Evidence for Syntactic Expression of Information Structure in Omagua*

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1 Introduction

- Pronominal arguments in Omagua may be expressed by a stressed, free pronoun (e.g., āi 3SG.FS) or an unstressed, phonologically bound, pronominal proclitic (e.g., ē= 3SG.FS).

- Questions addressed in this talk:
  - What determines choice of pronominal person markers in Omagua?
  - Do the pronominal person markers differ only in form or also in syntactic position?
  - How does the system governing choice of pronoun interact with the expression of topic and focus (syntactic and otherwise) in Omagua?

- Claims:
  - Choice between the two types of personal pronoun is based on the givenness of the referent.
  - Pronouns and pronominal proclitics occupy distinct syntactic positions.
  - Omagua has a leftward external topic position.
  - Focus in Omagua is primarily marked prosodically and morphologically.

- ROAD MAP:
  - §1.1 Language Background
  - §2 Omagua Referring Expressions & the Givenness Hierarchy
  - §3 Evidence for Syntactic Positions
  - §4 and §5 Expression of Topic and Focus in Omagua
  - §6 and §7 Outstanding Questions and Conclusions
  - App. A Texts

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1.1 Language Background

- Omagua is a Tupí-Guaraní language of Peruvian Amazonia, Department of Loreto.
- Seven known speakers are residents or natives of San Joaquín de Omaguas (Amazon river)\(^1\)
- The language distinguishes 13 phonemic consonants (Table 1) and 5 phonemic vowels (Figure 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-Palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>Fricative</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
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</table>

Figure 1: Omagua Vowels (Phonemic)

- Omagua is an isolating language with grammatical relations expressed primarily via word order, following an active-stative alignment (i.e., AVP for transitive and S\(_AV\) \& VS\(_P\) for intransitive clauses).
- Most grammatical categories are expressed via (a combination of) special and phonologically bound clitics and particles.
  - Particles that appear to the left of the verb encode negation, sentential modality and direction/position, and function as clause-linkers.
  - Second-position clitics encode epistemic modality.
  - VP-final enclitics encode tense, aspect, reality status (a polyfunctional irrealis marker) and direction/position, and function as clause-linkers.
  - NP-clitics encode augmentation/diminution, focus, number and license oblique arguments.
- Affixal morphology includes a causative and pluractionals.
- Most functionally derivational morphology adjoins to the clause, and is best analyzed as clitics.

\(^1\)Additional speakers may live in the community of San Salvador de Omaguas, nearer to the site of the former Jesuit mission (Tessmann 1930:48; Myers 1992:140-141), and previous ethnographic work suggests that this site remained more culturally conservative than San Joaquín as late as the 1950s (Girard 1958:163-185). However, we have not visited this site to determine the sociolinguistic situation there, though word-of-mouth reports indicate that there are no speakers there. Yet other speakers may survive in and around the Brazilian towns of São Paulo de Olivença and Tefé (Amazonas) under the ethnonym Cambeba (Grenand and Grenand 1997; Bonin and Cruz da Silva 1999; Maciel 2003).
• Person is expressed on nouns, verbs and postpositions via two sets of pronouns (see 1.1.1).

• The language exhibits a typologically uncommon genderlect system in nominal plural marking, the pronominal system and forms derived historically from pronouns.

  – We indicate this in glosses as ms and fs for masculine and feminine speech, respectively.

  – **Note:** One male consultant (LHC), whose father was not Omagua, and who was raised predominantly by his mother and grandmother, frequently alternates between masculine and feminine speech forms. We represent his speech faithfully, but do not comment on such alternations.

1.1.1 Omagua Person-Marking

• Omagua verbs are not inflected for person; pro-drop is possible for third person objects; subjects may not be omitted, except in imperatives.

• In the absence of a full noun or NP-argument, the person and number of verbal arguments are expressed via either free pronouns or pronominal proclitics (Table 2), whose forms are related.

  – Free pronouns may function as the arguments of verbal and non-verbal predicates.

  – Pronominal proclitics may function as the arguments of verbal predicates only, and additionally function as the possessors of nouns and the complements of postpositions.

• Proclitics must have a rightward phonological host.

  – The host may be the verb root (subjects), a VP-enclitic (objects), a noun (possessor), or a postposition (PP complements).

  – In the absence of a host, the proclitic deletes (only permissible for third-person objects).

• Omagua pronouns distinguish three persons in the singular and plural, and a clusivity contrast.

• First- and third-person forms are sensitive to the gender of the speaker (as opposed to the referent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MASC. SPEECH</td>
<td>FEM. SPEECH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taa / t(a)=</td>
<td>tsn / ts(i)=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1INCL</td>
<td>mra / r(a)=</td>
<td>āi / i=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• Omagua exhibits another series of demonstrative pronouns, which may also function as determiners, with deictic semantics, also differentiated by the gender of the speaker (Table 3).
2 Omagua Referring Expressions & the Givenness Hierarchy

2.1 Gundel et al. (1993) & the Givenness Hierarchy

2.1.1 The Problem

- An attempt to account for the variation in and distribution of types of referring expressions in natural language as a result of the following explicandum:

  The question then is: what do speakers/writers know that enables them to choose an appropriate form to refer to a particular object and what do hearers/readers know that enables them to identify correctly the intended referent of a particular form?  
  (Gundel et al. 1993:274)

- This account relies upon a conventionalized, language-internal association of form and status:

  ... different determiners and pronominal forms conventionally signal different cognitive statuses (information about location in memory and attention state), thereby enabling the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents.  
  (Gundel et al. 1993:274-275)

- Distinct statuses derive from a gradient notion of givenness in discourse:

  ... the Givenness Hierarchy ... a set of implicationally related statuses which we propose are necessary for explaining the relation between referring forms and conditions for their appropriate use and interpretation across languages.  
  (Gundel et al. 1993:275)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN FOCUS</th>
<th>ACTIVATED</th>
<th>FAMILIAR</th>
<th>UNIQUELY IDENTIFIABLE</th>
<th>REFERENTIAL</th>
<th>TYPE IDENTIFIABLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{it}</td>
<td>{that}</td>
<td>{this}</td>
<td>{that N}</td>
<td>{the N}</td>
<td>{a}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Gundel et al. (1993) Givenness Hierarchy

- The referring expressions of different languages may vary in the number of statuses to which they are sensitive, i.e., how many statuses have a corresponding expression which they uniquely satisfy (English happens to be maximally sensitive in this way).

