CHAPTER 3: THE NOUN

As a lexical entry, a noun is a cluster of properties establishing a class. I will use the term *entity* for this class. An entity or class is defined intensionally by the set of such properties, or extensionally by the set of its members. I call each of these members a *referent*. (*Cf.* Russell's 1956 122 distinction between universals / particulars; for *referent*, Shibatani's 1991 expression *unit-of-existence* would do as well, but the author seems to also use it as an equivalent of my *entity*.) On the one hand, an entity — or, equivalently, a type of entity — encompasses no reference. In Frege's (1952 [1892]) terms it is a predicate. On the other hand, the manners-of-existing described in clause-predicates involve participants which, beyond instantiating types of entities, often require to be individually identified. Noun phrases are major facilitators for both aims: 1. the noun as head provides the entity, and 2. through narrowing down the entity extension, the grammatical supplies stacked inside the phrase allow the latter to single out a specific token, *i.e.* to refer. It is important to note that in this context, a *unitary* entity is something distinct from a referent. The former still conveys the idea of a set of properties, while the latter points not to a segment of the outside word reality as is often alledged, but to an item that the speaker puts forward as existing in such external reality or — equivalently for our purposes — in the universe of discourse. In order to keep distinct the task of imparting an entity sense and the task of establishing a referent identity, I will further use *denotation* / *designation*, respectively.

In a polysynthetic language such as Sikuani, many of the just mentioned grammatical supplies, for instance demonstratives, directly agglutinate in the morphology. It is thus common to have a noun as head of a single-word noun phrase.

This chapter will roughly follow the same order of presentation than the chapter on the verb: subclasses, morphology, lexical creation, and finally the internal structure of phrases.

Phrase head, argument and modifier are primary positions for nouns, as is — expectedly — predicate (chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES** and **3** here).

1 LEXICAL CLASSES

Different axis that in many ways determine noun formal beaviour will be discussed in order to set out 1. the bases on which grammatical formatives enter the picture at the word level, and 2. the interplay between nouns and the other components of their own larger constituent — the phrase. The following subclasses of nouns are not, in the main, mutually exlusive.

1.1 CLASS-SIZE

Substantive nouns (hereafter simply *nouns*) make up an open class (see chapter **1: WORD CLASSES** for open / closed). In this respect they differ from pronouns (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.1**). Both have in common the capacity of forming by themselves a clause-level constituent.

1.2 SYNTAGMATIC BOUNDEDNESS

Nouns are realized as free or bound stems. The former account for the bulk of the lexicon of nouns. Bound nouns cannot occur on their own. They comprise relational nouns (see **1.4** below), vegetal-species denominations, and a subset of lexically collective nouns (see hereafter). Examples are

(1) free   bound

awiri	'dog'	**-maxü**	'arm'
bu	'hammock'	**-moho**	'brother-in-law'
wiria	'biological taxon akin to species / genus'	**-monae**	'group of items sharing a common property'
xania	'truth'	**-bana**	'*idem*, but involving ethnicity / biology'
malataka	'ripple'	**koni-**	'tree *Sp*.'
unu	'forest'	**kotsi-**	'palm tree *Sp*.'

1.3 EXTENSION

This notion is understood as the range of the entities denoted by a given noun.

1.3.1 PROPER / COMMON

A common noun denotes an *entity*. A proper noun designates / names a *referent*. This functional difference has a bearing on the make-up of the noun phrases they head.

1.3.2 COUNT / NONCOUNT

This distinction interferes whith number and gender morphology. A count noun can denote an individual as well as a class, for instance **awiri** means 'a dog' but also 'an extensionally-unspecified subclass of dogs' or 'the whole class of dogs'. Compare, using a number-sensitive verb (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.2.1.2.4**):

(2) (a) **awiri**$_1$ **nuka-ø**$_1$ (b) **awiri**$_1$ **nubena-ø**$_1$
      dog   StandSINGULAR-3NOM   dog   StandPLURAL-3NOM
      'A dog was standing.'   'Dogs were standing.'

The distinction between count / noncount is not always straightforward and may require to be specified indirectly. Thus, **emarapae**, 'rainy season', is a noncount noun, but **wai**, 'dry season', is *in some* of its occurences a count noun since years are counted in **wai**. Noncount nouns are unable to designate an individuated referent unless complemented by dedicated morphology. They subdivide into mass, generic and collective nouns. A mass noun is lexically singular, whereas a generic or collective noun is a *plurale tantum*.

1. Mass nouns denote internally-amorphous entities, as **yaho**, 'salt'.

2. Generic nouns denote internally-unstructured classes of items: **ake**, 'the whole class of scorpions' or 'a quantitatively unspecified subclass of scorpions above the singleton'. Generic nouns divide into two subtypes, depending on the morphological device they use for individuation (see below **2.2.2.1**). One subtype, that I will call singulative generics, encompasses a number of nouns for small-animal species, **baratsui**, 'the class of sparrows', and physical objects, often also rather small in size, **üthü**, 'nut'. The other subtype, gender/class generics, denotes biological groupings, *e.g.* **duhai**, 'fish', **kowara**, 'piranha fish', and social statuses or roles, *e.g.* **tsoni**, 'orphan', **wiha**, 'visitor, trade partner'.

3. Collective nouns, on the contrary, denote internally-structured classes of items: -**pihi**, 'denizen, kinship classificatory category'; **bitsaü**, 'team (oftentimes unfriendly), gang'; **hiwi**, 'the class of humans'; -**monae**, 'group of interrelated items, (prototypically) family'.

A few overlappings can be detected between these categories, as well as apparent category-internal inconsistencies. Collective -**pihi** and -**monae** also behave as gender/class generics in that they allow to single out an individual by means of gender/class suffixes, as does **duhai**, 'fish' (**2.2.2.1**). The collective **bitsaü** can behave either as a gender/class generic to yield an individual human or animal, as does **duhai**, 'fish', or as a singulative generic, likewise **baratsui**, 'the class of sparrows' (we will get back to **bitsaü** in the relevant sections below). Collective **hiwi**, 'people', does not need any morphological appendage to yield 'a subset of humans with well defined contours'. With this sense it partially behaves like a count noun such as **awiri**, 'dog'. Its singular is obtained by combining with **ta-anü** / **ta-owa**, 'my elder brother / sister', yielding 'male / female person'. Additionally, -**pihi** and -**monae**, both collective, behave differently regarding a dedicated collective-plural suffix -**wi** to be seen below (**2.2.2.3**). Thus **pihi-wi**, but -*****monae-wi**. Also, recall the case of **wai**, 'dry season', count and noncount, as pointed out a few lines above.

1.4 VALENCE

Valence contrasts are based on whether or not a noun requires a genitive dependent when in head position. Semantically, the nonrequired dependent represents the entity *contingently* coupled to the entity denoted by the head noun, more often than not a possessor, while the required dependent stands for the entity *inherently* coupled to the entity denoted by the head noun, that is, an *intrinsic linkee*. The so-called "alienable / inalienable" distinction will here be labelled monovalent / divalent.

(3)   I nouns   II nouns

      duliakai 'fishing trap'   **-wünü**   'name'
      wayapha   'savannah'   **-matatu** 'roof'

romae	'malaria'	**-ütsüxü**	'smoke'
haboko	'fish *Sp.*'	**-bene**	'powder'
kalabu	'kind of arrow'	**-tunae**	'island'
dana	'Heaven food'	**-siwahünü**	'scar'
matakabi	'day, light, time'	**-kuene**	'deed, act, way of doing things'

A few nouns seem to display some amount of lability, for instance -**hume**, 'language, word, sound', that we will meet in examples (31c) and (81) further below, as well as -**liwaisi**, 'story', (4). This can afford semantic subtleties currently resisting any plausible generalisation.

(4) **piatiriwi   baha**   **piha-liwaisi**, ...
    elders   BOUNDARYCROSSING   3POSSESSOR-story
   'The stories told by the elders, ...'

    ...**wahasalinai**   **metha**   **baha**   **pe-liwaisi**
    OurAncestors   ASSUMPTIVE   BOUNDARYCROSSING   3INTRINSICLINKEE-story
    '...possibly the stories about our ancestors.'

A subtype of [I]nouns, denoting natural states of the "outside" world such as meteorological circumstances or timeline events, displays formal specificities that will be discussed in due time (chapters **4: BASIC CLAUSES 1.1**, and **6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4.1**).

1.5 ANIMACY

On semantic grounds, the language affords for gender *and* noun-classification. The distinction lacks formal correlates beyond noun affixation, **2.2.1.7** below. (Thanks to Masayoshi Shibatani for some comments on this issue.) A first split distinguishes animate and nonanimate nouns. The former comprises masculine and feminine. Masculine covers all animates except women. Within nonanimates, a set of subclasses — which does not take up the whole lexicon of nouns — is brought in by a comparatively modest inventory of classifiers. (More fine-grained distinctions in **2.2.1.7**.) Metallic manufactured articles (weapons, tools, coins), domestic receptacles (included those made of natural stuff), plus the hunting poison **kurali** and the banana-tree flower **hima**, are grammatically masculine.

Table 8. Taxonomy of genders and classes
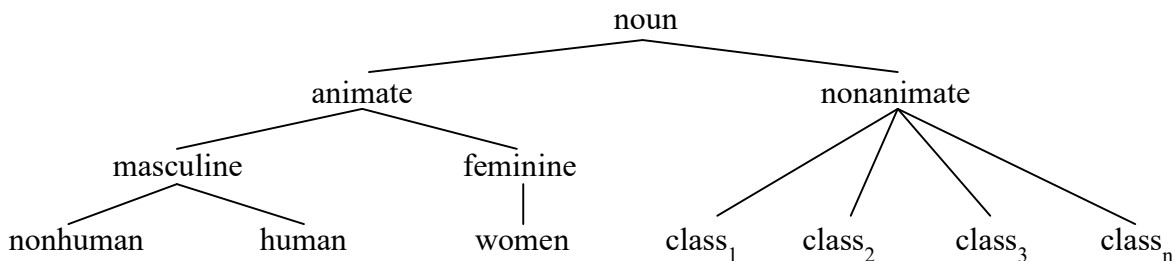
1.6 POSTURE

As the outcome of an anthropomorphic projection on the lexicon, nouns are exhaustively sorted as per their capacity to co-occur with the expression of a given body posture. The posture surfaces as a monovalent predicate made of a verb proper or a lexicalized compound of two verbs proper (chapter **2: THE VERB 1.5.1** and **2.2**) yielding three subclasses based on the

noun possible occurrence as the unique argument of one or more posture verb(s). I assume here a subcategorization of arguments whereby **worms standing** should sound like **green ideas** elsewhere. The three hyperonymic categories are: 1. exclusive-posture nouns; 2. canonical-posture nouns; and 3. unspecified-posture nouns (additional details are available in Queixalós 1998 236-243).

1.6.1 EXCLUSIVE

These nouns, mainly nonanimate, combine with only one posture verb.

As "sitting" nouns — **eka** — we have: world or territory, houses, nests, villages, puddles, lakes, fine-grained powder — in a container or spread out —, rocks, hills, holes as the visible part of *Atta cephalotes* ant nests, termite mounds, stemless plants like the pineapple, their fruits, agave, and the fetus in the belly. Among "standing" nouns — **nuka** — we have posts, walls, river cliffs. "Lying" nouns — **boka** — include the ground, flat rocks, large stones, the dancing area, the savannah, beaches, the forest, creeping plants, and mygale spiders. Finally clouds, fog, the daylight sky, the Milky Way are expressed by "hanging" nouns — **ruka** —, as are the harvest mite (animate), the time left before a deadline, customs, tradition, the contents of an utterance, a story, or a message. To convey the action of translating X to language Y one says "hang X to Y". For 'sending a message' one says "hang the word". "Standing-sitting" is the posture for mountains as opposed hills.

1.6.2 CANONICAL

This subclass consists of nouns that in semantically and pragmatically unmarked contexts occur primarily with a particular posture verb, while remaining open to combine with some other posture verb. As such, the class allows for animate nouns.

Powders made of visible grains, such as manioc flour, are "sitting" inside a container, and "lying" if spread out. Likewise, traditional stools (short legs), and containers such as pots, cups, bottles and plates, are usually considered as "sitting", and "lying" when in some other position. Underground cavities like caves and burrows are also "sitting". They are said to be "hanging" if seen as places for going through. Short-legged animals such as batracians are also typically "sitting".

Plants with trunks or stems such as trees and bamboos are "standing", but "lying" when cut down. Mammifers, whatever the size of their legs, are primarily "standing". Some can occasionnally be "sitting" when — expectedly — they rest on their hind legs like dogs jaguars and agutis, but also burrow-making animals like rabbits, foxes and agutis when hiding under the ground.

Trails and rivers are "lying" but, comparably to tunnel-like places, also "hanging" when considered as paths that lead from one place to another. Worms and caterpillars are also "lying". On a branch, the posture switches to "hanging" as the branch diameter gets close to their own body diameter.

An entity devoid of any contact with an underneath / solid / visible basis is "hanging": fluids, planes, canoes, floating trees, spider webs, leaves, vines, bridges and body parts, feet included. Eggs, fish, roots and tubers in their natural environment are also "hanging", but "lying" if resting upon the ground (eggs are so even in erect position, *cf.* (22) below and the coment that follows). Finally, stars are "hanging" but the sun and the moon are "sitting" when close to the horizon and, as regards the sun, when exceedingly hot.

A secondary posture for any animate, no matter its canonic posture, is "lying", to be taken almost invariably as equivalent to dead, included fish still in water.

1.6.3 VARIABLE

Since the human body serves as a prototype framework for the noun classification in terms of posture, it is expected that human nouns are *par excellence* those which can cooccur with any of the four posture verbs, as do nouns for larger quadrupeds. The last sentence of the preceding section applies to these (something that explains two facts about posture verbs as auxiliaires: 1. **nuka**, 'standing', as suppletive for **boka**, 'lying', when the manner-of-existing involves a participant literally lying, and 2. the modality extension of 'lying' as commiserative (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9.2.3**).

2 WORD STRUCTURE

We will first discuss bound lexical formatives, then inflexional morphology, and finally lexical creation by means of morphological devices, that is, derivation and compounding.

2.1 LEXICAL: ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are lexical bound forms preposed to the head noun: **tsikiri-bu**, 'small hammock'; **kae-bu**, 'one hammock', and whose primary function is attributive. Any distribution other than the attributive in the noun phrase has to be implemented by means of some class-changing device (chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 1**).

