunini	satuniri	-
beauty (derived from <i>tizuuu</i> - "be beautiful")	?	?	tizuuini	tizuuiri	?
phantasm (derived from <i>uhama</i> - "be a pair")	uhamiri	i-uhamini	uhamini	uhamiri	i-uhamiri
light, brightness (derived from <i>uahary</i> - "be bright")	-	-	uaharini	uahariri	-

3. Inalienably possessed nouns derived from free nouns

Concept	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.F.POSS / 2PL.POSS	3SG.M.POS S/3PL.POSS	1PL.POSS
post where someone ties their hammock (derived from <i>aga</i> "tree")	u-agari	i-agarini	agarini	agari	i-agari
path (derived from <i>agi</i> "path")	u-agiri	i-agirini	agirini	agiri	i-agiri
grave (derived from <i>adaha</i> "land")	u-adahy	i-adahani	adahani	adahy	i-adahy
maggot eating someone's carcass (derived from <i>adahi</i> "maggot")	u-adahiri	i-adahirini	adahirini	adahiri	i-adahiri
dream foretelling someone's birth (derived from <i>uada</i> "sleep")	uadari	u<i>adarini	uadarini	uadari	u<i>adari
bunch, package (derived from	-	-	zamani	zamy	-

<i>zama</i> "thing")					
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Sample text - “Our trip to the FUNAI outpost” (narrated by Xabi, 24/10/2009)

Hyzama munini hijarabiara?
 hyzama munini hizara-i-ba-ra
 what topic;3F.POSS narrate-M-FUT-CQ.CONJC
 “What story do you want me to tell you?”

Ta didyndy munini.
 ta d<i>ydy-ndy munini.
 2SG <2SG>travel.downstream-F.PNMLZ topic;3F.POSS
 “The story of your journey down the stream.”

Timia dydyndy munini.
 tima dydy-ndy munini.
 2PL travel.downstream-F.PNMLZ topic;3F.POSS
 “The story of your.PL journey down the stream.”

Hi ari giutururi,
 hi ari g<i>uturu-ri
 this 1PL <1PL>travel.downstream.as.a.group-M.NMLZ
 “We, having traveled downstream as a group,”

Jukihi zanihia wiatanawaky.
 Iukihi zani=ha u<i>ada-¹⁰si-nauaky
 Jukihi middle;3F.POSS=LOC <1PL>sleep-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH
 “slept at a place along the middle course of the Jukihi stream.”

Jukihi zanihia wiadamiara, wada niaxumara,
 Iukihi zani=ha u<i>ada-i-mara uada n<i>a-ri-su-mara
 Jukihi middle;3F.POSS <1PL>sleep-M-SS sleep <1PL>AUX-M-NEG-SS
 “After we had slept—or, more accurately, failed to sleep—along the middle course of the Jukihi stream,”

wahara amasarikia.
 uahara amasa-ri-ka-∅
 mosquito be.numerous-M-PPST-DECL.QEV
 “- the mosquitoes were numerous! - ”

Wahara amasa kasirihia wada niaxumara
 uahara amasa ka-si-ri-ha uada n<i>a-ri-su-mara
 mosquito be.numerous AUX-SEQ-M-because sleep <1PL>AUX-M-NEG-SS
 “Since the mosquitoes were very numerous, we could not sleep, and,

zama giakiari,
 zama g<i>akia-ri
 thing <1PL>stare.at-M.NMLZ
 “upon spending all night staring into space,”

zama niawaharynawaky.
 zama n<i>a-uahary-nauaky
 thing <1PL>CAUS-be.day-1.PPST.DECL.FH
 “we finally saw the light of the day brighten.”

Niawaharymara, masiki hakiany gitunsiri,
 n<i>a-uahary-∅-mara masiki ha-i-kany g<i>utuna-[↑]si-ri
 <1PL>CAUS-be.day-M-SS sun be.there-M-DS <1PL>go.to.water.edge-SEQ-M.NMLZ
 “After we saw the light of day brighten and the sun had risen, we continued our journey,”

maxini Funai iri udaha bianxanawaky.
 maisini FUNAI iri uda=ha b<i>any-[↑]si-anauaky
 in.the.evening FUNAI 3M.POSS house=LOC <1PL>arrive-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH
 “and in the evening, we finally arrived at FUNAI’s outpost.”

Bianximiara, gitumurawixiri,
 b<i>any-[↑]si-i-mara g<i>utumura-ua-[↑]si-ri
 <1PL>arrive-SEQ-M-SS <1PL>go.ashore-CoS-SEQ-M.NMLZ
 “After having arrived, we went ashore, “

Funai iri udaha wiadamiara,
 FUNAI iri uda=ha u<i>ada-i-mara
 FUNAI 3M.POSS house=LOC <1PL>sleep-M-SS
 “we slept at FUNAI’s house, “

hysana banamary giunamunari,
 hysana banamary g<i>una-muna-ri
 then early.in.the.morning <1PL>go.together-upstream-M-NMLZ
 “and then, early in the next morning, we went upstream,”

kabykana giamukwahanawaky.
 kabykana g<i>amuka-ha-nauaky
 fishhook <1PL>throw-into.water-1.PPST.DECL.FH
 “and cast our fishhooks.”

televisão *giakiamiara,*
televisão g<i>akia-i-mara
television <1PL>watch-M-SS
“we watched TV,”

buniaka *hamixikiany* *wiatanawaky.*
buniaka hama-[↑]si-i-kany u<i>ada-^{↑0}si-anauaky
cartoon.character end-SEQ-M-DS <1PL>sleep-SEQ-1.PPST.DECL.FH
“and when the cartoon ended, we went to sleep.”