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Salient morphosyntactic patterns of Iñapari

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Abstract

Iñapari is an Arawak language spoken by four siblings in the village of Sabaluyoc along the Las Piedras River in the department of Madre de Dios, Peru. In catalogs and other literature, Iñapari is often incorrectly classified as being (possibly) extinct. In response to the lack of information on the language, an intensive five-week field research scenario in July 2019 was conducted with the primary goal of ascertaining the vitality of the language and, if possible, collecting information and materials about its morphosyntax. Information was recorded through elicitation, conversation, and naturalistic storytelling. It is hoped that this sketch will contribute to the understanding of Iñapari specifically, and its favorable valuation as a linguistic resource for its speakers generally.

Resúmen

Iñapari es un idioma arawak hablado por cuatro hermanos en el pueblo de Sabaluyoc a lo largo del río Las Piedras, en el departamento de Madre de Dios, Perú. En catálogos y otras publicaciones, el iñapari es a menudo incorrectamente clasificado como (posiblemente) extinto. En respuesta a la falta de información, se llevó a cabo un escenario intensivo de investigación de campo de cinco semanas de duración en julio de 2019 con el objetivo principal de determinar la vitalidad del idioma y, de ser posible, recopilar información y recursos sobre su morfosintaxis. Los datos se obtuvieron mediante elicitación, conversación y narración espontánea. Se espera que la presente descripción contribuya a los estudios de Iñapari y la valoración favorable como recurso lingüístico para sus hablantes.

1. Overview

Iñapari (ISO 639-3 Code: *inp*; Glottolog Code: *inap1243*) is a critically endangered Arawak language spoken by four siblings in the village of Sabaluyoc along the Las Piedras River in the department of Madre de Dios, Peru. For information about the linguistic ecology and background of the language and its speakers see Rogers (2020). A handful of resources have been published on the language which discuss various synchronic and diachronic

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aspects of the grammar, though descriptions of the morphosyntax are in their infancy (see the discussion below).

It is generally accepted that Iñapari belongs to the Southwestern subgroup of the Arawak language family (also called the Piro-Apurinã or Purus subgroup), along with at least two other languages: Yiné and Apurinã (Aikhenvald 1999: 68; Facundes 2000:673; Valenzuela 1991; Hanson 2010; Payne 1991: 364; Parker 1999; de Carvalho 2021). The family relationship is shown in Figure 1.

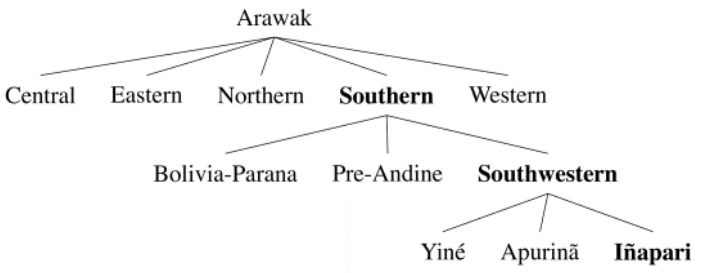

Figure 1. Arawak language family highlighting the Southwestern subgroup.

In catalogues and other literature, Iñapari is often classified as being (possibly) extinct (Aikhenvald 1999; Payne 1991) though the Peruvian Ministry of Culture correctly indicates that there are four speakers of the language in their *Base de datos de pueblos indígenas u originarios*.[1] Most of the information about this language has been derived from one grammatical sketch with accompanying Spanish-Iñapari and Iñapari-Spanish vocabularies (Parker 1995). This grammatical sketch is an invaluable resource produced in conjunction with SIL International and is based on data collected from just one speaker, Jorge Trigoso Silvano, who is the oldest of the surviving four Iñapari speaking siblings. Parker (1995 and 1999) lays out the basic properties of the phonology and morphosyntax and presents what is likely to be elicited language data and a few short texts with Spanish translations. In-depth analyses of both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships in all areas of the grammar are missing, and present a significant gap in our understanding of Iñapari. The field notes and audio recordings on which these resources are based have recently been made available in the California Language Archive (Trigoso Silvano & Parker 2020-12; though this was not available to me before or during the fieldwork reported on here). Two other short wordlists of the language are also available (Hart & Russell 1956; Stiglich 1904). Each contains only a handful of Iñapari words translated into Spanish. Stiglich

[1] https://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/pueblos/inapari (accessed 2021-05-20)

(1904) is an overview of the social, political, religious, ethnographic, and geographic contexts of the eastern jungle regions of Peru. The information includes a catalogue of 190 indigenous groups present in the eastern part of Peru at that time and is offset by wordforms in only a few languages. Twenty-two Iñapari words are listed, though the source of the Iñapari information is not indicated. Hart & Russell (1956), working as SIL linguists, collected 73 elicited wordforms using a Swadesh wordlist questionnaire. All of the data in these sources has been replicated in Parker (1995), which has stood as the most comprehensive database of information on Iñapari to date.