　　Two adjectives desserve to be paid some attention. In line with the tentative glosses provided in chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 1.2**, **pepo-**, with its indisputable platonician flavour, can be found in contexts where some sort of embodiment of an abstract or nonmaterial notion is required. Thus, it allows several classifiers to work as full nouns denoting nothing but a mere epitome of the notion involved: **pepo-bü**, 'a sphere'; **pepo-pa**, 'a board'; **pepo-mo**, 'a vehicle'. In the same vein, combined with a person's proper noun or a gender suffix it supplies 'body of': **pepo-Hialai**, 'Hialai's body'; **pepo-nü**, 'a man's / animal's body'; **pepo-wa**, 'a woman's body' (see **2.2.1.7** below). Moreover, it forms with the numeral adjectives **kae-**, 'one', and **aniha-**, 'two' a subclass allowing the co-occurrence with other adjectives. But while the numerals modify the whole sequence adjective-noun, **pepo-** modifies the adjective: **kae-pinihi-bu**, 'one large hammock', **aniha-tsikiri-awiri-behe**, 'two little dogs' (for -**behe** see below **2.2.2.4**, **2.2.6** and **3.4.2**), but [[**pepo**]-**peruhu**]-**hera**, 'a really-old canoe', something perhaps diagnostic of its incipient grammaticalisation (in this respect see also **2.2.1.2**).

2.2 GRAMMATICAL

Word formatives that bear on identifiability distribute themselves on each side of the lexical stem, depending on their function. That first subsection will be followed by those on quantity exponents and case markers.

2.2.1 IDENTIFIABILITY

We will here delve into two categories of affixes: those which deal with the identity of a referent — demonstratives, person, restrictive, indefinite and transient identity prefixes —, and those which mould the type of entity — a similative prefix and gender-class suffixes —, in this order.

2.2.1.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstrative **pa-** (dialectally **po-**) covers both anaphoric / cataphoric (preceeding / following discourse context), and ostending (communicative situation) uses, (5a)-(b)-(c)

respectively (see below **2.2.6** for the gloss SOCIATIVE). It may host one of two prefixed reinforcing "add-ons", **ma-**, proximal, and **bahara-**, distal: **ma-pa-bo**, 'this house', **bahara-pa-bo**, 'that house'. The latter seems to have more affinities with the anaphoric capacity. Proximal and distal cannot directly attach to the lexical noun, but they do to the third person free pronouns, *e.g.* **ma-ponü** / **bahara-ponü**, 'this / that one (masculine)' since these contain **pa-** as frozen component. Demonstratives and person markers are mutually exclusive, (6). A sequence [DEMONSTRATIVE-^{II}noun] is distributionally equivalent to a ^{I}noun, (7).

(5) (a) **akane kapunanahaetaruka kanalitoyo$_1$ baha pina**...
      gull FlyCarrying SmallPot BOUNDARYCROSSING REPORTATIVE
      'The gull flew carrying a small pot, they$_0$ say...'

    ...**pa-kanalitoyo$_1$-tha** **hiapebene** **yakapunanahaetaruka**
    DEMONSTRATIVE-SmallPot-SOCIATIVE FishPowder FlyWhileCarryingInside
    '...in that small pot it carried fish powder.'

(b) **pa-monae$_1$:** [**Hiruhirubana, Mukualibana,**...
    DEMONSTRATIVE-group HiruhiruGroup MukualiGroup
    'These people: the Hiruhiru group, the Mukuali group, ...'

    ...**Kutsikutsi=he,** **Papabü-he,** **Marai=he]$_1$,** [...]
    Kinkajou=MIRATIVE Monkey*Sp.*-MIRATIVE Bird*Sp.*=MIRATIVE
    '...Ah! and Kinkajou, and Monkey *Sp.,* and bird *Sp.,* and [...]'

(Setting out an enumeration.)

(c) **pa-ira** **kakua-behe** **baha**
    DEMONSTRATIVE-land dig-DUAL BOUNDARYCROSSING
    'They both have dug this land.'

(6) **pa-^{I}bo** **piha-^{I}bo** *****pa-piha-bo** *****piha-pa-bo**
    pa-^{II}wünü **pe-^{II}wünü** *****pa-pe-wünü** *****pe-pa-wünü**

(7) **ne-to-ø$_1$** **pa-^{II}wünüxi$_1$**
    1ACCUSATIVE-belong-3NOMINATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE-LittleNames
    'These little names belong to me.'

The demonstrative interferes with the quantificational domain. As we know (**1.3.2),** a count noun such as **awiri**, 'dog', denotes 'a dog', 'a subclass of dogs' or 'the whole class of dogs'. Expectedly, **pa-awiri** will select a referent, either the individual or the specific subclass. Similarly, the demonstrative is banned from co-occurring with a subtype of generic nouns unless these are "previously" singularized by dedicated morphology (see more below **2.2.2.1**). Adjectives can host the demonstrative, but as a noun phrase clitic (**3.1**, example (72)).

    Finally, proper nouns allow for hosting demonstratives — proximal and distal add-ons included —, thus affording pragmatic effects, 'X and no one else' (see chapter **9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 2.2.1**).

2.2.1.2 PERSON

Person surfaces through two series of genitive prefixes. The choice between them hinges on the head-noun valence. Short forms stand for the intrinsic linkee of a divalent-noun head

("inalienable possession"), and long forms for the possessor of a monovalent-noun head ("alienable possession"). They involve either argument or modifier positions, respectively (see **3.1**). From the outset I contend that, cross-linguistically and in spite of what one can spot in many a descriptive grammar, there exists no such thing as a class of "nonpossessible" nouns — for 'forest', 'sky', 'rivers', 'tribes', etc. — contrasting with "possessed" (*i.e.* divalent) and "possessible" (*i.e.* monovalent) nouns.

(8) ^{II}nouns ^{I}nouns

	^{II}nouns	^{I}nouns
1	**ta-**	**taha-**
2	**ne-**	**niha-**
3	**pe-**	**piha-**
1+2	**wa-**	**waha-**

Examples are

(9) **ta-ena**   'my mother'   **taha-wihanü**   'my visitor'
    ne-wünü   'your$_{SINGULAR}$ name'   **niha-pabi**   'your$_{SINGULAR}$ garden'

It can be argued that the long forms stem diachronically from a generic relational — *i.e.* divalent — noun *-**ha**, 'item owned', formerly prefixed by the short series to yield possessed nouns, *ta-ha*, 'my belonging', plus *ne-ha*, *pe-ha*, *wa-ha*. As nouns these also served to build possessive noun phrases headed by ^{I}nouns, *e.g.* *[[ne-ha] ^{I}pabi], in which it acted as a modifier, 'the garden (which is) your owned thing' (this, together with the typologycally-invalid class of "nonpossessible" nouns, is discussed in Queixalós 2017).

The third-person short form **pe-** allows for three readings related to identifiability issues (**2.2.1**; see, parallelly, the third person in chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.1** and **1**. **3.4**). Using **pe-bosoto**, '3-tail': 1. definite-referential, 'its tail'; 2. indefinite-referential, 'some animal's tail'; and 3. nonreferential, 'tail', since even in metalinguistic mode, speakers do not allow themselves to utter the mere **bosoto**.

First and second person prefixes, both series, get their plural from the same prefix **pa-** that we met in verb morphology (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.3.1**), **pa-ta-ena**, 'our (you excluded) mother', **pa-taha-wihanü**, 'our visitor'. Plural **pa-** is homophonous with the demonstrative, but, as we know (**2.2.1.1**), the latter is proscribed from cooccurring with these pronominal forms.

The fourth person (for consistency's sake, I will keep to this gloss for "first inclusive", *cf.* chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.1**) is subject to some qualification as to number — in a way unconnected to the marking of number proper on count nouns (**2.2.2**). ^{II}Nouns contrast the intrinsic-linkee prefix **wa-** and the possessor prefix **waha-** so as to express different mappings between the (set of) referent(s) designated by the prefix and the one designated by the whole sequence. Thus, the count noun 'mother-in-law' allows for two mappings: one-to-many with **wa-ame**, 'our common mother-in-law', and one-to-one with **waha-ame**, 'our respective mothers-in-law', also a handy way to speak of mothers-in-law in general — *i.e.* as an entity type — thanks to the fourth person ability to abstract into generic and indefinite readings (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.1**).

Turning to body-part nouns, we expectedly cannot have the one-to-many mapping, hence *$*$**wa-pumu**, 'lit. our common nose', but ^{OK}**waha-pumu**, 'our respective noses'. The other persons allow for the alternance of the hole array of both series on one and the same body-part noun. However, the difference will now bear not on quantificational issues but on the semantic-role contrast between intrinsic linkee and possessor: **ta-taxu**, 'my own foot' /

taha-taxu, 'someone else's foot as my belonging (while eating monkey, for instance)'. This means that the only permitted **waha-** for fourth person on body part nouns is ambiguous: either a one-to-one mapping, 'our respective noses', or a possessive-proper relation, 'our nose', *e.g.* the nose we are sharing as food (something rather odd given the prevailing fauna).

    Possessed [I]nouns freely combine with adjectives, the latter immediately preceding the head noun: **piha-awiri**, 'his dog', **piha-tsikiri-awiri**, 'his little dog'. On the contrary, in the presence of an adjective, [II]nouns dispense with the person prefix: **tsikiri-taxu**, 'small foot'. The intrinsic linkee role — the "possessor" of [II]nouns — then surfaces through the genuine-possessor long series: **taha-tsikiri-taxu**, 'my little foot', instead of *****ta-tsikiri-taxu**. Finally, the adjective **pepo-**, 'real, true, etc.', and **daxita-**, 'all', in its adjective capacity, display different properties — compared with the rest of adjectives and with each other — as they co-occur with possessive prefixes: first, they invert the linear order between the adjective and the prefix; second, while **daxita-** modifies the whole sequence prefix-noun, (10a), **pepo-** merely modifies the prefix, (b). Once again, this may point to a leaning toward grammaticalisation.

(10)   (a) [[**daxita-**]**piha-liwaisi-nü**]   (b) [[[**pepo-**]**piha**]-**ira**]
            all-3POSSESSOR-story-PLURAL   true/real-3POSSESSOR-land
            'all their stories'   'their very own land (to-day typically
                                          used for `'reservation')'

2.2.1.3 INDEFINITE / ALTERITY

Peace some crosslinguistic generalisations (*e.g.* Herslund 1984), the definiteness domain exhibits no dedicated marker for the definite while the indefinite is endowed with overt exponence, here the prefix **itsa-**, which also conveys indexical alterity, (11a). Its indefinite capacity serves to introduce new participants, typically at the onset of stories, (b).

(11)   (a) **itsa-hiwixi**   **ø-kanawiababiaba-tsi**   **itsa-hiwixi**   **hume**
            INDEF/ALTER-people   3ACC-BringBack-4NOM   INDEF/ALTER-people   no
            'Some were brought back, others not.'

(Fleeing from the Whites.)

      (b) **itsa-matakabi**   **itsa-nü**   **pihawa-behe**   **hinaponapona-ø**
            INDEF/ALTER-day   INDEF/ALTER-MASC   HisWife-DUAL   GoHunting-3NOM
            'One day a man and his wife went hunting, they$_0$ say.'

Itsa- doesn't not co-occur with nominal constituents that are high on the scale of referentiality: proper nouns, all personal pronouns, and person-prefixed nouns. One exception is the noun when prefixed by the demonstrative, **itsa-pa-**NOUN, where only the alterity meaning is retained, (12a). Similarly to the demonstrative, **itsa-** replaces the person prefixes and, in doing so upon the short series, it turns [II]nouns into [I]nouns distributionally, (b). The exception in this respect seems to be the maintenance of short person-prefixes in deverbals (see chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES**), (c). **Itsa-** shifts to modality when combined with the nouns **-kuene** / **kuhiru**, equivalently 'things, acts, facts, ways, customs', and **hiwi**, 'people', then providing an undertone of disruptive behaviour, (d).

(12)   (a) **itsa-pa-namuto**   **xanepanaruta-ø**
            INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-DEMONSTRATIVE-trail BeGood-3NOMINATIVE
            'This other trail is fine.'

(b) **itsa-hume-xi**   **ba-naka-tsita-aithotia-**
INDEF/ALTER-word-DIMIPLURAL   HAB-4ACCUSATIVE-OPINION-BeStrange-3NOM
'Other little words usually sound odd to us.'

(c) **itsa-pe-ponae-namuto-tha**   **taxa**   **ø-nayanata-ø**
INDEF/ALTER-3INTRINSLINK-go-trail-SOC   MyFather   3ACC-accompany-3NOM
'My late father accompanied him along the other trail.'

(d) **itsa-humatabü-kuhiru₁**   **ø₁-nahumatabüxainataba-ø₂**
INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-thought-thing   3ACCUSATIVE-thinkINSTANTANEOUSLY-3NOM
'He instantaneously conceived bad thoughts.'

2.2.1.4 RESTRICTIVE

The prefix **wü-** narrows down the class of potential referents of the noun, (13a). It is compatible with deixis-based adverbial expressions, **wü-hota**,'only here'. While mutually exclusive with the emphatic demonstrative forms, it freely combines with the simple demonstrative **pa-**, (b), as well as with personal pronouns, (c).

(13) (a) **wü-kasibalito**   **ø-namataxüna-ø**
RESTRICTIVE-DiggingTool   3ACCUSATIVE-find-3NOMINATIVE
'She found the mere digging tool.'

(b) **saya**   **wü-pa-bo-tha**   **ba-ena-tsi**
CASUALLY   RESTRICTIVE-DEMONSTRATIVE-house-SOCIATIVE   HABITUAL-Sit-4NOM
'By way of habit we stay living in this very house, that's all there is to it. '

(c) **wü-xanü**   **boka-hü**
RESTRICTIVE-1   lie-1NOMINATIVE
'There is just me (lying).'

2.2.1.5 TRANSIENT IDENTITY

A prefix **ra-** occurs before a third person free pronoun, animate or not, to conform a kind "whatchamacallit" fill-in. The supposedly-searched specific noun or name follows.

(14) **penamataxainaenüyo₁**   **baratsuikuene**   **ra-ponüyo₁**...
TheOneThatComesFirst   ClassOfSmallBirds   TRANSIENTIDENTITY-ThatOne
'The first₁ in the category of small birds, the... what's-its-name₁, ...'

...**tsowo**   **tsauli**   **ø₀-hai-ø**   **itsahumetha**
Bird*Sp.*   tsauli   3ACCUSATIVE-say-3NOMINATIVE   InAnotherLanguage
'...bird *Sp.*₁, they call it₁ *tsauli* in the other language (Piapoco).'

(Glossing a healing litany.)

2.2.1.6 SIMILATIVE

On nouns, the prefix **be-** —— that we met on verbs in its primary use as allative (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.8**) —— codes likeness, literally '(X tending) toward-Y', Y being an entity type. Only on spatial adjuncts does one observe the allative and its ablative counterpart **we-** extend

altogether to noun morphology, with their basic spatial capacities put to work as case markers (see **2.2.6**).

(15) **liwaisi   daxitahawaxi   katsipaebatsi   be-tamatapihinü-xae-mü**
      story   AllTheLittleOnes   ITellYou   SIMILATIVE-MyOlderBrother-CAUSE-2NOM
      'I tell you all these little stories because you are like my older brother.'