- By its definition as an implicational hierarchy, any higher cognitive status also meets the requirements for all lower statuses. Therefore, a referring expression for which a lower cognitive status is minimally required may also be used for an entity with a higher cognitive status, when pragmatically appropriate (necessary versus necessary and sufficient).
2.1.2 Definition of Statuses

**Type Identifiable**  ‘The addressee is able to access a representation of the type of object described by the expression.’
- In English, necessary for use of any nominal expression; sufficient for use of article *a*.

**Referential**  ‘The speaker intends to refer to a particular object or objects. To understand such an expression, the addressee not only needs to access an appropriate type-representation, he must either retrieve an existing representation of the speaker’s intended referent or construct a new representation by the time the sentence has been processed.’
- In English, necessary for all definite expressions; necessary and sufficient for colloquial indefinite *this*.

**Uniquely Identifiable**  ‘The addressee can identify the speaker’s intended referent on the basis of the nominal alone.’
- In English, necessary for all definite expressions; sufficient for article *the*.

**Familiar**  ‘The addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory (in long-term memory if it has not been recently mentioned or perceived, or in short-term memory if it has).’
- In English, necessary for personal pronouns and definite demonstratives; sufficient for demonstrative determiner *that*.

**Activated**  ‘The referent is represented in current short-term memory. Activated representations may have been retrieved from long-term memory, or they may arise from the immediate linguistic or extralinguistic context.’
- In English, necessary for all pronominals and definite demonstrative determiner *this*; sufficient for demonstrative pronoun *that* and stressed personal pronouns.

**In Focus**  ‘The referent is not only in short-term memory, but is also at the current center of attention.’
- In English, necessary for zero and unstressed pronominals.

2.2 Omagua Referring Expressions and the Hierarchy

- Choice of referring expressions in Omagua explained by cognitive status (Table 4).
- Omagua referring expressions distinguish between five cognitive statuses: **Type identifiable**, **Referential**, **Uniquely identifiable**, **Activated** and **Highly activated**.

2.2.1 Type Identifiable and Referential Entities

- **Type identifiable** only: bare noun.
- **Referential**: *wipi* N ‘one, a(n)’ N; *akia* ∼ *amai* N ‘this’ N.
  - Numeral *wipi* appears to be at early stage of development into indefinite article (optional in referential contexts, not used for type identifiable only)
Table 4: Omagua Referring Expressions and the Givenness Hierarchy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGHLY ACT.</th>
<th>ACTIVATED</th>
<th>FAM.</th>
<th>UNIQUELY IDENT.</th>
<th>REFERENTIAL</th>
<th>TYPE IDENT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>akia ~ amai ‘this’</td>
<td></td>
<td>akia ~ amai N ‘this N’</td>
<td>wipi N ‘a(n) N’</td>
<td>Ø N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra= ~ i= 3SG</td>
<td>yuká ~ yuku ‘that’</td>
<td></td>
<td>yuká ~ yuku N ‘that N’</td>
<td>akia ~ amai N ‘this N’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>muca ~ āi 3SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Unmarked type identifiable noun, followed by unmarked referential noun:

1. tausu kawakati tawainúmukui, tsfikarisumuni akuti[TYPE] tayawaranamukui
   ta= usu kawa =kati ta= wainú =mukui ta= ŋikari =smuni
   1SG.MS= go forest =ALL 1SG.MS= woman =COM 1SG.MS= look.for =PURP
   akuti ta= yawara =kana =mukui
   agouti 1SG.MS= dog =PL.MS =COM
   ‘I went into the forest with my wife to look for agoutis with my dogs.’

2. a. AHC: tsfikari wipi awa[REF] ukasrnuni iraya.
   tsi= ŋikari wipi awa uka =smuni iraya
   1SG.FS= look.for one person house =PURP be.good
   ‘I’m looking for someone so that my house comes out well.’

- Referential use of wipi ‘one, a(n)’:

2. b. akia yawara purara akuti[REF].
   akia yawara =kana purara akuti
   DEM.PROX.MS dog =PL.MS find agouti
   ‘The dogs found an agouti.’
   (MCT:C4.S2)

2. c. ZJO: awapa yumia wira mi?
   awa =pa yumia wira mi
   who =INTERR help 2SG
   ‘Who is helping you?’

2. d. AHC: yumia wira usu wipi awa[REF] tsfikari firamai Francisco Escobar Pacaya,
   ipuraka usu tsukamai, ikati, kawakati.
   yumia wira =usu wipi awa tsi= ŋikari jira =mai Francisco
   help =FUT one person 1SG.FS= look.for be.called =INACT.NOMZ Francisco
   Escobar Pacaya ipuraka =usu tsi= uka =mai ikati kawa
   Escobar Pacaya build =FUT 1SG.FS= house =INACT.NOMZ there.FS forest
   =kati
   =LOC
'A man that I'm looking for named Francisco Escobar Pacaya is going to help, the one who will build my house there, in the forest.'

(LHC&AHC:2011.07.14.1)

- Apparent parallel to English referential use of ‘this’:

(3)  
a.  ik\(^w\)af\(\text{i}\) tausu paranapupi.
   ik\(^w\)af\(\text{i}\) ta= usu parana =pupi
   yesterday 1SG.MS= go river =INSTR
   ‘Yesterday I went out on the river.’

b.  taumai akia ipirawira\[\text{REF}\] yaykatiari.
   ta= umai akia ipirawira yaykati =ari
   1SG.MS= see DEM.PROX.MS river.dolphin go.upriver -PROG
   ‘I saw this dolphin going upstream.’

c.  taumai ra\[\text{HACT}\] uri tasupi.
   ta= umai ra= uri ta= =supi
   1SG.MS= see 3SG.MS= come 1SG.MS= =GOAL
   ‘I saw that he was coming towards me.’