2. Salient Phonological Characteristics

The goal of the fieldwork on which this report is based was preliminary with the expectation of completing a more comprehensive description of the language along with the support of ongoing revitalization efforts. The main linguistic goals were to record and describe some of the salient morphosyntactic behaviors of the language, but a few aspects of Iñapari phonology have also been observed and are included here. A thorough description of Iñapari phonology has been published previously (Parker 1999), and the current fieldwork mostly confirms that description. However, a few differences can be noted.

2.1 Consonants

Iñapari has the consonant phonemes in Table 1.

Table 1: Iñapari Consonant Inventory

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Alveopalatal**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Stop	p	t			k	ʔ
Affricate			tʃ			
Fricative		s				h
Nasal sonorant	m	n				
Non-nasal sonorant		r				
		(l)				
	ʋ			j		

This inventory is slightly different compared to the one presented in Parker (1999). The eight most salient differences between the two data sources are discussed in the following sections.

2.1.1 The inclusion and distribution of [ʔ]

Parker (1999:2) suggests that [ʔ] only occurs word-medially in the data he has collected. However, my data indicate that [ʔ] is present morpheme-initially lexically and then is lenited or deleted if it occurs word-initially. This can be observed in the variation of the pronominal prefixes (the paradigm is discussed below). These prefixes have two allomorphs: one for consonant-initial stems and one for vowel-initial stems. This is shown in conjunction with verbs in (1) with the first-person singular prefix *no-/n-*.[2]
Predictable variation in person prefixes

(1a) *no-ni'a-ri* 'I eat it'
(1b) *no-potrani-ru* 'I play music'
(1c) *n-eta-ri* 'I see it'
(1d) *n-atʃìpiputu-rí* 'I kiss him'

Phonologically, this could be analyzed as the deletion of the prefix vowel before vowel-initial stems (as in Parker 1999: 176). However, some vowel-initial stems use the consonant-initial allomorph of the prefix, as in (2) (see also Parker 1999: 179).

Vowel-initial stems showing consonant-initial person prefix variant

(2a) *no-atʃi-rí* 'I sweep/clean it'
(2b) *no-uya-ri* 'I shake it out'
(2c) *no-unu'a-ri* 'I want it'
(2d) *no-ere'a* 'I get down (from a height)' (cf. Spanish 'me bajo')

This inconsistency is phonologically unpredictable, as it occurs for all vowel qualities, stress positions, or the number of syllables of the stem. However, in every case when the consonant-initial prefix is used in conjunction with a vowel-initial stem, a phonetic [ʔ] is articulated between the prefix and the

[2] All Iñapari language forms are presented using the International Phonetic Alphabet. Note that the acute accent marks syllabic prominence unless otherwise indicated (see section 2.3). Every Iñapari word has one prominent syllable. Abbreviations are: 1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; AFF – affirmative; AN - agent noun; CAUS – causative; CL – classifier; CONTR - contrastive emphasis; DEF – definite; DEM – demonstrative; DESI – desiderative; DIM – diminutive; F – feminine; FUT – future; IMP – imperative; ITER – iterative; IV – non-activity intransitive verb class marker; M – masculine; NDEF - non-definite; NEG – negative; NEUT – neutral gener; NFUT- non-future; NVOL - non-volitional; OBJ – object; PERF – preferred PL – plural; PN - patient noun; POSS – non-inherent noun possession suffix; QUANT – quantity; RECIP – reciprocal; RELT - relative time; SG – singular; SUBJ – subject; TOP – topic; UPOSS - unpossessed inherent noun suffix; VOL – volitional, * - unacceptable/ungrammatical form, # – pragmatically unusual, but grammatically acceptable.

stem vowel [*noʔatʃîrí*] (as in 2a above). If this was an insertion of [ʔ] – say between vowels – there would be no explanation for why it occurs with some vowel-initial stems and not all of them. Thus, because the [ʔ] is phonologically unpredictable in this context, I suggest that it is morphologically predictable. In these stems, there is a morpheme-initial [ʔ] which is deleted (or at least lenited and possible undetected) when it is word-initial. The derivation in (3) is an example of one way this might be analyzed ('-' indicates that a rule does not apply to a particular form).[3]

(3) Sample phonological derivation involving [ʔ] and person prefixes

	no-ʔupíː-ri 'I smash it'	*ʔupíː* 'to smash'	*no-upɨríʔa-ri* 'I cut it'	*upɨríʔa* 'to cut'
[ʔ]→Ø / #___	-	*upíː*	-	-
[no-]→[n-] /__V	-	-	*n-upɨríʔa-ri*	-
	no-ʔupíː-rí	*upíː*	*n-upɨríʔa-ri*	*upɨríʔa*

The stem-initial [ʔ] in this environment is characterized acoustically by lowered intensity and absence of periodic noise in regular speech, and by lowered intensity, absence of periodic noise and glottal pulses in careful speech. Rarely does this include a stop burst.