2.2.1.7 GENDER-CLASS

As said, Sikuani displays *both* gender and classifier subsystems. Morphologically the taxonomy of gender surfaces through three suffixes, masculine **-nü** *vs.* femenine **-wa** *vs.*nonanimate **-hawa**. Masculine is unmarked, covering animals of both sexes, as well as human males. Femenine is exclusively human while allowing for animal-female personifications. Thus, **sikuani-nü**, 'a parrot type (both sexes), a Sikuani man', **sikuani-wa**, 'a Sikuani woman', **metsaha-wa**, 'a mythical she-tapir', **nae-hawa**, 'a tree'. Biological sex of animals uses the nouns **pebito**, 'male' *vs.* **pesorowato**, 'female', in *phrase-head position*, **3** below. One can observe, for instance, the unmarked-gender suffix cooccurring with the lexical entry 'female': **duhai-nü pesorowato**, 'a female fish', literally 'a fish female'.

Proper nouns can host gender affixation. These are names of human-like creatures, typically mythical characters, whose sex needs to be specified in given situations: **Tsawaliwali-nü**, 'womaniser Giant Anaconda'; **Daladala-nü**, 'anthropophagous ogre'; **Pumeniru-wa**, 'God Kuwai's wife, created out of a tree'.

The contrast nonhuman animate *vs.* human affords some interesting clues regarding speakers' world view. The newborn child is named (16a) but turns (b) when crying for the first time. A dead human will be spoken of with gender as **taxapihi-nü-mi** in (80a) below. Differently, a recently dead animal remains animate, **-nü**, but once turned into food it becomes nonanimate, **-hawa**.

(16) (a) **pe-nakueto-hawa-yo**
          3INTRINSICLINKEE-child-NONANIMATE-DIMINUTIVE

     (b) **ø-ruteta-ø**   **pebi-nü-yo**
          3ACCUSATIVE-lay-3NOMINATIVE   HumanMale-MASCULINE-DIMINUTIVE
          'She laid the little boy in the hammock.'

-Hawa may also convey the notion of 'area related to the noun denotatum': with 'trail', **namuto-hawa**, 'the surrounding area of the trail'; with 'mammary gland', **-mi-hawa**, 'breast'. It admits temporal nouns: with 'day', **matakabi-hawa**, 'a time interval'; and animate — mainly human — nouns: **Yokopi-hawa**, 'Yokopi's place'.

(17) **tamoho   saya   ainawi-hawa   bo!**
      BrotherInLaw   CASUALLY   EvilSpirits-NONANIMATE   EXCLAMATIVE
      'Hey, brother-in-law, this is nothing but the evil spirits' place!'

Sixteen suffixes classify a significant portion of nonanimate nouns — as well as a few animate — according to semantic dimensions to be specified hereafter (for a synoptic view of genders and classes, see above Table 8. Taxonomy of genders and classes in **1.5**). Gender suffixes are etymologically opaque, while several classifiers appear to be still transparent as for their nominal etymon. A clue to such origin is the retention of some their original stress properties: although [noun + noun] compounds hierarquize their stresses as [secondary +

primary] (**2.3.3**; see also **2.2.3**), the reverse order obtains in [noun + classifier] words. With regards to nonanimates, **-hawa** can replace any classifier, acting, therefore, as a hyperonym. In discourse, gender markers and classifiers occur most of the time as agreement signals allowing to pronominalise some of the foreseen prefixes in **2.2.1**. Follows an inventory of classifiers.

-bo	'cylinder'	**tsema-bo** tobacco-	'cigar'
-bü	'sphere'	**newahü-bü** BitterManioc-	'bitter-manioc tuber'
-pa	'flat object'	**tena-pa** Tree*Sp.*-	'paddle'
-pana	'surface'	**tulima-pana** FloorMat-	'upper face of the floor mat'
-wato	'bag'	**orowe-wato** Larva*Sp.*-	'cocoon of larva *Sp.*'
-bürü	'strung row'	**hiwa-bürü** GiantCane-	'Pan flute'
-kunu	'round, bundle'	**tulikisi-kunu** beads-	'necklace round'
-ru	'bunch'	**naxarebo-ru** Palm*Sp.*-	'bunch of palm*Sp.* nuts'
-xu	'granular texture'	**ibo-xu** stone-	'gravel'
-mü	'clump of the same species'	**hiwa-mü** Reed*Sp.*-	'clump of reed *Sp.*'
-ba	'range of an animal species'	**hetsoro-ba** Bird*Sp.*-	'range of birds *Sp.*'
-boto	'palm tree (generic)'	**kotsi-boto** Palm*Sp.*-	'a palm tree *Sp.*'
-nae	'tree (generic)'	**kaho-nae** Tree*Sp.*-	'a tree *Sp.*'
-kai	'variety of manioc'	**wanapabü-kai** Fish*Sp.*-	'a given variety of manioc'
-mo	'vehicle'	**hera-mo** canoe-	'canoe'
-ra	'liquid in a manu-factured container'	**ema-ra** rain-	'rain water in a container'
we	'tree larva'	**tukulipai-we** tree*Sp.*-	'larva *Sp.* living in the tree *Sp.*'

Note that the last item in the list does not involve lexical derivation: **tukulipai-** is not properly a given species of tree, but a biological entity, "species", embodied in several epitomes (tree, larva, etc.).

    Among the thirty or so animate nouns allowing for the classifier **-bo**, 'cylinder', we have **kowara**, 'piranha fish', and, less surprisingly, worms, *e.g.* **towina**, 'earthworm'.

    Nominal borrowings rely heavily on classifiers as an integrative device (see **2.3**).

2.2.2 QUANTITY

By and large, quantificational processes bring into service right-bound forms. Expectedly, these processes interfere in a differential way with the noun properties in terms of what, regarding lexical subclasses, has been dubbed *extension* in **1.3**.

2.2.2.1 SINGULAR

Singularization applies to generic and collective nouns, providing an individual entity.

    The morpheme picked for individuation is diagnostic of the split-up between generic nouns. The first subtype of generic nouns uses the singulative **-to**: **kopipi-to**, 'a mosquito *Sp.*' The second subtype instantiates the cross-linguistically common quantificational function of classifiers, *e.g.* **duhai-nü**, fish-MASCULINE, 'a fish'; **bitsaü-nü**, 'an unfriendly man'; **wowai-wa**, white person-FEMENINE, 'a white woman'; **kowara-bo**, piranha-CYLINDER, 'a piranha fish'; **tulikisi-kunu**, necklace-ROUND/BUNDLE, 'a necklace round'. These are unitary entities, *i.e.* each denotes a set of properties. As announced (**1.3.2**) and similarly, the singulative -**to** when cooccurring with **bitsaü**, 'party (often unfriendly)', yields a sense of group, set, collection with clear defined contours, that is, a unitary entity, *e.g.* **bitsaü-to**, 'a military section, a herd of hostile animals, an ethnic group', among others.

(18)   **wüdowathi bitsaü-to   ø-tsi-maxü-othopa-tsi**
       JustGhosts   party-SINGULATIVE   3ACC-AIMINGAT-CONFLICTFULLY-fall-4NOM
       'They were raided by a squad of dead-kin ghosts.'

The class of verbs sensitive to one of their arguments number (**2: THE VERB 2.2** and **2.2.1.2.4**) unveils the intrinsic plurality of generic nouns. Accordingly, the suppletive alternation caused by the accusative-argument number in ^{II}verbs — here 'spear with bow and arrow' — shows:

(19)   plural   singular

	plural			singular	
'sparrow'	**baratsui**	⎫		**baratsui-to**	⎫
'fish'	**duhai**	⎬ tsekona		**duhai-nü**	⎬ upaxuaba
'piranha'	**kowara**	⎭		**kowara-bo**	⎭

As announced in the section on demonstratives (**2.2.1.1**), **pa-** is banned from *directly* co-occurring with a subtype of generic nouns. With a gender/class generic, we may have **pa-Wowai**, 'those Whites' and **pa-Wowai-wa**, 'that White woman', but not with a singulative generic: ****pa-tanaka**, '(intended) those fishing nets', **pa-tanaka-to**, 'that fishing net'.

    A special case of singularisation arises with collective nouns — internally-structured classes of items —: a sequence made of the middle **na-** (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.2**) and the adjective **kae-**, 'one' (**2.1**) enhances the idea of a cluster highly specific externally and strongly cohesive internally.

      na-kae-monae   'one and the same family`
      na-kae-bitsaüto   'one and the same gang'

(20)   **bahaya   matakabi wahamonaemi abüxü**…
       PastTime   day   OurLateFamily   NONBOUNDARYCROSSING
       'In bygone days our late family…'

> …**nakae-bitsaüto** **hinawonopa** **pihanakuatha**
> OneAndTheSame-group live InTheirTerritory
> '…still lived in their territory as a cohesive group.'

2.2.2.2 DISCRETISATION

Discretisation applies to noncount nouns. Semantically it extracts a fraction of stuff. With the nonanimate **-hawa** we get either a partitive meaning, *i.e.* a more or less amorphous portion of the stuff, *e.g.* **peri-hawa**, 'piece of cassava', or a subvariety of the substance, *e.g.* **pehiape-hawa**, 'a specific sort of fish flour'. Classifiers display the same ability: **-ra**, 'liquid in a container', lends **ema-ra**, 'rain water in a container'. A physically delineated offshoot is provided by **-to**, singulative: **hana-to**, 'blood clot', **atsa-to**, 'clump of earth'.

2.2.2.3 PLURAL

Pluralization applies either directly on count nouns in their individuated sense, or configured out of one among the just mentioned morphological devices for singularization / discretization. The suffix is **-nü**, homophonous to the masculine suffix (their different grammatical nature is disclosed by their allowed co-ocurrence and by a morphophonemic rule targetting the plural suffix (chapter **10: PHONOLOGY 5**), as in the (c) example below, phonologically /**sikuaninüanü**/).

(21) singular plural

(a) count	**wakara**	**wakara**	**wakara-nü**	'hens'
(b) generic	**ake**	**ake-to**SINGULATIVE	**ake-to-nü**	'scorpions'
(c) generic	**Sikuani**	**Sikuani-nü**MASCULINE	**Sikuani-nü**MASC**-nü**PLURAL	'Sikuani men'
(d) generic	**basue**	**basue-bo**CYLINDER	**basue-bo-nü**	'sugar canes'
(e) mass	**hiape**	**hiape-hawa**NONANIMATE	**hiape-hawa-nü**	'portions / kinds of fish flour'

Third-person free pronouns pluralise likewise: **ponü-nü**, 'these ones (masculine)', **powa-nü**, 'these ones (feminine)', **xua-nü**, 'these things'. As said, first and second pronominal forms — bound and free — get their plural from the **pa-** prefix (**2.2.1.2** above, and chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.1**).

Animate generics allow for a second kind of plural, the collective **-wi**, which might stem from the noun **hiwi**, 'people, humans'. With the pluraliser **-nü** we get a replicative plural, *i.e.* an aggregation of individuated items. With **-wi**, which replaces — hence neutralises — the animate-gender markers, we have a collective plural, whereby the involved individual items entertain a group relationship with one another, something like 'set' (*cf.* **orchestra** as opposed to **musician-s**): **deha-wi**, 'the Piapoco people / tribe (or a fraction of it)'. As said in **1.3.2**, some collective nouns accept the collective suffix, **bitsaü-wi**, 'an unfriendly party', while others do not, as is the case with **-monae**, 'group of interrelated items'. **-Monae** provides an additional instance of how a neatly delineated set can be handled as a unitary entity: when related to a nonanimate denotatum it is pluralised by **-nü**: **pexaehawa-monae-nü**, 'kinds of food [lit. individuated sets of crops]' (expedition to the All-Crop Tree).

2.2.2.4 DUAL

The dual suffix **-behe** — whose etymon is assumed to be an abstract notion 'set of items' / 'together' that can be construed in contexts involving no dualistic sense as in (22) — is also

restricted to individuated entities, adding collective properties akin to 'set of two', *i.e.* 'pair / couple / duo', **bo-behe**, house-couple, 'two / both houses'. In its etymological use as a noun, -**behe** lacks the typical distribution of either [I]nouns or [II]nouns.

(22) **nakua-tobü-to-behe**   **boka**
      world/land-egg-SINGULATIVE-set   lieSINGULAR
      'A set of world-eggs was lying (there).'

(Genesis: all living creatures came out of *three* erected eggs.)

Number-sensitive verbs (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.2.1.2.4**) reveal that the dual is a subspecies of singular with third person, on nouns, (23), and pronouns, (24), but a subspecies of plural with speech-act persons, thus requiring the plural prefix, (25).This difference presumably betrays the retention of the more conservative semantics 'set' with third person participants.

(23) (a) **Sikuani-nü**$_1$ **boka**-ø$_1$
           Sikuani-MASCULINE   LieSINGULAR-3NOMINATIVE
           'A sikuani man is lying.'

      (b) **Sikuani-nü-behe**$_1$ **boka**-ø-**behe**$_1$
           Sikuani-MASCULINE-DUAL   LieSINGULAR-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
           'Two sikuani men are lying.'

      (c) **Sikuani-nü-nü**$_1$ **bobena**-ø$_1$
           Sikuani-MASCULINE-PLURAL   LiePLURAL-3NOMINATIVE
           'Sikuani men are lying.'

(24) (a) **ponü**$_1$ **boka**-ø$_1$
           3MASCULINE   LieSINGULAR- 3NOMINATIVE
           'He is lying.'

      (b) **ponü-nü**$_1$ **bobena**-ø$_1$
           3MASCULINE-PLURAL   LiePLURAL-3NOMINATIVE
           'They(> two) are lying.'

      (c) **ponü-behe**$_1$ **boka**-ø-**behe**$_1$
           3MASCULINE-DUAL   LieSINGULAR-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
           'Both are lying.'

(25) (a) **xamü**$_1$ **boka**-**me**$_1$
           2   LieSINGULAR-2NOMINATIVE
           'You are lying.'

      (b) **pa-xamü**$_1$ **pa-bobena**-**me**$_1$
           PLURAL-2   PLURAL-LiePLURAL-2NOMINATIVE
           'You all are lying.'

      (c) **pa-xamü-behe**$_1$ **pa-bobena**-**me-behe**$_1$
           PLURAL-2-DUAL   PLURAL-LiePLURAL-2NOMINATIVE-DUAL
           'Both of you are lying.'

Predictably, the collective *plural* -**wi** does not occur with the dual and must be, thus, replaced by the noun **hiwi**: ***Deha-wi-behe**, **Deha-hiwi-behe**, 'two Piapoco indians'.