2.2.2 Uniquely Identifiable Entities

- Demonstrative determiner requires referent be, at minimum, uniquely identifiable (English ‘the N’)
  - Need not be familiar (as for English ‘this N’)

(4)  
a.  urisuri wipi kunumi ramamamukui.
   uri =suri wipi kunumi ra= mama =mukui
   come =PAST.DIST one young.man 3SG.MS= mother =COM
   ‘A young man came with his mother.’

b.  ranasasawaka amai parana\[\text{UNIQUE}\].
   rana= sasawa -ka amai parana
   3PL.MS= cross -ATTEN DEM.PROX.FS river
   ‘They were crossing the river.’

(MCT:C1.S1)

2.2.3 Activated Entities

- Personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns require referent to be activated
  - Demonstrative pronoun for activated entity in (5c):

(5)  
a.  yini\[\text{HACT}\] warika iwiraariwa hasta yapikannani, tana\[\text{HACT}\] sara animaluna uri.
   yini= warika iwira =ariwa hasta yapika =n =nani
   1PL.INCL climb tree =SUPERESS RESULT sit.down =DEPIC =LIM
   tana= sara animal -u =na uri
   1PL.EXCL.MS= await animal -EPV =PL.FS come

\(^2\) Omagua is similar in this respect to Chinese, which also lacks a dedicated definite determiner (Gundel et al., 1993).
‘We climb the tree; just sitting [there] we wait for animals to come.’

awi =taku hora yini le digo tana= smu isiwasu uri
already =DUB time 1PL.INCL I say to him 1PL.EXCL.MS= hear deer come
“It must already be time,” I say. We hear a deer come.’

c. “yuká[j][ACT] uriari, uriari,” me dice él j.
yuká uri -ari uri -ari me dice él
DEM.DIST.MS come -PROG come -PROG he says to me
“That thing over there is coming”, he says to me.’

(11:07.01.1)

- Third person pronoun for activated subject (the hunting companion of the narrator, marked with subscript j) shown in (6a); third person pronouns used for activated objects (the deer, marked in bold face and with subscript i) shown in (6a) and (6b).

(6)  a. y ˜ ai j[k][ACT] kumisa tasupi, “nimari nukunawara mura[i][ACT]”, me dice él j.
y ˜ ai kumisa ta= =supi nimari n= kunawa mura
and 3SG.FS say 1SG.MS= =GOAL NEG 2SG= hit.straight.on 3SG.MS
me dice él
he says to me
‘and he [my brother-in-law] says to me, “you didn’t shoot him straight on at all”, he says to me.’

b. “ruá, iraya taayua mura[i][ACT],” le digo, takumisa ra[j][HIACT] supi.
ruá iraya ta= ayua mura le digo ta= kumisa ra= =supi
no well 1SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS I say to him 1SG.MS= say 3SG.MS= =GOAL
“No, I shot him well”, I say to him.’

(11:07.01.1)

2.2.4 Highly Activated (“In Focus”) Entities

- Pronominal proclitics and zero-marked objects require the referent to be highly activated.

- Third person pronominal proclitic for highly activated entity in (7b) and (7c)

(7)  a. isiwasu[UNIQUE] yapana kawarupi.
isiwasu yapana kawa =rupi
deer run forest =PROL
‘The deer runs off into the forest.’

b. wipe ratosui, uyawiri ra[i][HIACT] urikatu.
wipe rato =sui uyawiri ra= uri -katu
one while =ABL again 3SG.MS= come -REG
‘After a while, he comes back again.’

c. yapana ra[i][HIACT] urikatu.
yapana ra= uri -katu
run 3SG.MS= come -REG
'He comes back running.'

(LHC:2011.07.01.1)

- Third person object dropped when no rightward phonological host present:

(8) a. *isui ranayapifika ranaiwasu*[UNIQUE], ranaipuraka *mura*[ACT], ranatruita *mura*[ACT] upa.

    *isui rana= yapifika rana= iwasu rana= ipuraka mura rana= then.FS 3PL.MS= catch 3PL.MS= arapaima 3PL.MS= make 3SG.MS 3PL.MS= twita mura upa
    salt 3SG.MS all

    'Then they would catch their arapaima, they would make it up and salt it all over.'


    *rasui rana= ikana -ta kʷarafi saku =kati then.MS 3PL.MS= be.dry -CAUS sun be.hot =LOC

    'Then they dry it in the hot sun.'

c. *rasui ranapiripita Φ*[HIACT] awana sitarafi.

    *rasui rana= piripita awa =na sita =raji then.MS 3PL.MS= sell person =PL.FS want =NASS

    'Then they would sell [it] if people wanted [it].'

3 Evidence for Syntactic Positions

3.1 Introduction and Claims

- Omagua exhibits three pre-verbal and two post-verbal syntactic positions that correlate with the information-structural status of the referring expressions that fill them (Figure 3).

- The two positions immediately preceding and following the verb correlate with Highly Activated referents, and may only be filled with pronominal proclitics.

- The positions immediately to the left of the negator and immediately following the verbal enclitics correlate with (maximally) Activated referents, and may be filled with free pronouns or full nouns.

- An additional leftmost position is associated with an external topic. It may be filled by a full noun or free pronoun, which co-occurs with a coreferential proclitic argument.

Figure 3: Syntactic Positions Correlated with Information-Structural Status

![Figure 3: Syntactic Positions Correlated with Information-Structural Status](image)

- The VERB in Figure 3 may include derivational, pluractional and/or aspectual suffixes.

- Pre-verbal elements:
- Negation: *rua*[^3]

- Second position clitics encoding epistemic modality (e.g., =*taku* DUB) attach to morphemes that occupy either of the two leftwardmost slots, depending on which happens to be sentence-initial.

  - Post-verbal elements (non-obligatory):
    - Directionals/positionals: =*usu* AND; =*uri* VEN; =(*yuriti* DUR; =(*u*kua* HAB
    - Tense: =*suri* PST.DIST; =(*u)i PST.PROX; =(*u)sari* FUT
    - Modality: =*mia* IRR

### 3.2 Preverbal Positions

- In affirmative declaratives, free pronouns and pronominal proclitics preceding the verb appear to vary in form only.