Furthermore, my preliminary diachronic analysis - based on a comparison to other languages in the Arawak family (see Payne 1991) - suggests that word-initial [ʔ] is a reflex of word-initial *k. A correspondence word-medially between [k] in many other Arawak languages and [ʔ] in Iñapari is well documented (de Carvalho 2021). Similar correspondences are seen with words with initial [ʔ]. I provide two of the many examples of this in (4).

(4) Some Arawak cognates showing [k]-[ʔ] correspondence word-initially in Iñapari

Chamicuro	**Parecis**	**Ignaciano**	**Apurinã**	**Piro**	**Iñapari**	**Gloss**
koti	*kot*	*katʃî*	*katʃî/katĩ*	*katʃî*	*ʔatitʃî*	ant
kahpiʃî	*káhi*	*kapehi*	*kapiʃî*	*kapʃî*	*ʔapii*	coati

[3] By showing this derivation table I am not intending to argue for or against any particular analytical framework. The information can be represented using any phonological theory. My intention rather is to describe how the two requirements for the variants of personal prefixes (presence of [ʔ] in some forms and alternation between their two phonologically predictable forms) can be succinctly understood.

2.1.2 The phonemic status of [l]

Parker (1999) includes [l] in the inventory of the language with the note that 'its phonemic status is highly dubious' because it is restricted to only a few words. My data agree. However, one additional comment is relevant. Maria occasionally has free variation between [r] and [l] where Jorge only ever uses [r]. In some cases, moreover, Maria corrected pronunciations with [l] where Jorge had previously offered [r], suggesting that in these cases the variation was not free (compare (5a) and (5b) to (6a) and (6b) for the two speakers). However, note that these differences are not common and do not seem to be linguistically motivated.

Examples of Maria's use of [l]

(5a) [awítali] 'tree bark'

(5b) *hawa-ra* *l/r-eta-ma* *Fernando*
who-TOP 3SG-see-NFUT.DEF Fernando
Who did Fernando see?

Examples of Jorge's absence of [l]

(6a) [awítari] 'tree bark'

(6b) *hawa-ra* *r-eta-ma* *Fernando*
who-TOP 3SG-see-NFUT.DEF Fernando
Who did Fernando see?

2.1.3 Representation of the voiced bilabial consonant as [ʊ]

Parker (1999) includes [w] as a phonemic consonant in the inventory with an allophone of [b] before [i], [e] and [u]. Instead of including [b] and/or [w] in the inventory, I opt for a unified third option [ʊ]. The reasons for this are that while [b] and [w] are allophones of this sound, there is a range of closures possible, ranging from full closure [b] to partially closed [ʊ] and [β] to open [w]. It is unclear if there is a velar element to the articulation of this sound in my recordings or my impressionistic observations. It does appear to be the case that in pretonic position and relaxed speech this sound is more open but tends to full closure in post-tonic position and careful speech. Some examples of this variation are:

Examples of possible articulations of the voiced bilabial consonant

	Phonemic	Allophonic	Gloss'
(7a)	*tavári*	*taβári*	'chicken'
(7b)	*anavá*	*anavá*	'canoe'
(7c)	*anáva*	*anába*	'them'
(7d)	*anavɨ́*	*anaβɨ́*	'catahua (species of tree)'
(7e)	*hɨɨvá*	*hɨɨwá*	'anteater'

3.1.4 The inclusion of /tʃ/ as contrastive

In the consonant inventory above I have chosen to separate /tʃ/ and /t/ as separate phonemes, contra Parker (1999) where they are treated as allophones of [t]. I do this for two reasons. First, there are clear minimal pairs involving [tʃ] and [t] (as shown also in Parker 1999), as in:

(8) Minimal pairs with [tʃ] and [t]

a.	*tʃĩː*	'land'	*-ti*	UNPOSSESSED INHERENT NOUN
b.	*tʃáː*	'this'	*taʔa*	'to put' (articulated variously as [tʲaʔa] or [taʔa]
c.	*utʃitʃi*	'species of palm tree'	*atitʃi*	'army ant'
d.	*pitʃi*	'nocturnal cricket'	*avúpiti*	'spine'

Second, Parker (1999) argues that because [tʃ] and [t] only occur before [a] and [i], and not before the other vowels [e o u ɨ], they are the consequence of coalescence with [e]. Thus, Parker (1999: 5) suggest the following rules /tei/ → [tʃi] and /tea/ → [tʲa]. He further supports this analysis with the claim that the sequence /tee/ does not occur in the language. However, I have recorded two words that are direct counterevidence to these claims.