The same bi-partite mapping — the dual as a subspecies of plural on first and second persons, and of singular on third person — holds for the bound person-series. Regarding the scope of the dual, this allows for a certain amount of ambiguity between the intrinsic linkee / possessor on one side, and the head noun denotatum on the other side. In (26a) the dual may have scope on the pluralised first person prefix or on the number-unmarked third person **wakara**, 'hen'. In (b) the dual may have scope on the number-unmarked third person prefix or on the number-unmarked third person 'hen'. When both contituents are pluralised — the person prefix by **pa-**, the head noun by -**nü** —, the duel mechanically bears on the intrinsic linkee / possessor, (c).

(26) (a) pa-taha-wakara-behe
   PLURAL-1POSSESSOR-hen-DUAL
   'the hen(s) of both of us / our two hens'

   (b) piha-wakara-behe
   3POSSESSOR-hen-DUAL
   'the hen(s) of both of them // his/their two hens'

   (c) pa-taha-wakara-nü -behe
   PLURAL-1POSSESSOR-hen-PLURAL-DUAL
   'the hens of both of us'

2.2.2.5 PAUCAL

When directly attached to noncount nouns, the diminutive suffix -**yo** (which provides 'small in size' on count nouns, see **2.2.2.7** hereafter) gives rise to 'small amount' with generic nouns, **ake-yo**, 'small amount of scorpions', **duhai-yo**, 'small amount of fish', and 'low degree' with gradable mass nouns, **howibo-yo**, 'low-intensity wind'.

The paucal proper with count nouns is given by adjoining -**behe**, obviously in its basic sense 'set', to the diminutive: **liwaisi-yo-behe**, 'a few stories'.

2.2.2.6 DISTRIBUTIVE

A (sub)morphematically-complex suffix-like form affords distributive quantification on count nouns, -**kanakuhitsia**, segmentable as a converb (chapters **2: THE VERB 2.1.9**, and **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 2**), (27a). Besides its presence in the quantifying morphology of nouns, (b), if complemented by the adjective **kae-**, 'one' (**2.1**), the distributive occurs in the typical distribution of [II]nouns, (c), adverbs / converbs, also (c), and cases (**2.2.6E**), (c).

(27) (a) **ka-na-kuhi-tsi-ya**
   TRANSITIVISER-MIDDLE-GetClose-IRREALIS-CONVERB
   'approaching one another'

   (b) **kae-hiwi-kanakuhitsia**   **xainapona**   **pihatusatoyo**
   one-people-DISTRIBUTIVE   HaveCUSTOMARILY   LittlePieceOfLand
   'Each group used to have its own little piece of land.'

(c) **itsa-hiwi**   **pe-kanakuhitsia**_{NOUN}   **kanakuhitsia**_{ADVERB}   **humaitsi**
    INDEF/ALTER   3INTRINLINK-turn   InTurn   TheyTalked
    'One at a time, each group of people talked in turn.'

2.2.2.7 DIMINUTIVE

On primary count nouns, singularised generic nouns, and discretised mass nouns, the diminutive suffix **-yo** provides 'small in size'. The diminutive also has a pragmatic affective function, **petiriwa-yo**, 'small woman / woman (said endearingly)', often present in that sense on third person free pronouns, **powa-yo**, 'that little woman (said endearingly)', and liberally used in deriving new kinship terms (below **2.3.2**). A portmanteau suffix **-xi** gathers diminutive and plural on all count-noun subclasses as well as on pronouns. The plural **-nü** does not occur here.

(28)	singular	plural	
primary count	**awiri-yo**	**awiri-xi**	'small dog(s)'
singularised generic	**ake-to**_{SINGULATIVE}**-yo**	**ake-to-xi**	'small scorpion(s)'
	duhai-nü_{MASCULINE}**-yo**	**duhai-nü-xi**	'small fish(es)'
discretised mass	**hiape-hawa**_{NONANIMATE}**-yo**	**hiape-hawa-xi**	'small portion(s) of fish flour'
	ema-ra_{CLASSIFIER}**-yo**	**ema-ra-xi**	'small quantity(ies) of rain water in basin(s)'

2.2.2.8 AUGMENTATIVE

No dedicated morphology exists for the augmentative. Rather, a single amplifying function, uniformly coded by the suffix **-nü** seen above, enlarges 1. an individual entity by number of discrete units, the "plural", or an entity type by size, the "augmentative": **tomara-nü,** 'villages / big village'. (Accordingly, I will henceforth gloss as AUGMENTER the suffix **-nü** so as to encompass the plural and augmentative senses and thus distinguish it from more strictly pluralising morphology.) In (29a) the verb discloses a *singular* accusative argument (suppletive plural: **eheba**, chapter **2: THE VERB 2.2.1.3**). The plural reading seems to be unmarked if compared with the augmentative reading since, when the context calls for making explicit that both senses co-occur, or for discarding the plural sense, the lexical periphrastic means adduced generally bears on the augmentative, (b).

(29) (a) **dunusi-to-nü**₁   **ø₁-hia-ø₂**
    pinneapple-SINGULATIVE-AUGMENTER   3ACC-PutAsideSINGULAR-3NOM
    'She put aside a big pineapple.'

(b) **ibo-to-nü**   **ø₁-kopatatsika-ø₂**   **petsutohawatsika**...
    stone-SINGULATIVE-AUGMENTER   3ACC-drop-3NOM   DownTheHill
    'He dropped a big rock down the hill.'

    ...**baha**   **pina**   **ayai-ibo-to**   **xaneto**
    BOUNDCROSS   REPORT   uncommon-stone-SINGULATIVE   HugeThing
    '...a huge rock, they₀ say.'

2.2.3 PRONOMINALISATION THROUGH PREFIX -SUFFIX CLUSTERING

We saw above (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.1)** how third-person animate free pronouns can be thought of as stemming from a combination of demonstrative **pa-** and masculine / femenine -**nü** / -**wa** (see also 2. hereafter). The use of this morphological mechanism — coupling a prefix and a suffix to return a free standing noun-substitute — has a much broader remit than just the mentioned pronouns. All the resulting forms to be now surveyed have an identificational first formative contributing to the reference domain and a gender-class second formative contributing to the entity-type domain. To a limited extent the quantifying suffixes singulative -**to** and diminutive -**yo** / -**xi** also yield such pronoun-like forms.

1. Person and gender-class:

niha-awiri	'your dog'
niha-nü	'yours'
2POSSESSOR-MASCULINE	

(With the feminine we get **niha-wa**, 'your wife', whereas 'husband' cannot be expressed by the masculine: **niha-nü** obligatorily entails nonhuman animate.)

niha-hera	'your canoe'
niha-mo	'yours'
2POSSESSOR-VEHICLE	

The short person series does not directly combine with gender suffixes: **ne-huyapihiwa**, 'your younger sister', *****ne-wa**, 'yours (younger sister)'. As regards classifiers, the issue is a bit more complex. Most classifiers are visibly linked to nonhuman [II]nouns ("inalienable") that denote abstract prototypical categories. These nouns freely occur flanked by the intrinsic-linkee person series, *e.g.* **pe-mo**, 'vehicle', proferred in a situation where someone looks for some means of transportation. (The same meaning seems to be supplied by the adjective **pepo-**, 'true, genuine, etc.' followed by the classifer, *cf.* **2.1**)

2. Demonstrative and gender-class:

pa-awiri	'this dog'
pa-nü	'this one'
DEMONSTRATIVE-MASCULINE	

(**Pa-nü** — dialectally also **ponü** — is to-day the third person animate free pronoun, whereas its feminine counterpart *****pa-wa** occurs in all dialects as **powa**; as said, the nonanimate hypothetical *****pa-hawa** appears, instead, as **xua**, 'this one'.)

pa-hera	'this canoe'
pa-mo	'this vehicle'
DEMONSTRATIVE-VEHICLE	

3. Indefinite / alterity-marker and gender-class:

itsa-awiri	'a dog, another dog'

itsa-nü	'someone (man), some animal, another one (man, animal)'

Singulative and diminutive are more restricted as to their combinatory latitude: only the demonstrative is allowed as the companion prefix.

4. Demonstrative and singulative:

pa-to	'this one (of the singulative-generic class)'

5. Demonstrative and diminutive:

pa-yo	'this little one'

(See below **2.3** for the lexicalisation of the diminutive plural -**xi**.)

2.2.4 TENSE-ASPECT

Two suffixes and one prefix code what has, in other languages, been identified as nominal tense. Here tense looks rather like a secondary meaning.

2.2.4.1 DOWNGRADE

-Mi, borrowed from neighbouring Arawakan languages (Achagua, Meléndez 1989; Piapoco, Reinoso 1999), depicts the state of an entity understood as the downgraded version of itself. In (30a) and (b), the land and the woman are still there, but the relationship to the participant surfacing as a genitive is missing, which makes the land far less worthful, likewise the woman seduced by an anaconda monster. While past tense may be the relevant reading in certain contexts, (c), it is excluded in others, as in (d) where **-mi** conveys the imminence of a downfall (as a cover term OBSOLETE will be used in gloses). This latter use makes it suitable for a dreadful threat, (e).

(30) (a) **Sikuani   hiwi-tsi   nawita-tsi   waha-nakua-mi**
            Sikuani   people-4NOM   BeMany-4NOM   4POSSESSOR-territory-OBSOLETE
            'We the Skuani people we were plentiful in those former territories of us.'

  (b) **Tsawaliwalinü   pihawa-mi**
        Tsawaliwalinü   HisWife-OBSOLETE
        'Tsawaliwalinü's widow'

  (c) **waha-kuene-mi**
        PLURALINCLUSIVEPOSSESSIVE-WayOfLife-OBSOLETE
        'our lost traditions'

  (d) **xanü-mi   baha   bo!**
        1-OBSOLETE   BOUNDARYCROSSING   EXCLAMATIVE
        'In no time I'll be dead!'

(Whinning of an extremely ill woman.)

    (e) **Ophaebü-mi!**
      Paca-OBSOLETE
      'Paca, you're dead meat!'

(Kinkajou, most angry with Paca who has been commissioned to trail him to the All-Crop Tree.)

2.2.4.2 PROSPECTIVE

Possibly recycled from a case marker for finality / target / goal / purpose (*cf.* below **2.2.6**), the suffix **-nexa** endows a referent with the properties of the entity denoted by the noun but as merely potential, as in (31a) and (b). One possible sense of **-nexa**, akin to future proper, occurs when the prospect involves existence itself, (c).

(31) (a) **penahorobinü-nexa**
        shaman-PROSPECTIVE
        'future shaman'

(Of a young boy showing a suitable disposition.)

    (b) **taxi**   **pe-wünü-nexa**
        MyChildren   3INTRINSICLINKEE-name-PROSPECTIVE
        'my children's future names'

(Fox choosing names for his children among intestinal-gas noises coming from people asleep in a long house.)

    (c) **"mawiru"**   **deha**   **pe-hume-nexa-ø**...
        mawiru   Piapoco   3INTRINSICLINKEE-word-PROSPECTIVE-3NOMINATIVE
        ' "Mawiru" is the future name for the Piapocos …'

      …**"dunusi"**   **waxaitsi**   **wa-hume-nexa-ø**
        pineapple   1INCLUSIVE   4INTRINSICLINKEE-word-PROSPECTIVE-3NOMINATIVE
        '…"Dunusi" is our own future name.'

(Discovering the pineapple at the time when languages were not yet differentiated.)

2.2.4.3 CONSECUTIVE

Peka-, reviewed in chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.7.3**, occurs on nouns independently of their syntactic position, predicate or, as in (32), argument with the same meaning of something that results from a previous state of affairs:

(32) **Kahuyali** **peka-bunuhu**   **petopa**   **naexana**
      K.   CONSEC-Fish*Sp*.   2INTRINLINK-thigh   ItTurnedIntoSomethingElse
      'Kahuyali, well, as a consequence his thigh turned into a fish *Sp*.'

2.2.5 MODALITY

I here consider three morphemes — negation, additive, and mirative — that occur on nouns with the same modal-like significance we distinguished in chapter **2: THE VERB**.

2.2.5.1 NEGATION

The prefix **apo**- negates nouns in and outside the predicate position, (33a) and (b) respectively. In presence of a lexical bound dependent, it is the latter that will fall under the scope of negation, (33a, c).

(33) (a) **itsa-liwaisi-yo-behe₁**   **apo-be-sikuani**-**liwaisi-ø₁**
            INDEF/ALT-story-DIMINUTIVE-DUAL   NEG-SIMILATIVE-Sikuani-story-3NOM
            'Some stories were unlike Sikuani stories.'

      (b) **apo-duhai-xi₁**   **ø₁-kanaheta-ø₂**
            NEGATION-fish-DIMINUTIVEPLURAL   3ACCUSATIVE-sell-3NOMINATIVE
            'He sold no small fishes.'

      (c) **apo-waha-ira**-**pihi-wi=atha₁**   **nahunua-ø₁**
            NEGATION-4POSSESSIVE-land-dweller-COLLECTIVE-ADDITIVE   ShowUp-3NOM
            'Even nonlocal dwellers showed up [lit. people not of our land].'

Prefixing **apo**- to the following two quantifying expressions, **daxita**, 'all', as pronoun and the adjective **kae-**, 'one' (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.1** and **1.2** respectively), allows for more subtle adjustments, respectively a partitive and 'some, several'.

(34) **apo-daxita**   **werewereka-ø**
       NEGATION-all   BecomeExtinct-3NOMINATIVE
       'Some of them became extinct.'

(Sikuani villages under cannibals' attacks.)

(35) **koikoihai-ø₁,**   **apo-kae-liwaisi-xi**   **pina,**   **awiri₁**
       speak-3NOMINATIVE   NEGATION-one-story-DIMINUTIVEPLURAL   REPORTATIVE   dog
       'He talked, (reporting) several [lit. not one] little stories, the dog.'

(Dog telling villagers how its masters do this and that in the privacy of the garden.)

2.2.5.2 ADDITIVE

On nouns, the additive "clitic" =**atha** adds a new item into a pool of participants supposed to be complete as regards a given manner-of-existing, with the same import than, on verbs, of something unanticipated.

(36) **baharapowa-tha=atha**   **pexi**   **ø-xaina-ø**   **penayanatsi**   **pahiwibehe**
       ThatWoman-SOC=ADDITIVE   children   3ACC-have-3NOM   three   people
       'Even with that woman he has had children, three of them.'

2.2.5.3 MIRATIVE

As said in chapter **2: THE VERB**, the mirative clitic =**he** is triggered by a piece of information popping up into the speech act situation. Its main difference with the additive -**atha** rests on the mirative's lack of the appending intention. It often shows up with nouns as existential predicates, (37) (chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 1.1**). On nouns outside the predicate position, the

mirative mandatorily co-occurs with the demonstrative in either use, anaphoric (38a), and situational, (b). Oftentimes the information imparted by its host is unexpected, as on verbs, but in chapter **9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 2.2.2** we will meet some of its additional specificities in such environment. One of them worth hinting here in anticipation to the mentioned chapter is that, combining with first person, (39), it discloses a diverging opinion. (Some free translations will fail to render the exact pragmatic touch.)