(9)  
\[ \tilde{\text{ai}} \text{ iwip} \text{i iwirasui} . \]
\[ \text{3SG.FS come.down tree =ABL} \]

‘He [my brother-in-law] comes down from the tree.’
(LHC:2011.07.01.1)

(10)  
\[ \text{i=} \text{ sawata calimanapupi ladrillopupi} . \]
\[ \text{3SG.FS= build.roof.for tin.sheet =INSTR brick =INSTR} \]

‘He [my son] builds roofs [for them [houses]] with bricks and sheets of tin.’
(AmHT:2011.06.16.1)

- Evidence that these forms occupy distinct syntactic positions comes from negation and Q-formation.

#### 3.2.1 Negation

- Pronominal proclitics fall inside the negator.

- Free pronouns and full nouns fall outside the negator.

(11)  
\[ \text{a. amai wawankira rua umai kururu,} \]
\[ \text{amai wawankira rua umai kururu DEM.PROX.FS child NEG see frog} \]

\[ \text{b. kururu fikari,} \]
\[ \text{fikari frog 3SG.FS= look.for} \]

\[ \text{c. rua rumai \tilde{ai}.} \]
\[ \text{rumai \tilde{ai} NEG 3SG.FS= see 3SG.FS} \]

[^3]: Other morphemes that may occupy this same position include *tina* OPT and *yapá* HORT, although there is not enough syntactic evidence to discern this for certain.
‘This boy doesn’t see the frog, he’s looking for the frog, he doesn’t see him.’
(AmHT:2011.08.01.1)

• Proclitic subject within VP, free pronoun subject is higher in syntactic structure.
• Negation falls relatively close to the verb in the syntactic structure.

### 3.2.2 Question Formation

• When a verb with pronominal (or full noun) subject is fronted in formation of polar question, verb and subject are inverted.

(12) a. *ikua*pa *nipapa* ____, *kumisa umawa kumisapupi*?
    ikua =pa ni= papa kumisa umawa kumisa =pupi
    know =INTERR 2SG= father speak Omagua language =INSTR
    ‘Does your father know how to speak the Omagua language?’
    (CSS 2011 E2 p53 ex4, LHC)

b. *nipapa* ikuapa *kumisa umawa kumisapupi*?

(13) a. *sita*pa *mi* ____i *ntyawiri*?
    sita =pa mi = yawiri?
    want =INTERR 2SG 2SG= manioc
    ‘Do you want your manioc?’
    (CSS 2011 E2 p48 ex6, LHC&AHC)

b. *sita*pa *mi* ____i *ru yawiri*?
    ‘Do you want to eat manioc?’

• When a verb with a proclitic subject is fronted in formation of polar question, subject moves with verb.

(14) a. *mi*sita*pa* ____i *ikua akia kumisa*?
    mi= sita =pa ikua akia kumisa
    2SG= want =INTERR learn DEM.PROX.MS word/language
    ‘Do you want to learn this word/language?’
    LHC:2011:07.06

b. *mi*sita*pa* ____i *ikua akia kumisa*?
    (CSS 2011 E2 p47 ex4, LHC)

• Proclitic subject and verb form tight syntactic unit.
• Ungrammatical to strand or delete proclitic subject.
• Proclitic subject cannot cliticize to a postverbal constituent.

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4Note: Among current speakers of Omagua, polar questions are normally indicated with intonation only and no change in word order or addition of interrogative particles. The inverted construction illustrated here was difficult to elicit, but was spontaneously produced by more than one consultant. It is thought to be the original question-forming construction in Omagua, which is being lost through language change and/or attrition.
3.2.3 Summary

- Free pronoun and pronominal proclitic subjects precede verb in affirmative declaratives.
- Placement of negator shows pronominal proclitics occupy position closer to verb, pronoun and full noun subjects occupy position outside of negator.
- Subject-verb inversion in question formation shows a pronominal proclitic subject must be fronted with verb, while pronoun and full noun subjects remain in situ.

3.3 Postverbal Positions

- Object follows verb (pronominal proclitic, free pronoun, full noun) or can be deleted.
- Tense and other verbal enclitics provide evidence for distinct positions for pronominal objects.
- Distributions show Highly activated objects alternate between zero and pronominal proclitics.

3.3.1 Two Postverbal Positions

- Pronominal proclitic objects only occur inside verbal enclitics (15).
- Free pronoun and full noun objects occur outside verbal enclitics ((16) & (17)).

(15) mukuikasui yiniamiasuka autata rausari.
    mukuika =sui yini= amiasuka autata ra= =usari
    two =ABL 1PL.INCL be.able pull.out 3SG.MS= =FUT

    ‘Between the two of us [vultures] we’ll be able to pull him [a tortoise] out.’
    (MCT:C4.S1)

(16) maritaku tapiatasari rpi?
    mari =taku ta= piata =usari rpi
    what =DUB 1SG.MS= ask =FUT 2PL

    ‘What could I possibly ask you?’
    (LHC&AHC:2011.07.14.1)

(17) rua taumaisuri taamui.
    rua ta= umai =suri ta= amui
    NEG 1SG.MS= know =PAST.DIST 1SG.MS= grandfather

    ‘I didn’t know my grandfather.’
    (LHC:2011.06.22.1)

3.3.2 Deletion of Proclitic Objects

- When no verbal enclitics are present, a third-person object may be dropped (18) or may be free pronoun (19).

(18) raumai Ø.
ra= umai
3SG.MS= see

‘He sees [him].’
(MCT:C2.S1)

(19) *ikwafi tsummirakunia yaujima ikitusui, tsukuakwara tsumai āi.*

ikwafi tsi= mmirakunia yaujima ikitu =sui tsi= uka =kwara yesterday 1SG.FS= daughter.FEM.EGO arrive Iquitos =ABL 1SG.FS= house =INE tsi= umai āi
1SG.FS= see 3SG.FS

‘Yesterday my daughter arrived from Iquitos, and I saw her in my house.’
AHC:2010.08.09.1

• Object pronouns are never dropped when verbal enclitics are present, object may be pronominal proclitic or free pronoun.

3.4 Word Order with Stative and Non-Verbal Predicates

• In clauses with stative and non-verbal predicates, $S_P$ often follows the predicate ((20) & (21)).

• This word order also conforms to the syntactic positions we have proposed.