[t] before [e]

(9a) [tei] 'to run, hurry'

(9b) [tẽẽ] 'white seagull'

Example (9a) should be [tʃi] following Parker's analysis, and (9b) should be [tʲẽẽ]. However, because such words are uncommon, it could be that such contrasts are a relatively recent development in the language and that these two sounds are reflexes of the same proto-sound. Synchronically, that does not seem to be a necessary element of the language's description. I agree with Parker (1999: 6), that the restricted distribution of [tʃ] and [t] is 'especially curious' and deserves more attention.

Lastly, I analyze /t/ as having two variants: [tʲ] before [a] and [t] everywhere else. Note that this variation is a cline and not categorical in my data. Both Maria and Jorge use [t] or [tʲ] before [a] in some repetitions of the same word. I see this as evidence of language change, perhaps due to borrowing, attrition, or other factors (or a combination of them) since Parker's report.

2.1.5 Frequency of [s]

The phone /s/ is not frequent in Iñapari. Of the 1,500 words collected, 20 have [s] in some context. Parker notes that this sound is word-initial in only two lexical items in his data. However, I have recorded four cases of morpheme-initial [s]; the other 16 words have [s] word/morpheme medially.

Examples with morpheme-initial [s]

(10a)	*-si*	diminutive
(10b)	*sihɨʔa*	'descend, climb down'
(10c)	*seeʔa*	'be angry'
(10d)	*surumaĩ*	'medium-sized bag'

Note that [surumaĩ] is truly the only example of word-initial [s]; all others are in bound elements.

Morpheme-initial [s] used word-medially

(11a)	*hutari-si*	'little rock'
(11b)	*pi-sihiʔa-ma-ʔa*	'You have come down'
(11c)	*no-seeʔa-ma-tu*	'I am angry'

2.1.6 The velar stop [k]

In my collected information, the velar stop is rare in indigenous words, and occurs occasionally in obvious loanwords (in agreement with Parker 1999).

Examples with [k]

(12a)	*kusma*	'dress'	loanword
(12b)	*koʃo ~ kuʃu*	'manioc fermenting'	loanword
(12c)	*ipekaure*	'right (direction)'	
(12d)	*mipitakɨru*	'species of bat'	

As noted above, the correspondence between [k] in other Arawak languages and [ʔ] in Iñapari is generally consistent. However, this results in an unusually high number of [ʔ] in Iñapari words (i.e., there is a lot of homophony, see section 3.6.4). I include [k] in the consonant inventory in Table 1 as these words, whether borrowed or not, appear to be part of the lexicon of the language.

2.1.7 Syllable structure

Parker (1999) proposed that the Iñapari syllable template is (C)VV. However, I recorded syllables of the shape CV, CVV, V, VV, and CVC. There appear to be phonotactic restrictions on closed syllables: they never occur with long

vowels, and must always have an onset. This results in a maximal syllable template of (C)V{V/(C)}.

Examples showing closed syllables

(13a) *itrapi* ‘astilla’
(13b) *hetrá* ‘condor’
(13c) *putrani* ‘to do’
(13d) *patrani* ‘play music’
(13e) *apuʔriate* ‘comet’
(13f) *apuntuʔǎ́* ‘spring of water’
(13g) *hupawpi* ‘shell’
(13h) *wajma* ‘here’
(13i) *tuʔtʲãti* ‘drool’

In all but one case the consonant cluster resulting from the presence of closed syllables always contains one sonorant; this can be either consonant in the cluster. The one exception is [tuʔtʲãti] ‘drool’, for which I do not have an explanation.

In all recorded cases except one, I analyze these clusters as belonging to separate syllables. The exception is [itrapi] which is phonotactically irregular. It either has a complex onset in the second syllable (the only one we have recorded) or it has a closed syllable without an onset (also the only one we have recorded). More work on syllable structure is necessary.

Lastly, in terms of consonant clusters, the high central nasalized [ɨ̃] is pronounced variously as [g] or [ŋ] in relaxed speech, resulting in other clusters as well.

Derived consonant clusters

	Careful Speech	Relaxed Speech	
(14a)	*aɨ̃reri*	*agreɾi*	‘leaf’
(14b)	*aɨ̃ʔa*	*aŋʔa*	‘to smile’
(14c)	*aɨ̃ʔuru*	*aŋʔuɾu*	‘worm’
(14d)	*hanɨ̃reti*	*haŋgreti*	‘lard, fat’

2.2 Vowels

Iñapari has the vowel phonemes set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Iñapari vowel contrasts

	FRONT	**CENTRAL**	**BACK**
HIGH	i, iː, ĩ, ĩː	ɨ, ɨː, ɨ̃, ɨ̃ː	u, uː, ũ, ũː
MID	e, eː, ẽ, ẽː		o, oː, õ, õː
LOW		a, aː, ã, ãː	

This inventory is basically the same as that presented in Parker (1999). The two minor differences include: [ɨ] as a central rather than back vowel, and [o] as a distinctive (though rare) phoneme.