(37) **hororoto=he! hai   pina**
    owl=MIRATIVE HeSaidIt REPORTATIVE
    'Hey! There is an owl around, he said.'

(Hearing owl's hoot.)

(38) (a) **pa-awiri$_1$=he**   **ø$_1$-beyaxuaba-tsi**
         DEMONSTRATIVE-dog=MIRATIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-kill-4NOMINATIVE
         'That dog was killed.'

(Storytelling.)

    (b) **pa-bobürüto$_1$=he**   **hopaika-ø$_1$**
         DEMONSTRATIVE-PalmShelter=MIRATIVE   FallDown-3NOMINATIVE
         'Oh! The shelter collapsed!'

(Walking in the jungle.)

(39) **ø-upaxua-ba-hü**   **bitsabi-tha   xanü=he**
    3ACCUSATIVE-kill-REALIS-1NOMINATIVE   bow-SOCIATIVE   1=MIRATIVE
    'Yessir, as for me I kill with (my) bow.'

(To a warrior sceptical about the speaker's skills.)

2.2.6 CASE

A series of ten case markers fills the last suffix position, only followed by the dual and, if need be, by the mirative clitic just seen: sociative 1 -**tha**, cause -**xae**, temporal coextension -**hebi**, finality -**nexa**, container / contained -**ya**, surrounding area -**hawa**, sociative 2 -**behe**, accountability -**kobexae**, target / goal -**hitsia**. A tenth case-marker occurs as a prefix: similative **be**-. All case markers flag noun phrases occupying adjunct positions, since argument noun phrases are unmarked for case. As with postpositions above (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.2**), here we will merely overview the inventory and the semantic correlates of cases, deferring until chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 3** their relevance for clause syntax. It will soon be clear that the bulk of the markers are the product of elaborating a case system upon the most variegated materials already present in the language. Let us first mention the five genuine, *i.e.* nonderived, case markers.

-**Tha**, which I will gloss with the coverall term *sociative*, is the functionally most versatile of all case markers. Its capacities include spatial location, (40a)-(e); temporal and abstract location, (f)-(i), instrument, (j), accompaniment, (k), detrimental, (l), *pheno*-similative, (42), and finally somehow more abstract associations between a circumstance and a mammer-of-existing like in (m).

Inessive

(40) (a) **bo-tha**   **eka-hü**
           house-SOCIATIVE   sit-1NOMINATIVE
           'I am in the house.'

Illative

      (b) **tahabo-tha**   **pa-xua-re!**
           MyHouse-SOCIATIVE   PLURAL-throw-IMPERATIVE
           'You all throw it into my house!'

Elative

      (c) **petuxu-tha**   **dopa**   **pitsapa**
           HerVagina-SOCIATIVE   yopo   GoOut
           'The yopo came out of her vagina.'

Apudlative (Creissels 2011)

      (d) **pematabaka-tha-behe**   **paupaxuabianame**
           HisKnee-SOCIATIVE-DUAL   YouAllWillShootAnArrow
           'You will shoot an arrow at both his knees.'

Superessive

      (e) **ibohumapana-tha**   **pina**   **yakabeta**
           FlatRock-SOCIATIVE   REPORTATIVE   vomit
           'He vomited them upon a flat rock, they$_0$ say.'

Temporal location

      (f) **matakabi-tha**   **nakuenebabiaba**
           day-SOCIATIVE   WorkITERATIVELY
           'They used to work during the day.'

Abstract location

      (g) [...] **hai**   **pina**   **pihahume-tha**
                say   REPORTATIVE   HisLanguage-SOCIATIVE
           '[…], he said in his language.'

      (h) **baharapawahi**   **daxita-wiria**   **pita**   **kaewahi-tha**
           ThisPrayer   all-species   catch   OnePrayer-SOCIATIVE
           'This prayer encompasses all species (of animals) in a single prayer.'

Abstract location extends to the objective conditions that explain a manner-of-existing.

      (i) **tüpapona**   **pihani-tha**
           TheyWereDying   TheirHunger-SOCIATIVE
           'They were starving to death.'

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Instrument

    (j) **humape-tsekonabiaba   xuatabo-tha**
        shadow-ShootVELY   arrow-SOCIATIVE
        'He shot several arrows at the shadow.'

Accompaniment

    (k) **tamomoyo   panawaenahü   xamü-tha**
        granddaughter   WeWillBathe   2-SOCIATIVE
        'Granddaughter, we are going to bathe with you.'

Detrimental

(41) (l) **isoxainaenü-tha   ø-kaürüta-ø**
          FireOwner-SOCIATIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-steal-3NOMINATIVE
          'They stole it from the Fire-owner.'

(Origin of the fire.)

Conjectured consequence.

    (m) **hiopahü   bitso   apo-ta-ne-xae-mü-tha**
        IAmSkinny   much   NEG-1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-eat-2NOM-SOCIATIVE
        'I am too skinny for you to eat me [lit. I am much skinny so that you don't eat me].'

Pheno-similative. Differently from **be-** (*cf.* above **2.2.1.6**), the likeness between two entities does not originate in the speaker's mind but in the actual visible appearance of the case-marked noun denotatum. Resumed from chapter **2: THE VERB**:

(42) **inohobotohawareka   runohopaikareka-hü   materiyo-tha**
     DownAlongAPalmTree *Sp.*   Swoop-1NOMINATIVE   SmallSquirrel-SOCIATIVE
     'I swoopped along a palm tree *Sp.* under the appearance of a small squirrel.'

-Xae, cause, is not an ordinary causality case. So it would look like in (43a), but in fact what the speaker says is that things are the way they are not because of a tapir's specific deed but because of the tapir's nature: the single animal running straight through the jungle while bringing down the vegetation ahead. More transparent examples are (b) and (15) above.

(43) (a) **naehawa tsikaka   metsaha-xae**
          tree   FallDown   tapir-CAUSE
          'Trees fall down because of the tapir.'

    (b) **xamü-xae ne-yawenona-me**
        2-CAUSE   1ACCUSATIVE-help-3NOMINATIVE
        'You help me because you are who you are.'

-Hebi, temporal coextension, denotes the *integral* time-mapping of the manner-of-existing and the notion depicted by the case-marked noun.

(44) **yamaxü   merawi-hebi   ayai**
      thunder   night-TEMPORALCOEXTENSIVE   BeAwesome
      'Thunder was awesome throughout the nigh.'

-**Nexa**, finality / target /goal / purpose, allows its basic meanings to extend to benefactive and detrimental, (45b) and (c).

(45) (a) **baharaxua-nexa   pa-ka-hunata-ø-behe**
           this-FINALITY   PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-call-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
           'It is for this purpose that she called you both.'

      (b) **isoto   pina   daxita-nexa   nakopata**
           fire   REPORTATIVE   all-FINALITY   bestow
           'Fire was bestowed on all (the people), they$_0$ say.'

      (c) **namatawahiba   wahabitsaü-nexa**
           ChantUponOneself   ennemies-FINALITY
           'They chant a prayer upon themselves against the ennemies.'

-**Ya**, the last nonderived case-marker to be reviewed, might be related to the preverb **ya-** which establishes a nonoriented container / contained relationship between two participants (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.4**). Since serveral preverbs are mere incorporated postpositions, we can safely infer that as a preverb **ya-** stems from a case marker. As such it occurs on nouns denoting a diffuse region of space, imparting either a perlative, or an unspecific static location, or several particular locations within a given area. (I will simply gloss it inessive.) Its difference with the locative -**hawa** is patent in (46d).

(46) (a) **mene-ya   pina   nahetarubena**
           river-INESSIVE   REPORTATIVE   move
           'They moved along the river, they$_0$ say.'

      (b) **tahü   nakua-ya   kapona**
           FarAway   world/land-INESSIVE   bring
           'They took it to some place in a distant land.'

      (c) **wowai   patahanakuaxi-ya   hinawonopa**
           Whites   OurLands-INESSIVE   dwell
           'Whites are settled here and there in our territories.'

      (d) **Tsonü   pitaühütsiunu-hawa**   **reka**…
           Anteater   ForetoldForest-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE   GoDown
           'Anteater moved down bordering the foretold forest,…'

           …**pihinia   Newüthü   itsaunu-ya**   **reka**
           while   Jaguar   OtherForest-INESSIVE   GoDown
           '…while Jaguar moved down through another forest.'

(Contest between Anteater and Jaguar. Converging at a prearranged place, each one takes his own favourite pathway.)

We now turn to the five derived case-markers.

-Hawa is the nonanimate gender suffix which as such generates the notion of 'surrounding area', particularly useful when combined with nonspatial notions for returning spatial ones (**2.2.1.7** above). As a case marker it serves as a locative retaining the 'surrounding' sense, (47). It however often couples with the sociative **-tha** to add some of the latter subsenses, *e.g.* the elative in (48).

(47) (a) **Mitu-hawa**   **dopa**   **natuba-ruta-hü**
           Mitu-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE   yopo   inhale-hang^{II}-1NOMINATIVE
           'In the region of Mitu [town] I inhaled yopo in several places.'

(For the dispersive use of the auxiliary **ruta**, 'hang^{II}', see chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9**.)

(48) (b) **mene-hawa-tha**   **pitsapa**
           water-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE-SOCIATIVE   GoOut
           'They came out of the water (up to the lake banks).'

-Behe emerged above as the dual suffix, a presumed first step toward the grammaticalisation of the noun 'set' (**2.2.2.4**). The next step contributes a second sociative, whose semantic difference with **-tha** remains elusive. Available examples, however, suggest a touch of insistence on the homogeneity in kind of the two associated entities, something possibly inherited from the etymon 'set' ('me with my father' but not 'me with my monkey'; I will tentatively gloss it kin sociative.)

(49) (a) **xanü$_1$**   **nawane-hü$_1$**   **taxa$_2$-behe**
           1   bathe-1NOMINATIVE   MyFather-KINSOCIATIVE
           'As for me$_1$, I$_1$ bathe with my father$_2$.'

      (b) **Yokopi$_1$**   **nuka-ø$_1$**   **pamonae$_2$-behe**
           Yokopi   StandSINGULAR   ThesePeople-KINSOCIATIVE
           'Yokopi$_1$ stands (there) with these people$_2$.'

-Kobexae results from the frozen sequence **kobe-xae**, hand-CAUSE. Recall that **-xae** alone stands for a cause that is merely due to the nature of the entity denoted by the noun (examples (43) above). Iconically enough, 'hand' confers to **-kobexae** the notion of accountability that we already detected in its use as a preverb (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.4**).

(50) (a) **paxuanü-kobexae**   **nahetabihiriba-ø**
           HerFatherInLaw-ACCOUNTABLECAUSE   RunAway-3NOMINATIVE
           'She ran away because of her father-in-law.'

(Sexual harassment.)

      (b) **Nusalia-kobexae**   **powa$_1$**   **dunusito**   **ne-rahuta-ø$_1$**
           Nusalia-ACCOUNTABLECAUSE   3FEM   pineapple 1ACCUSATIVE-give-3NOM
           'Thanks to Nusalia('s intercession) she gave me a pineapple.'

-Hitsia, a frozen contracted form of the verb **hitsipa**, 'want', is primarily a nonfully verbal auxiliary for imminent aspect (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9.1**). On nouns in adjunct position it

marks a target or goal in which intentionality is more systematically present than in **-nexa** above, as in (resumed from chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9.2.3.1.2**):

(51) **hota   nueruta-ø   pa-xamü-hitsia-behe**
      here   CryAllAround-3NOMINATIVE   PLURAL-2-GOAL-DUAL
      'He cried all around here after you both.'

Be- similative is the atypical case marker announced as occupying a prefix position. We have seen it as an allative verb-prefix (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.8**), and, in this same chapter, as a similative noun-prefix. As a case marker it retains the meaning and, quite atypically for a case marker, its prefix distribution. (We will later find it — together with its ablative counterpart **we-**, on nouns as argument of postpositions, chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 3)**.

(52) **ponü₁   be-metsaha₂   pipihai-ø₁   tsabiabi**
      3MASCULINE   SIMILATIVE-tapir   whistle-3NOMINATIVE   DOITERATIVELY
      'That man₁ used to whistle like a tapir₂.'

Finally, the distributive (*cf.* **2.2.2.6** above) can be used for obliquely marking nouns in adjunct position.

(53) **kae-wai-kanakuhitsia   baharapakuenia   itsi   tsabiabi**
      one-summer/year-DISTRIBUTIVE   ThisWay   do   DOITERATIVELY
      'They do it this way year after year.'

Directional defective verbs endorse case-marker distribution so as to serve as spatial add-ons for other cases. This case-combining only involves spatial semantics. See in (54d) an instance of three concatenated cases (in a rather unexpected order if compared with (a).

(54) (a) **Kamalipetsuto-tha-tsia   nawailababiaba**
          KamalipeHill-SOCIATIVE-UPANDATIVE   dance
          'They were dancing on top of Kamalipe hill.'

      (b) **baharapowa   baupa-hawa-ria   naitapitsataharaba**
          ThatWoman   door-SURRLOC-LEVELANDATIVE   SuddenlyShowedUp
          'That woman suddenly showed up next to the door.'

      (c) **tsikirinüyo   bu-ya-ria   rutatsi**
          SmallBoy   hammock-INESSIVE-LEVELANDATIVE   BeLaid
          'The small boy has been laid in the hammock.'

      (d) **pabürü-ya-tsia-tha   buatatsi**
          shell-INESSIVE-UPANDATIVE-SOCIATIVE   BeLeft
          'She was left on an upper shell.'

2.2.7 A SYNOPSIS OF NONDERIVATIONAL NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Regarding prefixes, the following situation is found: 1. the person series, short and long, are incompatible with demonstratives (except for possession proper, which can co-occur with the

demonstrative emphatic-markers) and the indefiniteness-alterity prefix; and 2. the restrictive and the demonstrative emphatics cannot co-occur. As for the suffixes, there are less co-occurrence restrictions. The singulative does not combine with the gender-class series. Neither does the dual with the plural marker since the former is, on nouns, a subspecies of the singular.

As regards the lexical stem, nothing can intervene between the adjective and the noun. The closest prefixes backwards are the person short / long series with, to the left, their pluraliser. Or the demonstrative with, to the left, its emphatics. Then, the indefiniteness-alterity prefix and the restrictive (evidence for their co-occurrence and mutual order is lacking). The similative is found in the most peripheral left position. (I omit the transient-identity prefix, which only occurs with free pronouns.)

Gender-class and singulative suffixes are attached to the immediate right position of the lexical stem. In the next position we find the augmenter and diminutive markers. Then, cases and the dual. Now resuming the wording in chapter **2: THE VERB**: the rightmost periphery comprises the additive =**atha** and the mirative =**he** (no data currently available on their relative order).