• We analyze this as $S_P$ filling the same position as $P$, whether that is the inner HIGHLY ACTIVATED slot or the outer ACTIVATED slot (see (44g) & (44v)).

(20) *ipufi mura.*

    ipufi mura
be.heavy 3SG.MS

    ‘It’s heavy [a peccary].’
(MCT:C3.S2)

(21) *rakati raná, yapikan, awi itaru raná.*

    rakati raná yapika =n awi itaru raná there.MS 3PL.MS st.down =DEPIC already be.satiated 3PL.MS

    ‘There they [chickens] are, sitting, they’re already full.’
(MCT:C3.S3)

• A full pronoun subject may also follow the predicate when negated, as in (22).

(22) *akiakati mura, viha, rua amusi mura.*

    akiakati mura viha rua amusi mura
here.MS 3SG.MS old.woman NEG far.off 3SG.MS

    ‘Here it is, viejita, it’s not far off.’
(MCT:C4.S2)

• Preverbal subjects realized as free pronouns are also attested, though they are less common.
(23) raná saipura, ifari mura.
raná saipura ifari mura
3PL.MS be.drunk leave 3SG.MS

‘They’re drunk, leave it.’
(MCT:C2.S4)

• However, when these clause-types are negated, the negator unexpectedly precedes the full pronoun (24) & (25).
  – This order also surfaces when adverbs occur at the front of the clause (see §43).

(24) rua raná ikitukati.
rua raná ikitu =kati
NEG 3PL.MS Iquitos =LOC

‘They’re not in Iquitos [my wife and children].’
(LHC:2010.08.06.2)

(25) rua mura akuti.
rua mura akuti
NEG 3SG.MS agouti

‘It’s not an agouti [it’s a paca]!.
(MCT:C4.S2)

• In (26) a contrastive topic appears in the leftmost Topic slot with a resumptive pronoun following
  the predicate, in contrast to a proclitic preceding it, as with active predicates (see §4).

(26) mifu tuamai rua yamafi mura.
mifu tua =mai rua yamafi mura
cat be.big =INACT.NOMZ NEG be.hungry 3SG.MS

‘The big cat is not hungry.’
(CSS 2011 E1 p129 ex4, LHC & AHC)

• Preverbal subjects realized as a proclitic are exceedingly rare with stative predicates and are fully un-
  grammatical with non-verbal ones (the latter being interpreted as a possessive relationship (§1.1.1)).

• Figure 4 summarizes the attested word orders in stative and non-verbal clauses, each pair being less
  frequently attested in descending order.

3.4.1 Summary

• **Activated** or lower cognitive status objects are placed outside of tense and other verbal enclitics.

• **Highly activated** objects are expressed by pronominal proclitics directly following verb stem.

• Without a following element in the VP to cliticize to, (third person) pronominal proclitics are deleted.

• Proclitic pronouns can only attach to a rightward host within the domain of the verb they are an
  argument of.

• Because entities of higher cognitive status may be expressed by lower status referring expressions,
  speaker has option of using a full pronoun when deletion of the object is undesireable.
Figure 4: Word Order in Stative and Non-Verbal Clause (3sg.ms mura/ra=)

4 Topic

4.1 Givenness and Topic

• How does this system correlate with notions of topic and focus?

• The higher an entity is on the hierarchy of cognitive status the more topical it is, in the sense that it is old information and in some way what the sentence is ‘about’.

• Not useful to label the Activated and Highly activated positions ‘Topic’ and ‘Focus’.

• Choice between Highly activated and Activated pronominal referents correlates with referent tracking.

4.1.1 Continuation and Switch Topic

• When multiple third person referents are present in the discourse:

  – free pronouns used to signal a switch of current topic (27b);
  – pronominal proclitics represent a continuation of topic from the previous utterance (27c).

(27) a. ra[HACT]ukukui yinikakuranani.
    ra= ukukui yini= =kakura =nani
    3SG.MS= fall.from.height 1PL.INCL =ADESS =LIM
    ‘He [the deer] falls down right at our side.’

b. ñi[ACT] iwipi iwirasui.
   ñi iwipi iwira =sui
   3SG.FS come.down tree =ABL
   ‘He [my brother-in-law] comes down from the tree.’

   ra= kanirata mura linterna =pupi
   3SG.MS= shine.light.on 3SG.MS lantern =INSTR
   ‘He shines light on him with the lantern.’
   LHC:2011.07.01.1

4.2 External Topic Position

• Additional leftward topic position.

  – May be occupied by subject or object, full noun or free pronoun.
- Argument is repeated as pronominal proclitic in lower clause.

- We call this position ‘external’ topic after Aissen (1992) (syntactic independence of topic, no evidence of movement).

• Subject topic is repeated, predicate is focused, so fronted element is clearly topic:

(28) a. \textit{hacienda yarana kumisa tasupi, mu rua nrususari ikumi uwakira sakitatara.}

\begin{align*}
  \text{hacienda yara} &= \text{na} \quad \text{kumisa} &= \text{ta=} \quad \text{=supi} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{rua} \quad \text{ni=} \quad \text{usu} \quad \text{=usari ikumi} \\
  \text{hacienda owner} &= \text{PL.FS} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{1SG.MS=} \quad \text{=GOAL} \quad \text{2SG NEG} \quad \text{2SG=} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{=FUT} \quad \text{today} \\
  \text{uwakira} &= \text{sakita} \quad \text{=tara} \\
  \text{sugar.cane} &= \text{cut.down} \quad \text{=PURP}
\end{align*}

‘The hacienda owners said to me, today you’re not going to go and cut sugar cane.’

b. \textit{mu nrususari uwakira ianti yatimatara.}

\begin{align*}
  \text{mu} \quad \text{ni=} \quad \text{usu} &= \text{usari uwakira} \quad \text{ianti yatima} &= \text{tara} \\
  \text{2SG 2SG=} &= \text{go} \quad \text{=FUT} \quad \text{sugar.cane} &= \text{tip} \quad \text{plant} &= \text{PURP}
\end{align*}

‘You’re going to go and plant sugar cane tips.’

(LHC:2011.07.07.1)

• Less frequently, an external topic appears at the right edge (as in (29)), which is permitted given its relative syntactic independence (see 47).