Theoretically, [ɨ] has been treated as a back vowel in many phonological frameworks. However, acoustically across 20 tokens in word-medial position, [ɨ] in Iñapari has an average F2 of 1513 Hz, [i] has an average F2 of 2266 Hz and [u] has an average F2 of 842 Hz. In terms of this measure for backness, [ɨ] is approximately equidistant from [i] and [u]. Furthermore, there is no evidence that [ɨ] behaves phonologically in the same way as [u] (or as [i] for that matter). Consequently, I see a three-way contrast between front, back and central is adequate phonetically.

The distinction between [u] and [o] is marginal at best. It is true, as asserted by Parker (1999) that [u] and [o] often vary feely with each other, but according to my data in some forms the variation is unacceptable (Parker provides one minimal pair, confirmed by my data: *topátʲa* 'cockroach' vs. *tupátʲa* 'guava tree'). This creates several asymmetrical minimal pairs, where only one of the pairs is grammatically acceptable.

Symmetrical and asymmetrical [u]/[o] contrasts

	Accepted form	Unaccepted form	
(15a)	*tenu*	*teno* is accepted	'tall, old'
(15b)	*teno*	**tenu*	'long'
(15c)	*no-*	**nu-*	1SG
(15d)	*hunorí*	**hunurí* but *honorí* is acceptable	'rubber'
(15e)	*nohá*	**nuhá*	'I'

2.3 Stress and tone

Word stress is lexically contrastive in Iñapari.

(16) Lexical stress contrasts

anáva	they
anavá	canoe
ʔuʔá	nest
ʔúʔa	woodpecker
háma	to hear
hamá	tapir

Stress overwhelmingly occurs on the penultimate syllable in many elicited lexical items in my data. Consequently, I only indicate stress if it is not on the penultimate syllable. Acoustically, word stress appears to be associated with changes in intensity (and perhaps also pitch). Moreover, despite being associated with a particular syllable in a word, word stress can be placed on

other syllables for the following reasons. Firstly, stress change can be used for polarity question intonation, in which case it always occurs on the final syllable, no matter where it occurs lexically. This is likely sentential (or syntactic phrasing) stress. I cannot suggest any ways that lexical stress interacts with sentential stress.

Example of changes in word stress

(17a) *níʔa*
'to eat'

(17b) *no-niʔa-má-ri*
1SG-eat-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I eat it.'

(17c) *no-niʔa-ma-rí*
1SG-eat-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'Did I eat it?'

Secondly, some bound morphemes have fixed stress; when used in word-formation the primary word stress is always associated with that morpheme. An example is the causative suffix *-ʔá* (see 3.7.2 below).

Example of morpheme-fixed word stress

(18a) *n-eta-má-ri*
1SG-see-CAUS.NVOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I saw him' (lit. 'I caused him to be seen').

(18b) *n-eta-ʔá-ma-ri*
1SG-see-CAUS.NVOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I found him' (lit. 'I caused him to be seen').

Tone is acoustically, and solely, correlated with changes in pitch in Iñapari; only a high pitch has been recorded. Moreover, this pitch is associated with some bound morphemes, regardless of word stress, as in:

Morphemes with high tone

(19a) *-yíí* contrastive focus
(19b) *tʃíí* land, earth

Both stress and tone can co-occur in a word. To distinguish these, I mark the stressed syllable in bold and the tone with an acute accent in (20), though I conflate them with the acute accent in all other examples.

(20) Word stress and tone
*n-ime-**ʔá**-yíí-ma*
1SG-burn-IV-CONTR-NFUT.DEF
'My things were burned'

I cannot offer a more detailed description of tone or stress at this point; as research continues this should be considered a primary objective in describing Iñapari.

2.4 Phoneme alternations

My data confirms proposed phonological alternations provided in Parker (1999). Perhaps of particular interest is vowel nasalization. Despite having a nasal-oral vowel contrast, Iñapari vowels are nasalized in two environments: (1) adjacent to a nasal consonant; and (2) next to the laryngeal fricative (i.e., rhinoglottophilia, as in many languages in South America), as in (21a) and (21b). In morphologically simple words (as in (21c)-(21g)) with nasal consonants or [h], it is unclear whether the vowel is nasalized lexically.