As in verbs, the leftmost zone of bound morphology is rather fuzzy as to the clitic *vs*. affix character of the slots, the latter linear distribution, and the mutual (in)compatibilities. On that account, the behaviour of the restrictive **wü-** respective to lexically-complex noun phrases might well make it a proclitic rather than a prefix (section **3**).

Table 9. Nonderivational bound morphemes in nouns: a simplified view.

| adjective | | | | | | gender-class / collective / singulative | | | | |

adjective───────────────────────┐						gender-class / collective / singulative
demonstrative / person──────────┤					augmenter / diminutive
indefiniteness-alterity / restrictive						case
similative						dual
negation						additive
						mirative

apo-	be-	itsa- / wü-	pa- / taha- niha- piha- ta- ne- pe-	atsi- etc.	S T E M	-nü -wa -wi -to	-nü -yo -xi	-tha -xae -nexa etc.	-behe	=atha =he

2.3 LEXICOGENIC MORPHOLOGY

Nouns are added into the lexicon through: 1. lexicalisation 2. reduplication; 3. morphological formatives; and 4. compounding.

This section is quite differently organized from its verbal counterpart. First, deverbalisation is far from being as prolific as denominalisation was, with the latter's massive use of mood endings for creating new verbs (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.3.1**). Second, nothing comparable to verbal diffuseness is to be detected in the realm of nouns.

2.3.1 LEXICALISATION

An existing item enters the lexicon of nouns while being remapped upon a new meaning and, in some cases, a new distribution.

2.3.1.1 EXOGENIC

In an exogenic lexicalisation a nonlinguistic but conventionalised sequence of sounds — frequently of phonesthetic origin — is endowed with linguistic status.

(55) **buxu**   'cough'   **koi**   'frog *Sp.*'
     nühü   'howler monkey'   **sikorohuhu**   'bird *Sp.*'

2.3.1.2 ENDOGENIC

In an endogenic lexicalisation an existing linguistic form acquires a new meaning and a new distribution. 1. Some monovalent nouns generate a divalent counterpart, thus provinding new meanings, *e.g..* ^I**müthü**, 'hole' / ^{II}**müthü** turns 'grave'. 2. The diminutive plural suffix **-xi** supplies the divalent noun for 'children'. 2. Some deverbal forms become new lexical entries: full nominalisation in (a), participle in (b) through (d).

(56) (a)   **pe-nahoro-bi-nü**   'a type of shaman'
            3INTRINSICLINKEE-BlowForHealing-IRREALIS-MASCULINE

     (b)   **pe-nasi-tsi**   'fat'
            3INTRINSICLINKEE-BeFat-IRREALIS

     (c)   **waha-hio-pae**   'insect *Sp.*'
            4POSSESSIVE-BeThin

     (d)   **waha-asaü**   'fish *Sp.*'
            4POSSESSIVE-BeStrong

Besides the change of valence just mentioned, nouns deriving nouns give rise to a host of biological-species denominations and person names.

(57) **ato**   'older brother'   →   'wasp *Sp.*'
     tsema   'tobacco'   →   'fish *Sp.*'
     sipali   'ax'   →   'grasshopper *Sp.*'
     ope   'turtle *Sp.*'   →   'tree *Sp.*'
     yasito   'rattle snake'   →   'small bowl'
     kumo   'toad *Sp.*'   →   'a man's name'
     homobüto   'spider (generic)' →   'a child's name'

2.3.2 OVERT DERIVATION

A linguistic form undergoes some explicit formal change so as to enter the lexicon of nouns. With two possible exceptions, the language displays a remarkable paucity as regards dedicated affixing-means for lexical creation. The exceptions are 1. a suffix **-li**, of plausible Arawakan origin (the neighbour language Piapoco has **-ri**) and **-wa**. Most nouns with **li** and **wa** as final syllables cannot be synchronically segmented, (58a). Others allow for some submorphematic segmentation based on the presence of reduplication, (b).

(58) (a)   **madu*li***   'toad *Sp.*'   **ketsu*li***   'bird *Sp.*'
         o*li*   'mouse *Sp.*'   **kana*li***   'clay pot'

wana*li*	'talisman'	**kaku*li***	'fish trap'

(b) **hamuhamu-li** 'evil spirit' **mama-li** 'small garden'
    yakuku-li 'bird *Sp.*' **kososo-li** 'nevil'
    puwapuwa-li 'larva *Sp.*' **Wawa-li** 'a woman's name'

Not unrelatedly, we find that noun inflectional morphology — identifying, quantifying — is massively recycled for this purpose. The most used affixes are those for person, gender, class, singulative, and diminutive.

- Gender

> **dahubi-nü**   'a prisoner / slave doomed to anthropophagy'
> pet-MASCULINE

> **awiri-wa**   'a promiscuous woman'
> dog-FEMENINE

Less transparently, gender is present in names for fish, birds and insects, (59a). Parallelly to -**li**, in many instances a plausible morphological segmentation of a last syllable **wa** can only be based on a preceding reduplication, (b). This fact, together with many radically-unsegmentable instances, (c), could cast doubt on its identification as a femenine suffix, in which case -**wa** would count as a second dedicated lexical derivation suffix.

(59) (a) **homo-wa**   'grasshopper *Sp.*'
        snake-FEMENINE

>   **bopo-wa**   'fish *Sp.*'
>   tree*Sp.*-FEMENINE

(b) **mapalipali-wa** 'ant *Sp.*'
    hoho-wa 'fish *Sp.*'
    nedokodoko-wa 'bird *Sp.*'
    bokoboko-wa 'cockroach *Sp.*'

(c) **kala*wa*** 'fish *Sp.*'
    bolena*wa* 'ant *Sp.*'
    kaya*wa* 'bird *Sp.*'
    male*wa* 'hallucinogenic powder of celestial origin'

- Class

> **homo-bü**   'spider (generic)'
> snake-SPHERE

> **kekere-pa**   'fish *Sp.*'
> buzzard*Sp.*-FLATOBJET

Mid-way between exogenic and endogenid lexicalisation, classifiers serve for assinilating loanwords from Spanish.

kautsa-bü   'ball'
caucho (for 'rubber')-SPHERE

phophoro-bo   'match'
fósforo (for 'match')-CYLINDER

aro-xu   'rice'
arroz (for 'rice')-GRANULARTEXTURE

kamioni-mo   'truck'
camión (for 'truck')-VEHICLE

- Singulative

kekere-to   'the planet Venus'
buzzard-SINGULATIVE

yamaxü-to   'rifle'
lightning-SINGULATIVE

- Diminutive

tsamani-yo   'lizard *Sp.*'
AMythicalCharacter-DIMINUTIVE

itane-yo   'lizard *Sp.*'
DecorativeMotif-DIMINUTIVE

- Person

piha-tsaxu   'monkey *Sp.*'
3POSSESSIVE-mirror

waha-bitsaü   'ennemies, army'
4POSSESSIVE-group

Such use of inflectional morphology for lexicogenic purposes is reminiscent of what, in chapter **2: THE VERB 2.2.1**, was dubbed *neotenic derivation*, whereby an inflected form emerges as a frozen lexical stem able, in its turn, to host inflectional morphology anew. The last example above is a case in point since it can accommodate the inflectional-proper possessive morphology:

pa-taha-waha-bitsaü   'our (exclusive) ennemies'
PLURAL-1POSSESSIVE-4POSSESSIVE-group

niha-waha-bitsaü-hawa   'at our ennemies' place'
2POSSESSIVE-4POSSESSIVE-group-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE

Worth noting is the use of the diminutive -**yo** and the gender suffixes -**nü** / -**wa** in kinship terminology (dravidian type). The diminutive allows for creating some femenine terms, (60)a. The masculine / femenine contrast is found in siblings, (b). Now the femenine contrasting with zero either stands for gender or for genealogical distance, (c). Noticeably, a common term unmarked for gender, the divalent (recall: "inalienably possessed") **mono**, denotes 'spouse', whereas 'wife' is **tahawa**, which might be analysed either as **taha-wa**, 1POSSESSIVE-FEMENINE, *i.e.* 'my (alienable) woman', or as **ta-hawa**, 1INTRINSICLINKEE-NONANIMATE, *i.e.* 'my (inalienable) thing'. (More on Sikuani kinship terminology in Queixalós 1983, 1998.)

(60) (a) **xünato**   'son'   →   **xünato-yo**   'daughter'
             momo   'grand-son'   →   **momo-yo**   'grand-daughter'
             xinü   'nephew'   →   **xinü-yo**   'niece'

      (b) **matapihi-nü**   'older brother   →   **matapihi-wa**   'older sister'
             huyapihi-nü   'younger brother   →   **huyapihi-wa**   'older sister'

      (c) **amoho**   'brother-in-law'   →   **amoho-wa**   'sister-in-law'
             ena   'mother'   →   **ena-wa**   'mother's sister'

Note, incidentally, that 'my brother-in-law' is used by men as an address term to an unknown man and, occasionally, as a reference term for someone uncongenial.

Finally, reduplication provides a convenient means for naming biological species and similar notions.

daüthü   'sweet potato'   →   **daüthüdaüthü**   'fish *Sp.*'
topi   'drop'   →   **topitopi**   'tuber *Sp.* (used for a fermented beverage)'
xura   'parrot *Sp.*'   →   **Xuraxura**   'a Sikuani regional band'

2.3.3 COMPOUNDING

The bulk of nominal compounds consists in sequences of two nouns having retained the head-final pattern from their phrasal origin (see below **3**). Sequences [adjective + noun] moderately contribute to the inventory of nouns. Some examples follow. In these I include sequences involving a participle (chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES**) instead of an adjective — two last items.

(61) **peruhu-hapato**   'spleen'
       old-liver

       kae-humatabü   'agreement'
       one-thought

       pinihi-merawi   'midnight'
       big-night

       petuxane-homo   'snake *Sp.*'
       important-snake

pe-namuxusi-tsi-hume　　　　　　　　　'joke'
3INTRINSICLINKEE-play-IRREALIS-word

pe-mene-bo-kae-huameto　　　　　　'lunar month in which river
3INTRINSICLINKEE-water-lie-IRREALIS-moon　　levels are stationnary (approx. july)'

The phonological make-up of [noun + noun] compounds replicates that of a unitary word : the stress hierarchization favors the last conponent, something we already observed in verb auxiliarisation and verbal compounding (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9** and **2.2.2**). Likewise in noun phrases, the nonhead noun is either an argument of the head or a modifier. As expected, this is settled by the head-noun arity: [I]nouns take a modifier, (62a), while [II]nouns take an argument (*cf.* below **3**), (b).

(62)　(a)　**dere-maka**　　　　　　'plant *Sp.*'
　　　　　　calabash-CreepingPlant

　　　　　makoko-newüthü　　　　'feline *Sp.*'
　　　　　　bird *Sp.*-jaguar

　　　　　yamaxü-homo　　　　　'snake *Sp.*'
　　　　　　lightning-snake

　　　　　mutsuali-ünübo　　　　'vine *Sp.*'
　　　　　　AVenerealDisease-vine

　　　　　ira-mawi　　　　　　'ant *Sp.*'
　　　　　　soil-VegetalTar

　　　　　koni-matakabi　　　　'a period located somewhere in August'
　　　　　　tree*Sp.*-time

　　(b)　**tu-maü**　　　　　　　'bow string'
　　　　　　center-string

　　　　　tu-hani　　　　　　　'libido (speaking of women)'
　　　　　　vagina-hunger

　　　　　atsa-nani　　　　　　'clay'
　　　　　　soil-resin

　　　　　tsamuli-barüpa　　　　'triangular shape'
　　　　　　boar*Sp.*-jawbone

　　　　　tabu-üthü　　　　　　'testicle'
　　　　　　base/buttocks-nut
　　　　　yahenü-bowato　　　　'insect *Sp.*'
　　　　　　MonsterOfTheJungle-penis

Multiple compounds — *i.e.* sequences of three lexical components — are not rare. The construal of the resulting meaning rests on the head-second (*i.e.* final) pattern obtaining in any

two-element constituent. Since the last head-noun arity is satisfied internally, that of the whole outcome remains unconstrained. Thus

(63) ^{I}[[[**hara**]$_{DEPENDENT}$-**tabü**$_{HEAD}$]$_{DEPENDENT}$-^{I}**hetsa**$_{HEAD}$]   'a variety of corn'
      Turtle*Sp.*-egg-corn

^{I}[[[**panabü**]$_{DEPENDENT}$-**tu** $_{HEAD}$]$_{DEPENDENT}$-^{II}**na**$_{HEAD}$]   'parasitic-plant *Sp.*'
      dolphin-vagina-hair

3 THE NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases house two types of dependents, all pre-head: simple and complex. Simple dependents divide into bound and free. Adjectives are bound, **peruhu-namuto**, 'disused path [lit. old-path]' (**2.1**), as are nouns in argument position of a divalent head — thus representing the intrinsic linkee participant —, (64a). Free word-size dependents comprise nouns, (b), and adverbs, (c). (See in **3.1** hereafter the conditions under which argument nouns occur unbound.) Complex dependents are noun phrases, (d), or postpositional phrases, (e). (It goes without saying that in (b) the dependent noun **unu** occupies in itself a noun phrase locus comparable to that of **Wawiali unu** in (d).) All the above, excepted the noun as argument of a divalent head, are modifiers (**3.15**). (Stress hierarchisation takes place between the bound argument noun and the head, chapter **10: PHONOLOGY 5**.)

(64) (a)   [[**Sikuani-**]^{II}**kuene**]   'the Sikuani people's ways'
            Sikuani-acts/behaviour

      (b)   [[**unu**] ^{I}**nakua**]   'jungle region'
            jungle   territory

      (c)   [[**ahena**] **matakabi**]   'nowadays'
            to-day   day/light/time

      (d)   [[[**Wawiali**]   **unu**]   **nakua**]
            W.   jungle   territory
            'the region of the Guaviare-river jungle'

      (e)   [[[**yahewi**]   **yaniwa**]   **piha-wahi**]
            MonstersOfTheJungle   PREVENTIVE   3POSSESSOR-prayer
            'his prayer against the monsters of the jungle'

Neither free pronouns nor proper nouns occur as heads of lexically-complex noun phrases, with the exception of a proper noun when modified by the adjective **pepo-**, as seen in **2.1** above.

3.1 GENITIVES

The dependent noun fills the position of a genitive. The head-noun arity dictates the syntactic status of the dependent noun: modifier with a monovalent head, (65a), argument with a divalent head, (b). Semantically, the participant surfacing as modifier can be a possessor or

any other type of meaning that genitives usually convey (location, substance, content, etc.), while the argument uniquely expresses an intrinsic linkee.