(29) \textit{rua rayusara tayafuk^w ara.}

\begin{align*}
  \text{rua} &= \text{ra=} \quad \text{yusara} &= \text{ta=} \quad \text{yafuk^w ara} \\
  \text{NEG 3SG.MS=} &= \text{be.itchy} \quad \text{1SG.MS=} &= \text{throat}
\end{align*}

‘My throat doesn’t itch [now, after drinking boiled lemon juice with onions].’

(LHC&AHC:2011.07.14.1)

4.2.1 Contrastive Topic

• The external topic position may be used for contrastive topics.

• Contrastive subject topic:

(30) a. Prompt 1: ‘La señorita está lavando su ropa.’

\textit{kuniatai sukutiti ifiruna}

\begin{align*}
  \text{kuniatai} &= \text{wash} \quad \text{=iti} \quad \text{i=} \quad \text{firu} &= \text{na} \\
  \text{young.woman} &= \text{DUR 3SG.FS=} \quad \text{clothes} &= \text{PL.FS}
\end{align*}

‘The young lady is washing her clothes.’

b. Prompt 2: ‘El joven no está lavando su ropa.’

\textit{kunumina rua ranasukuta ranafiru.}

\begin{align*}
  \text{kunumi} &= \text{na} \quad \text{rua} &= \text{rana=} \quad \text{sukuta} &= \text{rana=} \quad \text{firu} \\
  \text{young.man} &= \text{PL.FS} \quad \text{NEG 3PL.MS=} &= \text{wash} \quad \text{3PL.MS=} &= \text{clothes}
\end{align*}

‘The young men are not washing their clothes.’

(CSS 2011 E2 p23 ex3-4, LHC&AHC)

• Contrastive object topic:

(31) a. \textit{iwama rupa tsiyatimamaina, tsimima atawarina.}
iwama ru -pa tsi= yatima =mai =na tsi=
landslide eat -COMPL 1SG.FS= plant =INACT.NOMZ =PL.FS 1SG.FS=
mima atawari =na
domesticated.animal chicken =PL.FS
‘The landslide ate up all the things that I had planted and the hens I had been raising.’

b. iara rua rirusu, rua rirusui.
iara rua r= rirusu rua r= rirusu =uí
canoe NEG 3SG.FS= take NEG 3SG.FS= take =PAST.PROX
‘It didn’t take the canoe, it didn’t take [that].’

AmHT:2011.08.01.2

4.3 Summary

- Givenness and cognitive status in discourse better explains argument position and pronominal choice than topic per se.
- Evidence for additional leftward topic position.

5 Focus

5.1 How is Focus Indicated in Omagua?

- No clear evidence for distinct structural focus position.
- New information tends to be in the form of a full noun, as such, occurs in the positions associated with (maximally) activated entities.
- Focused adverbial elements tend to be fronted.
- Focus morpheme =pura has unusual pragmatics.

5.1.1 Information Focus

- Represents new information, present in every sentence (aka PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS) (Kiss 1998; López and Winkler 2000).
- Marked prosodically in Omagua, similar to English PROSODIC FOCUS (Roberts 1996).
- Responses to questions normally use unmarked word order, no morphological marking of focus.

5.1.2 Identificational Focus

- Several different types of non-obligatory focus are defined in the literature.

- IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS: not necessarily present in every sentence, associated with exhaustivity and/or contrast; often associated with movement and/or overt focus operators (Kiss 1998).

- IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS is a salient category for Omagua.
=nani limitative

- Omagua =nani LIMITATIVE may be used as an overt focus operator denoting exhaustivity, meaning ‘only’ or ‘just’.
- Possible for =nani to occur on an argument; more common on verbs and adverbials.

(32) a. **Entonces rua ranayykati ipurapani.**

Entonces rua rana= yaykati ipurapani.
then  NEG 3PL.MS= go.upriver quickly

‘They [the Omagua of long ago] didn’t go upriver quickly.’

b. **Entonces ranayykati, yaykati, yanukai** nani ranayykati.

Entonces rana= yaykati yaykati yanukai=nani rana= yaykati
then  3PL.MS= go.upriver go.upriver slowly  =LIM 3PL.MS= go.upriver

‘They went upriver, upriver, they went upriver slowly.’

(MCT:C2.S4)

(33) **awi rua amusi mura viha, amuswanani.**

awi rua amusi mura viha amusiwa =nani
already NEG far.off 3SG.MS old.woman near  =LIM

‘He [an agouti] is not far off now, viejita, [he’s] close.’

(MCT:C4.S2)

(34) **fukai katinnani, ta akiakati.**

fukai kati  =nani ta  akiakati
dig over.there =LIM 1SG.MS here.MS

‘You [wife] dig over there, and I [will do so] here.’

(MCT:C4.S2)

(35) a. **Entonces ranapiata, “mania, maniapa nruri akia firimaikwara?”**

entonces rana= piata mania =pa  ni= uri akia  firi
then  3PL.MS= ask how how  =INTERR 2SG= come DEM.PROX.MS be.muddy
=mai  =kwara
=INACT.NOMZ =INE

‘So they [vultures] ask him [a tortoise], “How did you get here in this mud?”’

b. **“taiwipi fikwararanani,” nani akia motelo kumisa.**

ta= iwipi  fikwarara =nani nani akia motelo kumisa
1SG.MS= go.down behind  =LIM QUOT DEM.PROX.MS jungle.tortoise say

‘“I just came down behind [you],” the tortoise says,’

c. **“ta, pfikwararanani tauri.”**

ta  pri= fikwarara =nani ta= uri
1SG.MS 2PL= behind =LIM 1SG.MS= come

‘“Behind you is how I got here.”’

d. **“saipuranani tauri.”**

saipura =nani ta= uri
drunk  =LIM 1SG.MS= come
“Drunk is how I got here.”
(MCT:C4.S1)

(36) a. *taipuraka amua kuu.*
   ta= ipuraka amua kuu
   1SG.MS= make other swidden
   ‘I made another swidden.’
b. *yawirinani tayatima rakwara.*
   yawiri =nani ta= yatima ra= =kwara
   manioc =LIM 1SG.MS= plant 3SG.MS= =LOC
   ‘I planted just manioc in it.’
c. *taipuraka amua kuu.*
   ta= ipuraka amua kuu
   1SG.MS= make other swidden
   ‘I made another swidden.’
d. *tayatima yawirinani.*
   ta= yatima yawiri =nani
   1SG.MS= plant manioc =LIM
   ‘I just planted manioc.’
(MCT:C3.S3)

5.2  =pura

- Active in information structure marking, but does not fill role of a prototypical focus marker.
- Its Kokama cognate is analyzed as a focus marker in Vallejos Yopán (2009, 2010).
- Can only attach to arguments.
- Attaches to either full nouns (37a) or to pronominal proclitics (37b), in any position; does not attach to full pronouns.