Nasal consonant vowel nasalization

	Underlying	Surface	
(21a)	*n-ɨpati-ri*	*n-ɨ̃pati-ri*	'I cover it'
(21b)	*ru-tuta:-ma*	*ru-tuta:-mã*	'She spit'
(21c)		*mɨ̃:rɨ*	'cousin'
(21d)		*ũmãpehẽra*	'watch over'
(21e)		*ãnãhɨ̃ri*	'seed'
(21f)		*hɨ́:mɨ̃nã*	'tree'
(21g)		*hãputʃĩ*	'chambira fish'

Experimental studies should be designed to determine if the amount of nasalization is the same in both derived and underived contexts.

3. Morphosyntactic sketch

Although we have been able to validate much of the information in earlier sources, five weeks is not enough time to comprehensively document a language. Consequently, there are some things that will regrettably be unexplored in this report, or whose meanings and functions are only hinted at. More extensive follow-up work is definitely needed in many areas of the morphosyntactic description. However, ongoing analyses of Iñapari indicate many grammatical features are shared with other Arawakan languages, or are typologically and areally salient. This section details the salient morphosyntactic aspects of Iñapari.

Based on patterns of affixation and syntactic distribution, Iñapari has four word classes: NOMINALS, VERBS, PARTICLES, and IDEOPHONES. There seems to be a limited set of unique onomatopoeic words, and some of these appear to

be ideophones. However, these are not clearly understood yet, and require much more study to describe accurately; they are not discussed below. Both VERBS and NOMINALS can be divided into a variety of subclasses.

3.1 Particles

I refer to words that show no inflectional properties, are unbound but have specific grammatical functions, as particles. Iñapari particles can be divided into three groups based on function: sentence particles, general quantifiers, and numerals.

Sentence particles include interjections and a few adverbial-type words (shown in 22) that can be used as complete utterances in the language (i.e., they do not require other morphemes for their meaning).

(22) Sentence particles

itapuni	'now'
aʔaymani	'no'
apua	'very'
ahama	'yes'
tama	'already'
anima	'of course'

Four general quantifiers were provided by Jorge and Maria, others were asked for, such as 'several' or 'most', but could either not be remembered or are not present in the language.

(23) General quantifiers

hiturí	'a lot, much'
puʔãːtʃi	'all'
paːtʃĩ	'another'
pamiri	'some'
puʔamá	'few'

Parker (1995) provided forms for the numbers 1 to 10 in Iñapari, and one of the goals of the fieldwork was to verify them. Indeed, Jorge and Maria remembered and used these numbers. In addition, they agreed on a word for 'twenty' and two ordinal numbers: 'first' and 'second'. However, note that while Jorge and Maria were confident in providing one to five, when asked about other numbers they were not as confident at first. They did use all numbers recorded through elicitations and naturalistic conversations, but the initial struggle might suggest a period of attrition or relatively low importance. Additionally, two words for 'ten' were remembered. The first

meant ten total, while the second meant 'ten' (and could possibly be the name of a specific finger.)

(24) Numerals

paːtʃĩ	'one'
hepí	'two'
mapá	'three'
ɨmonaʔaʔa	'four'
penamuyuti	'five'
rɨrɨhire	'six' 'thumb'
ichimapire	'seven'
ipuchiʔapiré	'eight'
ríchimapire	'nine'
apaʔatahɨre	'ten (single)'
puʔanimuyuti	'ten (total)'
hichitipahɨnɨ	'twenty'

Both 'five' and 'ten' are morphologically complex. The number 'twenty' is also likely morphologically complex, but any meaning associated with the second element was not remembered.

(25) *pena-muyu-ti*
other.side-hand-UPOSS
'five'

(26) *puʔani-muyu-ti*
clean-hand-UPOSS
'ten'

(27) *hichitip-ahɨnɨ*
foot-?
'twenty'

Two ordinal numbers were also remembered and recorded.

(28) Ordinal numbers

itépuni	'first'
ɨyuiʔare	'second'

3.2 Nominals

The class of nominals can be divided into two general subtypes: those that cannot be inflected (pronouns and demonstratives), and those that can (nouns and adjectives). Nouns and adjectives have gender or gender agreement for

third-person referents, and nouns are further marked by inherent or non-inherent possession (each is characterized below).

3.2.1 Pronouns

Iñapari has both independent pronouns and bound pronominal markers. The independent pronouns are represented in Table 3 and distinguish two numbers (singular and plural) and three persons. The third-person singular forms also distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine).[4]

Table 3: Independent pronouns

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1	*nohá*	*ehé*
2	*pisá*	*isá*
3.M	*aria*	*anava*
3.F	*arua*	

All the third person forms are morphologically complex, built on the demonstrative *a-* 'that' as the root: *a-ri-a* DEM-3SG.OBJ.MASC-?, *a-ru-a* DEM-3SG.OBJ.FEM-?, and *a-na-va* DEM-3PL.OBJ-?.