(65) (a) **unu $^{\text{I}}$nakua**   'jungle region'   (b) **Sikuani-$^{\text{II}}$kuene**   'Sikuani's ways'
           jungle-territory   Sikuani-acts/behaviour

We know from **2.2.1.2** that such difference is the morphological purview of the two distinct series of personal prefixes, there called long — typically but not exclusively for the possessor role — and short — for the intrinsic-linkee role. See both in (66a). The dependent noun of a $^{\text{I}}$head can co-occur with the long series — obligatorily co-indexed — provided it represents a possessor which, moreover, is referential (66b); compare this example with (65a). Among the very few documented exceptions we have (c).

(66) (a) **piha-nakua**   'his land'
             pe-kuene   'his ways'

     (b) **Yamaxünü$_1$**   **piha$_1$-wakapa**   'Thunder's club'
             (MasterOf)Thunder 3POSSESSOR-club

     (c) **merawi$_1$**   **piha$_1$-huameto**   'moon'
             night   3POSSESSOR-aster

Parallely, the dependent noun of a $^{\text{II}}$head can co-occur, under co-indexation, with the short series, (67). The intrinsic linkee's referentiality seems to also be involved, but in a less clear-cut fashion, often interferring with other functional dimensions — animacy-related — of the dependent noun. Thus, we have a referential argument in (a) through (c), but a nonreferential one in (d).

(67) (a) **Yamaxünü$_1$**   **pe$_1$-wünü**   **Turu**
             Thunder   3INTRINSIKLINKEE-name   T.
             'Thunder's name is Turu.'

     (b) **Belutuawa$_1$**   **pe$_1$-barüpa**   '(late) Belutuawa's jawbone (her
             Belutuawa   3INTRINSIKLINKEE-jawbone   daughter makes a shovel out of
             it)'

     (c) **Kopipito$_1$** **pe$_1$-momowi**   'Kopipito's grand-children'
             Kopipito   3INTRINSIKLINKEE-GrandChildren

     (d) **newüthü-momowi**   'the clan of the jaguar'
             jaguar-GrandChildren

The common noun **kopipito**, 'mosquito *Sp.*', is the eponym of the old man Kopipito; **kopipito-momowi** would mean, consistently with (d), 'the clan of the (generic) mosquito'.

The syntactic status of both forms embodying the genitive — noun, prefix — is better seen as what I suggest to call *distributed exponence of one and the same syntactic relation*, after Steele 1989 on the grammatical subject in Luiseño: here, the dependent surfaces as either a noun, (65), or a prefix, (66a), or simultaneously distributed over a noun and a prefix, (66b)-(67a).

Considering that here I subsume *argument* and *modifier* under the label *syntactic relation*, this appears to be in the spirit of a mid-way option between

1. noun-phrases-as-arguments and affixes-as-agreement (most generativist accounts), and

2. affixes-as-arguments and noun-phrases-as-adjuncts (equivalently: appositions; Jelinek 1984, Baker 1995, Mithun 2003).

In Haspelmath's (2017) renderings, "the double expression view" is tantamount to my *distributed exponence*; "the virtual-agreement view" is so to 1.; and "the bound-argument view" is so to 2.

As this author notes, the equivalent of my distributed exponence — his "double expression view" seems to stand counter the widespread ban on one single argument-mapping onto more than one overt element. Something that could more appropriately be articulated as a ban on more than one overt element of the same formal nature, *e.g.* two bound forms, two noun phrases (apposition obviated), etc.

We saw in chapter **2: THE VERB 3** that the insertion of some — not all — clause-level particles between elements unambiguously members of the same verb phrase is attested. The same holds for noun phrases. This is another hint of the loose-constituency character of the language, and a major clue for telling apart compounds from phrases.

(68) (a) [**dunusi**   **pina**   **pe-itaxutoxi**]   **peka-apaxayo**
         pineapple   REPORTATIVE   3INSTRINSICLINKEE-LittleEyes   CONSECUTIVE-BeMany
         'Therefore the pineapple little eyes are many, they$_0$ say.'

      (b) [**baharaponü**   **baha**   **piha-wa**]
         ThatMan   BOUNDARYCROSSING   3POSSESSOR-FEMENINE
         'that man's wife'

(Also, (4) above. For a discourse perspective on these percolating particles, see chapter **9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 4.1**.)

(69) illustrates internally-hierarquized dependent noun phrases, often found in toponyms (see **3.2** hereafter for a different internal structure in complex dependents).

(69) [[[**Kaliawiri**]   **iboto**] **nakua**]   'the region of the Kaliawiri rock'
         Kaliawiri   rock   region/world

      [[[**Wawiali**] **unu**]   **nakua**]   'the region of the Guaviare (river) jungle'
         Guaviare   jungle   territory

The last issue to be addressed before turning to numeral noun phrases is the status of two grammatical bound-forms reviewed above. There is no question that the mirative =**he** is a clitic, according to its versatility as to the constituents able to phonologically host it. Now, the restrictive **wü**- (**2.2.1.4**) and the demonstrative **pa**- (**2.2.1.1**) have been labelled prefixes in spite of what will be illustrated here, to wit, their capacity for occurring as phrase affixes. Examples are (70) and (71) respectively. Thus, examples (a) feature the restrictive and the

demonstrative as phrase prefixes, while examples (b) display, respectively, prefixes on a genitive and on a postposition argument. The data oscillate, however. The cooccurrence of the demonstrative and the adjective substantiates the phrase-clitic status of the former, (72).

(70) (a) **wü-[sewesewe   ünüboto]   ukubabiaba**
           RESTRICTIVE-Vine*Sp.*   vine   HeWasCuttingIt
           'He was cutting a mere vine *Sp.* (instead of an anaconda).'

      (b) [[**wü-dowathi**]   **bitsaüto**]
           RESTRICTIVE-ghost   herd
           'a herd of nothing but ghosts'

(71) (a) **pa-[Kuwai   liwaisi-tha]   Tsawaliwalinü   koxitatsi**
           DEMONSTRATIVE-K.   story-SOCIATIVE   Ts.   SheWasMadePregnant
           'In that story about Kuwai Tsawaliwalinü made her pregnant.'

      (b)   [[**bahara-pa-dunusito**]   **nekoni**]
           DISTAL-DEMONSTRATIVE-pineapple   fault
           'It's that pineapple's fault.'

(72) **pa-[tsikiri-bokobü-yo**]   **ba-tane-tsi**
      DEMONSTRATIVE-small-lizard-DIMINUTIVE   HABITUAL-see-4NOMINATIVE
      'We used to see that small lizard.'

3.2 THE NUMERAL PHRASE

Phrases containing numeral expressions beyond 'one' and 'two' — adjectives, as we know — are made of a head noun flanked by the demonstrative **pa-** and **-behe** not as dual but in its original nominal sense 'a set of items', see evidence for that hereafter in (75). No pluralising suffix **-nü** occurs. The counting expression precedes, either 1) a relatively opaque nominalized verb for three and four, (73a), or, above four, 2) a more or less complex nominal expression combining fingers, toes, hands, and feet, (b). Characteristically, with a [II]noun head the demonstrative leaves out the person prefix, (a) and further below (75a).

(73) (a) **akueyabi   pa-[II]nahato-behe**
           three   DEMONSTRATIVE-SmallRiver-set
           'three small rivers'

(In **akueyabi** one might recognize something like 'lacking a competitor'.)

      (b) **aniha-kobe-behe   kae-taxu-behe   aniha-taxuwüsito   pa-hiwi-behe**
           two-hand-set   one-foot-set   two-toe   DEM-people-set
           'seventeen people'

Traditional counting systems that involve such use of the human body are sometimes described as allowing for the expression of numbers beyond, say, twenty or thirty or more. Plausibly, in linguistic communities of the kind here dealt with, the mental activities of estimating and gauging are socially more valuable than counting *stricto sensu*. It goes without saying that sequences like (73) become soon unworkable as they get longer and longer. It is therefore important to distinguish between the *theoretical generative capacity* of a given

counting system and its *practical generative capacity*: respectively, a given speaker's ability to play with abstract objects *vs.* the expressions actually uttered in everyday life. What I am providing in this section must mainly be seen as the outcome of elicitation.

The gestural dimension is capital in the activity of counting, and some description may be found in Queixalós (1998 129-135).

Adjectives, directly bound to the head noun — **-NOUN** below —, contribute the first two numbers:

1   **kae-NOUN**

2   **aniha-NOUN-behe ~ nahua-NOUN-behe**

From there on, the demonstrative prefix is mandatory between the dependent element and the head noun, a highly idiosyncratic distribution. The two next numbers rely on more or less irregular participle-like formatives (chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 3**). (74) is a real example.

3   [[**akueyabi**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]

4   [[**penayanatsi**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]

(**Nayanata**: 'keep company'.)

(74) **akueyabi   pa-huameto-behe   pona   pairareka**
      three   DEMONSTRATIVE-moon-set   go   DownThisLand
      'They walked down this territory for three months.'

Unsurprisingly, body parts come up at 'five' with **kobe**, 'hand'.

5   [[**waha-kobe-mataharanae**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'our thumb' — *i.e.* 'hand excrescence' — …

6   [[**itsa-kobe-ya berena**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'coming through the other hand' …

7   [[**waha-kaitaropitsi**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'our index finger' — *i.e.* 'the instrument for pointing' — …

8   [[**tuatuahüpihi kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'middle finger' — *i.e.* 'the center-denizen finger' — ...

9   [[**pekanua-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'ring finger' — *i.e.* 'mid-sized finger' — ...

10   [[**tsikiri-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
      'little finger' ...

(**Kobesito**, 'finger', present in 8, 9, 10, but missing in 7.)

As the square brackets show, in terms of internal structure these noun phrases clearly respond to the normal pattern [[dependent] + head] seen so far. The following numbers, however, feature a more-than-one-word dependent whose internal components seem to be just concatenated, *i.e.* displaying neither dependence nor apposition. They can be assumed to be instances of unmarked coordination (*cf.* below **3.4.2**).

With 'eleven' one pulls to the feet as though one had started there, since the hand will now be used to complement the feet. The first word means 'two feet'.

11 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **tsikiri-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'little finger' ...

12 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **aniha-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'two fingers' ...

13 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **akueyabi pa-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'three fingers' ...

14 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **penayanatsi**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'four fingers' ...

15 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **waha-kobe-mataharanae**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'our thumb' …

From 'sixteen' to 'nineteen', the second word means 'one hand'.

16 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **kae-kobe-behe** **tsikiri-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'little finger' ...

17 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **kae-kobe-behe** **aniha-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'two fingers ...

18 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **kae-kobe-behe** **akueyabi pa-kobesito**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'three fingers' ...

19 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **kae-kobe-behe** **penayanatsi**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'four' ...

20 [[**aniha-taxu-behe** **aniha-kobe-behe**] **pa-NOUN-behe**]
'two hands' …

In all the above expressions -**behe**, 'set of items', significantly triggers the singular on number-sensitive verbs. The following excerpt from the genesis displays a singular agreement with its nominative argument 'three-egg set' in (75a). Then the speaker anaphorically resumes the argument in (b) and — abiding by the meaning — has the verb agree with the plural meaning.

(75) (a) **akueyabi** **pa-tobü-to-behe** **saya** **boka** **nakuatha**
three DEM-egg-SINGULATIVE-set CASUALLY lieSINGULAR InTheWorld
'Three eggs were just lying in the world.'

(b) **irahawa   pina   saya   bobena**
OnTheGround   REPORTATIVE   CASUALLY   liePLURAL
'They were just (there) lying on the ground, they$_0$ say.'

3.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES: A PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL

Relative clauses represent a special type of a modifier dependent within the noun phrase. Reversing the order between head and dependent, they are post-nominal and, importantly, finite, as (76) shows — mood ending and nominative suffix. As noun phrase dependents, finiteness differentiates them from verb nominalizations (chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES**). The noun, head of the noun phrase, is introduced by the demonstrative in its cataphoric use. Follows the clause of which the whole noun phrase is an argument. All this will be closely brought up in chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.2**.

(76) (a) **pa-petiriwa$_1$ Ø$_1$-pi-ta-me**
DEMONSTRATIVE-woman   3ACCUSATIVE-catch-REALIS-2NOMINATIVE
'You took that woman$_1$.'

(b) **[pa-petiriwa$_1$ [Ø$_1$-hitsi-pa-me]]$_2$ Ø$_2$-pi-ta-me**
DEMONSTRATIVE-woman   3ACC-want-REAL-2NOM   3ACC-catch-REAL-2NOM
'You took [the woman$_1$ you liked]$_2$.'

3.4 PHRASE SEQUENCES

Syntactically-"flat" sequences of noun phrases comprise apposition and coordination. Two apposed or coordinated noun phrases share the same syntactic position vis-à-vis the predicate. Coreference tells apart both kinds of sequences.

3.4.1 APPOSITION

Two types of coreferring appositive noun phrases materialise the double-faced process that underlies the semantic notion of *participant*: 1. modelling the type of entity; and 2. delimiting the range of referents. This gives way to the functional distinction beetween *descriptive* and *restrictive* apposition, respectively.

    In descriptive apposition the first noun phrase is highly referential — often a pronominal form —, while the second noun phrase contributes with a bundle of properties, an entity type, characterising the referent involved, (77a)-(b). Such depictive function explains why a favoured second term tends to be a nominalised verb, (c). (I will refrain from using commas since all examples are not equally clear as to prosody in the original recordings.)

(77) (a) **bahara-saya   ø-itsi-ø$_1$ [pamonae]$_1$ [Kuwai-monae]$_1$**
DISTAL-CASUALLY   3ACC-do-3NOM   ThesePeople   Kuwai-group
'These were the ways of these people, Kuwai's people.'

(b) **[waxaitsi]$_1$ [Sikuani hiwixi]$_1$ ø-yapütane-tsi$_1$**
1INCLUSIVE   Sikuani   LittlePeople   3ACCUSATIVE-know-4NOMINATIVE
'We$_1$, the Sikuani people$_1$, we$_1$ know (that).'

(c) **kaniwiyo   [baharapamonae]$_1$ [penaruhaitsiwi]$_1$ nawiabarubena-ø$_1$**
evening   ThesePeople   hunters   returnPLURAL-3NOM
'In the evening these people$_1$, the hunters$_1$, returned.'

At the opposite, restrictive apposition occurs with an initial noun phrase denoting an entity. The second noun phrase, often a proper name, narrows down the reference.

(78) [**peruhuwa**]$_1$ [**Ibaruawa**]$_1$ **ba-peka-tsia-ø**$_1$
OldWoman   Ibaruawa   HABITUAL-CONSECUTIVE-GoUp-3NOMINATIVE
'Consequently an old woman$_1$, Ibaruawa$_1$, used to go up (there).'