(37) a. *taumai ipaman isiwasupura*[UNIQUE].
   ta= umai ipama =n isiwasu =pura
   1SG.MS= see stand.up =DEPIC deer =FOC
   ‘I see the deer standing [there].’
   ta= yapifika ta= puna ta= ayua ra= =pura hasta
   1SG.MS= grab 1SG.MS= shotgun 1SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS= =FOC RESULT
   ra= ukukui fiiri =n =kwara
   3SG.MS= fall.from.height be.muddy =INACT.NOMZ =LOC
   ‘I grab my shotgun and I shoot him until he falls in the mud.’
LHC:2011.07.01.1

- Does not index givenness.
- Does not simply mark new information.
5.2.1 Culminative Use

- In narrative, =pura can mark an important participant at climax of action.
  - (As examples in (37a) and (37b) above; see Appendix for longer excerpt of story for context.)

5.2.2 Derogatory Use

- In discourse contexts, =pura is most often translated as Sp. porquería, roughly ‘good-for-nothing’, ‘bum’, ‘you little...’.
- This argument is not normally new information, but is in focus.

(38) *tasapuata akia iwira tafukaismuni rapura, tafukai*

```
ta=    sapuata   akia    iwira   ta=    jukai =smuni  ra=    =pura
1SG.MS= sharpen.to.point DEM.PROX.MS stick 1SG.MS= dig  =PURP  3SG.MS= =FOC
ta=    jukai
1SG.MS= dig
```

‘I sharpen this stick to dig out this good-for-nothing, I dig’

(MCT:C4.S2)
[context: narrator is frustrated with an animal he has been trying to catch but has so far been unable to]

(39) *ikw ani rapura, mapirifiru. ikw ani usu escuelakati.*

```
ikiw ani n=  =pura mapiri =fиру ikw ani usu escuela =kati
go.IMP 2SG= =FOC be.lazy =CONT.NOMZ go.IMP go school =ALL
```

‘Get going, you, lazybones! Go to school!’

LCT:2010.08.13.1

5.2.3 Identificational Use

- Use of =pura need not always be construed as derogatory, but can have a sense of picking out one member of a set (canonical use of identificational focus).

(40) *tfintfipura yatika tsi*

```
tfintfi  =pura yatika tsi
chinch =FOC sting  1SG.FS
```

‘It was CHINCHIS that bit me.’

CSS 201 E-1 p94 ex 3, AHC [context: had been talking about other insects biting]

(41) *kafakufu — kafakufupura — kasakufupura, kasakupura*

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‘porcupine’

CSS 2011 E-1 p111, AHC [context: trying to remember what it was called in Omagua]

- Possible bridging context:

(42) a. *tsuka, amaikati āi, amaikatinani.*
tsi= uka amaikati āi amaikati =nani
1SG.FS= house here.FS 3SG.FS here.FS =LIM
‘My house, it’s here, right here.’
b. tuyuka\textsuperscript{pura} pisikaka.
tuyuka =pura pisikaka
land =FOC split.in.two
‘The damned land is splitting in two.’
c. upa pisikakapa tuyuka\textsuperscript{pura}, maniakapa.
upa pisikaka -pa tuyuka =pura maniakapa
all split.in.two -COMPL land =FOC be.cursed
‘The land has all split apart, gone to hell.’
(AHC:2011.06.28.2)

[context: when asked how her house is]

- Land is an important element in the story, it is negatively viewed on the part of the speaker, but is also being identified in contrast with the house, which is fine.

5.3 Summary

- The question of focus marking in Omagua is orthogonal to the question of pronominal choice, placement, and givenness.

- New information present in every sentence need only be marked prosodically.

- The limitative =\textit{nani} can act as a focus operator indicating identificational focus, in particular with non-arguments.

- The marker =\textit{pura} can mark arguments \textit{in situ} for identificational focus, and has a specialized function of marking culminativity in narratives and an affective function expressing a derogatory attitude.

6 Outstanding Questions

6.1 Fronted Adverbs

- When a sentence-initial temporal adverb is present, the negator can precede a full NP subject.

(43) \textit{iminua rua wawankirana kumusasuri castellano.}

\hspace{1em} iminua rua wawankira =na kumusa =suri castellano
\hspace{1em} long.ago NEG child =PL.FS speak =PAST.DIST Spanish

‘Long ago, the children didn’t speak Spanish.’
(CSS 2011 E1 p121 ex1; LHC, Spanish prompt)

- External topic position can be filled by argument or scene-setting adverbial.

- Makes negator appear to act like second-position clitic, but
  - negator commonly occurs in initial position with proclitic subject;
  - other second-position clitics (e.g., =\textit{taku} DUB) never occur in initial position.
6.2 Stative and Non-Verbal Predicates

- What governs the realization of the subject of a stative predicate as a proclitic when it occurs?
- Does an underlyingly postverbal proclitic subject move to the front of the verb because of constraints against null subjects and hostless proclitics?
- Why may the negator precede full NPs and free pronouns with these predicate types?

6.3 Interrogatives

- Does a fronted argument in a polar question occupy a syntactic position distinct from the leftmost Topic slot?

6.4 $=pura$

- Is the fact that $=pura$ can occur with a pronominal proclitic object but not a pronoun counterevidence to the claim that postverbal proclitics alternate with $Ø$?

6.5 Grammar versus Information Status

- To what extent can information-structural statuses predict the distributional of all referring expressions, and where must grammar stipulate (§1.1.1).
  - Nominal possessors are always proclitics.
  - Complements of postpositions are always proclitics.
  - First- and second-person objects may not be deleted.