There are two bound pronominal paradigms: prefixes and suffixes. They are shown in Table 4 and Table 5 respectively. Each is used for different grammatical functions, as described below.

Table 4: Bound pronominal prefixes

Person	**Singular**		**Plural**	
	C-initial root	V-initial root	C-initial root	V-initial root
1	*no-*	*n-*	*a-*	*av-*
2	*pi-*	*p-*	*i-*	*i-*
3.M	*i-*	*r-*		
3.F	*ru-*	*r-*		

Table 5: Bound pronominal suffixes

Person	**Singular**	**Plural**
1	*-no*	*-i*
2	*-pi*	
3.M	*-ri*	*-na*
3.F	*-ru*	

[4] These are the same forms as listed in Parker (1995: 192).

3.2.2 Demonstratives

Five demonstratives have been recorded, only two of which appear not to be morphologically complex.

(29) Demonstratives

tʃãã́	'this'
wajma	'here'
panaté+GENDER	'there'
a-GENDER	'that'
a+GENDER+*ma*	'there'

In all these forms, the tag GENDER is a place holder for one of the third person singular bound pronominal suffixes given in Table 5. The gender marker always agrees with the noun that is modified (see below). Demonstratives always precede the noun they modify.

3.2.3 Nouns

Most nouns may be marked for possession using the paradigm of bound pronominal prefixes shown in Table 4. However, note that while some naturally occurring phenomena can be grammatically possessed, they are pragmatically unacceptable (marked by # in 30c)

Examples of noun possession

(30a) *no-maʔatiri*
1SG-clothes
'my clothes'

(30b) *no-tʃîpara*
1SG-chair
'my chair'

(30c) # *n-atuwé́*
1SG-cloud
'my cloud'

Noun possession is also obligatory for some nouns and optional for others, often referred to as an inherent/non-inherent possession strategy (Nichols & Bickel 2011b).[5] Inherently possessed nouns are obligatorily possessed, but

[5] Typologically, there is a distinction between alienable/inalienable possession and inherent/non-inherent possession. The former term is used to refer to the transferability of the possession, and the latter to the obligatoriness of the possession. Iñapari only has the second type.

when a possession relationship is not indicated they are marked with the suffix *-ti* 'unpossessed inherent noun'. Inherently possessed nouns include referents of body parts (including bodily products), kinship, and a few other nouns. Only a few examples are presented here.

(31) Inherent possession

nama-tí	'mouth'	*no-nama*	'my mouth'
hitʃìpi-tí	'foot'	*pi-hitʃìpi*	'your foot'
tini-ti	'urine'	*i-tini*	'his urine'
tutã-ti	'drool	*ru-tutã*	'her drool'
tata-ti	'father	*a-tata*	'our father'
natu-ti	'mother'	*i-natu*	'your (pl.) mother'
pana-ti	'house'	*i-pana*	'their house'

All other nouns are optionally possessed and do not appear with *-tí* when unpossessed.

(32)

avé	'dog'	*n-avé*	'my dog'
yutapi	'owl'	*pipi-yutapi*	'your owl'
atíuru	'salt'	*r-atíuru*	'his salt'
hapitipa	'stone ax'	*ru-hapitipa*	'her stone ax'
tapopí	'nail'	*a-tapopí*	'our nail'
hamome	'spring of water'	*i-hamome*	'your (pl.) spring of water'
surumaĩ	'medium-sized bag'	*i-surumaĩ*	'their medium-sized bag'

When the full noun phrase is used in an utterance, the bound coreferential possession marking is optional in all my data. This is true for either inherent nouns (33) or non-inherent nouns (34).

Inherent possession with coreferential noun phrase present

(33a) *nohá* *(no-)nama*
I (1SG-)mouth
'My mouth'

(33b) *no-nama*
1SG-mouth
'My mouth'

Non-inherent possession with coreferential noun phrase present

(34a) *ehé* *(av-)ave*
We (1PL-)dog
'Our dog'

(34b) *av-ave*
1PL-dog
'Our dog'

Additionally, regarding nominal possession, Parker (1995) reports a few things that I have not been able to collect evidence for, despite specific attempts to do so. For example, Parker (1995: 180) argues that possessed roots that begin with /h/ undergo a process wherein the /h/ is deleted; this never occurred in my data even for repetitions of Parker's information.