Sequences above two apposed noun phrases are not unfrequent. Both types of apposition, depictive and restrictive, can combine, the case in (79). (Grand-father and grand-mother are classicatory kinship terms.)

entity   referent   referent   entity
↓   ↓   ↓   ↓

(79) (a) [**wamo**]$_1$ [**ponü**]$_1$ [**Ophaebü**]$_1$ [**merawi   peponaponaenü**]$_1$…
OurForefather   3MASC   Paca   night   wanderer

…**ø**$_1$-**pünaitorobiana-tsi**$_2$
3ACCUSATIVE-WillSendBehind-4NOMINATIVE
'Let's$_2$ send our forefather$_1$, him$_1$, Paca$_1$, who$_1$ walks at night, in pursuit (of Kinkajou).'

referent   entity   entity   referent
↓   ↓   ↓   ↓

(b) **baharapowa**   **peruhuwa**   **pame**   **Belutuawa** **patabiaba**
That woman   old woman   grand-mother   Belutuawa   Come REPEATEDLY
'That woman, old woman, grand-mother, Belutuawa, came in repeatedly.'

3.4.2 COORDINATION

Noncoreferring noun phrases may be coordinated by means of either mere concatenation or overt exponence. Differently from apposed noun phrases, these incrementally-juxtaposed noun phrases bring into existence a higher nominal unitary constituent, (80a) (I will hereafter, with example (87c), point to one piece of counter-evidence to this generalisation). In this manner the asyndetic type aptly accounts for the lexically-complex dependents in numeral phrases (**3.2** above). As a reminder, see 'sixteen hens' in (b):

(80) (a) [**taxapihinümi**$_1$ **itsahiwixi**$_2$]$_3$ **nawiabarena-ø**$_3$
MyLateFather   OtherPeople   ComeBackPLURAL-3NOMINATIVE
'My late father$_1$ and others$_2$ came back.'

(b) [[**aniha-taxu-behe**   **kae-kobe-behe** **tsikiri-kobesito**] **pa-wakara-behe**]
two-foot-set   one-hand-set   little-finger   DEM-hens-set
'sixteen hens [lit. a two feet (and) one hand (and) a little finger hens;
more lit. a set of hens (made) of two feet, (and) one hand, (and) a little finger].'

Three distinct overt forms are recruited for marking coordination: the additive =**atha**, -**behe** — etymologically 'set, together' — that we have met as dual, and as a subtype of sociative case (**2.2.2.4** and **2.2.6**), and **nua**, a postpositive particle (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES**).

(81) [**tahamonae**$_1$ **taena**$_2$**-atha**] **piha**$_3$**-hume** **apoyapütae**$_{1\&2}$…
    MyFamily MyMother-ADDITIVE 3POSSESSOR-language TheyDidNotKnowIt
    'My family$_1$ and even my mother$_2$ did not know their$_3$ language, … '

  …**patamo** **hiwi**$_3$ **piha**$_3$**-hume** […]
    OurAncestor people 3POSSESSOR-language
  '…(that is,) our ancestors'$_3$ language […]. '

As for **-behe**, two unbalanced patterns and one balanced are attested: 1. either conjunct can host de coordinative marker, with no functional difference detected so far, (82a) and (b); or 2. both conjuncts can simultaneously host it, (c).

(82) (a) **itsamatakabi** [**itsanü**$_1$ **pihawa**$_2$-behe] **kamahita-Ø**$_{1\&2}$**-behe**
      OneDay AMan HisWife-COORD overnight-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
      'One day a man$_1$ and his wife$_2$ overnighted$_{1\&2}$ (in the woods).'

    (b) [**petiriwayo**$_1$-behe **pena**$_2$] **nawane-Ø**$_{1\&2}$**-behe**
      LittleGirl-COORDINATIVE HerMother bathe-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
      'The little girl$_1$ and her mother$_2$ bathed$_{1\&2}$.'

    (c) [**materi**$_1$**-behe** **tsoko**$_2$**-behe**] **ukuba-Ø**$_{1\&2}$**-behe** **ünüboto**
      squirrel-COORD woodpecker-COORD chop-3NOME-DUAL Vine*Sp.*
      'Squirrel$_1$ and woodpecker$_2$ chopped$_{1\&2}$ up the vine.'

Nominative noun phrases are favoured as coordinated conjuncts. Less frequently, accusatives, (83a), and genitives, (b), can be coordinated likewise (see below for a restriction on genitives). Note in (a) the plural (*i.e.* diffuse) form of the verb. Adjuncts are banned from -**behe** coordination.

(83) (a) **Ø**$_{1\&2}$**-koniba-hü** [**awiri**$_1$**-behe** **marano**$_2$**-behe**]
      3ACC-whipPLURAL-1NOM dog-COORDINATIVE pig-COORDINATIVE
      'I whipped both the dog$_1$ and the pig$_2$. '

(Elicited example.)

    (b) [**busuto**$_1$ **metsaha**$_2$**-behe**] **pe**$_{1\&2}$**-liwaisi**]
      toad tapir-COORDINATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-story
      'the story of the toad$_1$ and the tapir$_2$'

Coordination and apposition can combine in that order, the latter being used as a wrap-up device resuming the whole of the coordinated conjuncts.

(84) [**Liwinai**$_1$**-behe** **Tsamani**$_2$**-behe**], **baharaponü-behe**$_{1\&2}$…
    L.-COORDINATIVE T.-COORDINATIVE ThatMan-DUAL
    'Liwinai$_1$ and Tsamani$_2$, those two$_{1\&2}$, …'

  …**pina** **newahüsi** **ø-nota-Ø**$_{1\&2}$**-behe**
    REPORTATIVE ManiocCuttings 3ACCUSATIVE-gather-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
  '…they gathered$_3$ manioc cuttings.'

This example leads us to discuss the issue of how, on formal grounds, the coordinative suffix can be distinguished from its "homophonous" dual and oblique-case suffixes.

The dual and the coordinative differ in their distribution, ultimately their semantic scope. The dual bears on only one noun phrase, while the coordinative does so on two noun phrases. Thus, on common nouns the coordinative connects *two* denotations (entity types), as in (82b) and (c), whereas the dual involves *one* denotation, (85).

(85) **Kawiri-behe$_1$ pona-ø$_1$-behe**
       Kawiri-DUAL   go-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
       'Both Kawiris [ethnonym] went away.'

Two properties differentiate the coordinative **-behe** and the oblique-case marker **-behe** I called kin sociative (**2.2.6**). First, the presence of the oblique case-marked noun phrase does not launch number agreement, be it dual, or plural in verbs endowed with such capacity: in (86), renumbered from (49b), the verb number is impervious to the plural 'these people'.

(86) **Yokopi$_1$ nuka-ø$_1$ pamonae$_2$-behe**
       Yokopi   standsSINGULAR-3NOMINATIVE   ThesePeople-KINSOCIATIVE
       'Yokopi$_1$ stands (there) with these people$_2$.'

Second, the oblique **-behe** doest not coordinate adjuncts. Third, while no constraint obtains on the mutual contiguity of adjuncts, coordinate argument noun-phrases are contiguous, excepting when clause-level particles percolate into what I called above a *higher nominal unitary constituent*, (87a), as they do into single noun phrases (section **3**). Accordingly, they should move as a whole, something manifest if we compare (87a)-(b). This, however, is challenged by (c) — in truth, a *hapax legomenon* in the whole set of data — where only one of the coordinated noun phrases occurs dislocated postverbally.

(87) (a) [**Liwinai$_1$-behe**   pina   baha   **Tsamani$_2$-behe**]$_{1\&2}$...
            L.-COORDINATIVE   REPORTATIVE   BOUNDARYCROSSING   Ts.-COORDINATIVE
            'Liwinai$_1$ and Tsamani$_2$...'

            ...**nayanihobabiaba-ø$_{1\&2}$-behe:** [...]
            AskEACHOTHERITERATIVELY-3NOMINATIVE-dual
            '...used to ask each other$_{1\&2}$: [...], they$_0$ say.'

     (b) **nawiatsiana-ø$_3$-behe**   [**penakuenebinü$_1$ peyakinaenü$_2$-behe**]$_{1\&2}$
            WillReturn-3NOM-DUAL   worker   writer-COORD
            'The worker$_1$ and the writer$_2$ will$_{1\&2}$ return$_3$.'

     (c) [**pebi**$_{NOMINATIVE}$]$_1$ **pina**   **butha**   **ruka-ø$_{1\&2}$-behe**...
            man   REPORTATIVE   InAHammock   ¹hang-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL

            ...[**penahaetabihiribiwa**$_{NOMINATIVE}$]$_2$-**behe**
            RanAwayGirl-COORDINATIVE
            'The man$_1$ and the ran-away girl$_2$ were$_{1\&2}$ lying in the hammock.'

The three functional facets of **-behe** — dual, (kin-)sociative and coordinative — map onto sufficiently distinct formal correlates to safely be acknowledged as distinct morphemes. Since they undeniably point at a common lexical precursor, nominal 'set', or adverbial 'together', I

conjecture a noticeable case of ramified grammaticalisation. Beyond that, in a few functional aspects **-behe** seems to compete with a second coordinative element to be addressed now: the postpositive particle **nua** (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.3**). This might further suggest that the grammaticalisation of **-behe** is still an ongoing process, to which some amount of distributional inconsistency might be a clue.

　　Compared with **-behe**, **nua** is infrequent in spontaneous speech, and several of the following assessments are based on elicited data. Its coordinative use seems to stem from a discursive function whereby some entity is simply appended to the ongoing narrative episode. As such, it does not need to be formally connected to the preceding grammatical apparatus. Thus in (88a) the first inhabitants of the world discovered the All-Crop Tree as they went on the track of Kinkajou's nocturnal expeditions. While the latter is eating every kind of vegetal food up above, the others, beneath, eat his leftovers. Eventually someone thinks of asking for chili pepper. More generally, taking one's turn in conversation favours such pragmatically-driven use of **nua** with a clause-initial noun phrase, (b). Noncontiguity between coordinated noun phrases yielding an afterthought flavour to the second one is another consequence of the same functional component, (c).

(88)　(a)　**Kihohai-ø$_1$,** 　　　　　　**kihohai,**　**kihohai.** ...
　　　　　　SwallowLoudly-3NOMINATIVE　*id.*　　　*id.*
　　　　　　'He$_1$ (Kinkajou) was swallowing loudly. ...'

　　　　... - **Nonohi**　　**nua**　**bo!**　　　　**hai-ø$_2$**　　　　**pina.** ...
　　　　　　ChiliPepper　too　EXCLAMATIVE　say-3NOMINATIVE　REPORTATIVE
　　　　'... - (Drop) some chili pepper too! he$_2$ (Morrocoy Turtle) said, they$_2$ said.'

　　　　... - **Ahibi**　　**raha**　　**bo!**　　　**hai-ø$_1$**　　　　**pina.**
　　　　　　NotExist　ASSERTIVE　EXCLAMATIVE　say-3NOMINATIVE　REPORTATIVE
　　　　　　'There is no such thing! he$_1$ (Kinkajou) said, he$_3$ said.'

　　(b)　**Nonohitiyo**　　　**nua**　**ne-rahutsi-ena-me**
　　　　　　LittleChiliPepper　too　1ACCUSATIVE-give-FUTURE-2NOMINATIVE
　　　　　' Give me a little chili pepper too, please!'

(Visitor asking for gifts.)

　　(c)　**dopatubinü**　　**[pebisiakuene]**　**naka-to-heba-ø,**　　　**[wanali**　　**nua]**
　　　　　　shaman　　　　　WeirdThings　　　4ACC-INVOLV-put-3NOM　　talisman　too
　　　　　　'The shaman bestowed us weird things, as well as a talisman.'

As fully coordinative, **nua** either follows the second conjunct noun phrase, (89a), or both, (b). It launches the dual on the predicate.

(89)　(a)　**[powayo$_1$**　**pena$_2$**　　**nua]$_{1\&2}$**　　　　**nuka-ø$_{1\&2}$-behe**
　　　　　　ThatGirl　　HerMother　COORDINATIVE　^{I}stand SINGULAR-3NOM-DUAL
　　　　　　'That girl$_1$ and her mother$_2$ were$_{1\&2}$ standing (there).'

　　(b)　**[petiriwa$_1$**　**nua**　　**pebi$_2$**　**nua]$_{1\&2}$**　　　**makoko-ø$_{1\&2}$-behe**
　　　　　　woman　　　COORD　man　　COORDINATIVE　Bird*Sp.*-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
　　　　　　'The woman$_1$ and the man$_2$ are$_{1\&2}$ both birds *Sp.*'

*[powayo nua pena] nuka-ø-behe

Nominative noun phrases are, again, privileged for coordination. Coordinating accusative noun phrases with **nua** seems to trigger clause coordination, (90a) (see more in chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 1**). **Nua** can coordinate adjuncts, differently from **-behe**, (b), as well as genitive dependent noun phrases, (c). Coordinated genitives must be arguments of a [II]head noun, *i.e.* exponents of an intrinsic linkee participant. This holds for **-behe** coordination as well, (83b) resumed here as (d), but further elicited evidence is here called for. As (c) shows — anticipating clause coordination, chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 1** —, **nua** adds a sense of distributivity, compare with (d).

(90) (a) **amo$_1$**   **owebi$_2$**   **ø$_2$-upaxuaba-ø$_1$**…
           MyGrandfather   deer   3ACCUSATIVE-spear-3NOMINATIVE
           'My grandfather speared a deer,…'

      …**metsaha$_3$**   **nua**   **ø$_3$-upaxuaba-ø$_1$**
         tapir   COORDINATIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-spear-3NOMINATIVE
         '…he also speared a tapir.'

      (b) **Yokopi**   **asiwa-ø$_1$**   **bonü**...
           Yokopi   HeCaresFor   houses
           'Yokopi cares for the houses...'

      ...**[pihatomara$_1$-xae   pihanakua$_2$-xae   nua]$_{1\&2}$**
         HisVillage-CAUSE   HisCountry-CAUSE   COORD
         '...since these$_{1\&2}$ are his village$_1$ and his country$_2$.'

      (c) **busuto$_1$**   **metsaha$_2$** **nua**   **pe$_{1/2}$-liwaisi**
           toad   tapir   COORDINATIVE   3INTRINSICLINKEE
           'the story of the toad and the story of the tapir'

(Two stories.)

      (d) [[**busuto$_1$**   **metsaha$_2$-behe**]$_3$ **pe$_3$-liwaisi**]
             toad   tapir-COORDINATIVE   3INTRINSICLINKEE- story
             'the story of the toad and the tapir'

(One story.)

4 SUMMARY

A distinction is made from the outset between the notions *entity* and *referent*, something heavily relevant when it comes to the formal behaviour of nouns. The most interesting split as to lexical subclasses hinges on valence. The so-called contrast between alienable / inalienable nouns is here recast as one between monovalent / divalent nouns, something that accounts in a fathomable manner for the internal structure of noun phrases — modifier *vs.* argument genitives — and crucial aspects of nominalisations. The other lexically-based distinction, generating far less formal impact on morphology and syntax, is a classificatory subsystem based on combinatorial requirements between nouns and body-posture verbs. Noun

classification encompassing *both* gender and classifier morphology is noteworthy, as well as the role of these two semantic dimensions on quantification matters.