7 Conclusions

- Choice between the two types of personal pronoun is based on the givenness of the referent.
- Pronouns and pronominal proclitics occupy distinct syntactic positions.
- The question of topic and focus in Omagua is orthogonal to the choice of pronominal and givenness.
  - An external topic may optionally be expressed in a peripheral position, normally the leftmost.
  - Identificational focus is marked morphologically with $=pura$ or $=nani$. 
**A Texts**

(44) The Shooting of a Deer at a Watering Hole


We climb the tree; just sitting [there] we wait for animals to come.


“It must already be time,” I say. We hear a deer come.

c. “*yuká*<sub>[ACT]</sub> *uriari, uriari,*” me dice *el*.<br>

“That thing over there is coming”, he says to me.

d. “*tina ra*<sub>[HACT]</sub> *uri.*”

“Let him come!”

e. “*ra*<sub>[HACT]</sub>*aki collpakwararafi,*”

“If he comes into the watering hole,“

f. “*linternapupi ni*<sub>[HACT]</sub>*smita mura*<sub>[ACT]</sub>, taumaismuni mura*<sub>[ACT]</sub> *ayampai*, le<sub>j</sub> digo yo.

“I see the deer standing [there].”

g. *aismai, firikw ara isiwasu*<sub>[UNIQUE]</sub>.

I see the deer was [there] in the mud.

h. “*awi kanirata mura*<sub>[ACT]</sub> *linternapupi.*”

“Shine light on him with the lantern already!”

i. *taumai ipaman isiwasupura*<sub>[UNIQUE]</sub>.

‘I see the deer standing [there].’
   ta= yapifikasi ta= puna ta= ayua ra= =purahasta ra=
   1SG.MS= grab 1SG.MS= shotgun 1SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS= =FOC RESULT 3SG.MS= ukukui firi =n =kʷara
   fall.from.height be.muddy =INACT.NOMZ =LOC
   ‘I grab my shotgun and I shoot him until he falls in the mud.’

k. isui ipura[HACT] ipama ra[HACT] yapana,
   isui i= =purai ipama ra= yapana
   then.FS 3SG.FS= =FOC stand.up 3SG.MS= run
   ‘Then he gets up and runs off.’

l. y ǎi[jACT] kumisa tasupi, “nimari nukunawara mura[iACT]”, me dice élj.
   y ǎi kumisata= =supi nimari m= kunawara mura me dice él and 3SG.FS say 1SG.MS= =GOAL NEG 2SG= hit.straight.on 3SG.MS he says to me
   ‘and he [my brother-in-law] says to me, “you didn’t shoot him straight on at all”, he says to me.’

m. “ruá, iraya taayua mura[iACT],” le digo, takumisa ra[jACT] supi.
   ruá iraya ta= ayua mura le digo ta= kumisara= =supi
   no well 1SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS I say to him 1SG.MS= say 3SG.MS= =GOAL
   “No, I shot him well”, I say to him.’

n. “iraya taayua mura[iACT].”
   iraya ta= ayua mura
   well 1SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS
   “I shot him well.”’

o. isiwasu[UNIQUE] yapana kawarupi.
   isiwasu yapana kawa =rupi
   deer run forest =PROL
   ‘The deer runs off into the forest.’

   wiwi rato =sui uyawirira= uri -katu
   one while =ABL again 3SG.MS= come -REG
   ‘After a while, he comes back again.’

q. yapana ra[HACT] urikatu.
   yapanara= uri -katu
   run 3SG.MS= come -REG
   ‘He comes back running.’

r. ra[HACT] ukuata tanáj[ACT].
   ra= ukuata taná
   3SG.MS= pass.by 1PL.EXCL.MS
   ‘He passes by us.’

s. ra[HACT] ukukui yinikakuranani.
   ra= ukukui yini= =kakura =nani
   3SG.MS= fall.from.height 1PL.INCL =ADESS =LOC
   ‘He falls down right at our side.’
(45) Bringing Home a Peccary without its Innards

a. ranausu kawakati.
   ranas= usu kawa =kati
   3PL.MS= go jungle =ALL
   ‘They go into the jungle.’

b. akia awa usu, usu, usu kawakati.
   akia awa usu usu usu kawa =kati
   DEM.PROX.MS person go go go jungle =ALL
   ‘The man goes into the jungle.’

c. ranapurara wipi taitatu[ref],
   rana= purara wipi taitatu
   3PL.MS= find one peccary
   ‘They find a peccary.’

d. raayua mura[act], tau.
   ra= ayua mura tau
   3SG.MS= shoot 3SG.MS IDEO
   ‘He shoots it, bang!’

e. rayapana raumaisnuni akia taitatu[unique].
   ra= yapana ra= umai =smuni akia taitatu
   3SG.MS= run 3SG.MS= see =PURP DEM.PROX.MS peccary
   ‘He runs to go see the peccary,’

f. awi raumanuta mura[act].
   awi ra= umanuta mura
   already 3SG.MS= kill 3SG.MS
   ‘[to make sure] he had killed it.’
g. rausu, rausu, raumai taitatu\textsubscript{[unique]}, aririkari taitatu\textsubscript{[unique]}.
   ra= usu ra= usu ra= umai taitatu aririk -ari taitatu
3SG.MS= go 3SG.MS= go 3SG.MS= see peccary tremble -PROG peccary
   ‘He goes, he goes, he sees the peccary, trembling.’
   [ ... ]

h. amiti raayuma, raimua, ranayafika akia taitatu\textsubscript{[unique]}.
   amiti ra= ayuma ra= imua rana= yapifika
EXST 3SG.MS= brother.in.law.of.man 3SG.MS= same.sex.sibling 3PL.MS= take
   akia taitatu
DEM.PROX.MS peccary
   ‘His brother-in-law and his brother are there, they take the peccary.’

i. ranapiruka \emptyset[hiact], ranapiruka \emptyset[hiact], ranapupata piruka \emptyset[hiact].
   rana= piruka rana= piruka rana= upata piruka
3PL.MS= skin 3PL.MS= skin 3PL.MS= finish skin
   ‘They skin [it], they skin [it], they finish skinning [it].’
   [ ... ]
MCT:C3.S2
References