(35) Non-inherent possession with /h/ initial stems

honí	'water'
no-honí	'my water'
pi-honí	'your water'
i-honí	'his water'
ru-honí	'her water'
a-honí	'our water'
i-honí	'your (pl.)/their water'

(36) Inherent possession with /h/ initial stems

hitirehɨ	'elbow'
no-hitirehɨ	'my elbow
pi-hitirehɨ	'your elbow'
i-hitirehɨ	'his elbow'
ru-hitirehɨ	'her elbow'
a-hitirehɨ	'our elbow(s)'
i-hitirehɨ	'your (pl.)/their elbow(s)'

Similarly, Parker (1995) suggests that possessed non-inherent roots take one of four suppletive morphemes: *-ne, -te, -e*, or *-re*. Parker suggests that the choice and use of these suffixes must be memorized and are therefore an indication of lexical classes, though he adds that *-te* is the unmarked or most frequent of these suffixes. My data does not exhibit this as categorically as Parker's. Rather, some nouns can only take one of these suffixes (I was not able to elicit examples of *-e* during my fieldwork).

Non-inherent possession suffixes

(37a) *no-ʧií-ne* **no-ʧií-te*
1SG-land-POSS
'my land/country'

(37b) *ayina* *naʔu-te* **naʔu-ne*
red.howler.monkey thorn-POSS
'lit. the howler's thorn' (i.e., a type of tree)

Other nouns can take more than one of them.

Non-inherent possession suffix variation

(38a) *nohá (n)-ahiri-te*
I (1SG-)fruit-POSS
'my fruit'

(38b) *nohá (n-)ahiri-ne*
I (1SG-)fruit-POSS
'my fruit'

I have been unable to uncover if there is a semantic motivation for this difference. However, I have noted that these suffixes are optional, and their presence adds emphasis and possibly focus contrast, as in:

Evidence for the meaning of non-inherent possession suffixes

(39a) *aria* *(r-)utʃiruhɨ*
he 3SG.M-knife
'His knife' (< Spanish. 'su cuchillo')

(39b) *aria* *(r-)utʃiruhɨ-te*
he 3SG.M-knife-POSS
'*His* knife' (< Spanish 'su cuchillo de él')

(39c) *nohá* *(no-)honi*
I 1SG-water
'My water' (< Spanish 'mi agua')

(39d) *nohá* *(no-)honi-ne*
I 1SG-water-POSS
'*My* water' (< Spanish 'mi agua de mi')

The suffix *-re* in my data was never used by either Jorge or Maria on possessed non-inherent nouns. Rather it was frequently used in conjunction with verbs and meant 'preferred'. More specifically, verbs marked with the suffix were translated as indicating that the predicate was being done 'in the preferred place or manner' (Jorge's gloss is *así prefiere hacer las cosas*).

-re preferred

(40a) *no-ʈʃipara-ʔa-re* *apɨta-ma-ri* *hutaripa-hɨ*
1SG-sit-IV-PERF be.below-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M rock-DIM
'The rock is below my chair'

(40b) *r-ɨmɨ-ʔa-re*
3SG-sleep-IV-PERF
'preferred sleeping place' < Spanish 'dónde él prefiere dormir'

Based on Jorge and Maria's use and explanations, and my own observations of the morphosyntactic properties of this suffix, the resulting word is likely a derived nominal.

Like many other Arawak languages, gender seems to be a property of nouns in Iñapari. Nominal gender classifications are *not* marked on the noun but on nominal modifiers or through verbal agreement. Three genders are distinguished in this way: *-ri* 'masculine', *-ru* 'feminine', and *-ra* 'neutral'. Animate nouns with obvious sex differences can be classified as either feminine or masculine depending on biological sex, though some animate nouns are exclusively one or the other (41g). Neutral gender is only used in conjunction with animate nouns where the biological sex is unknown or unimportant.

Examples of gender marking

(41a) *a-ri* *hirimatiri*
DEM-3SG.M tiger
'that (male) tiger'

(41b) *a-ru* *hirimatiri*
DEM-3SG.F tiger
'that (female) tiger'

(41c) *a-ra* *hirimatiri*
DEM-3SG.NEUT tiger
'that (unknown sex) tiger'

(41d) *a-ri* *tavari*
DEM-3SG.M chicken
'that rooster'

(41e) *a-ru* *tavari*
DEM-3SG.F chicken
'that hen'

(41f) *a-ra* *tavari*
DEM-3SG.NEUT chicken
'That (unknown sex) chicken'

(41g) *a-**ru**/*arí* *memu*
DEM-SG.F snail
'that snail'

Similarly, inanimate nouns are classified for gender, which, like for animate nouns, is marked on modifiers or through verbal agreement. However, unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns are either invariably masculine or feminine; the vast majority appear to be masculine. The gender

classification of inanimate nouns must be memorized as it is not predictable from semantic, morphological, phonological, or syntactic properties.

Gender for inanimate nouns

(42a) *a-**ru**/*ari* *atíuru*
DEM-3SG.F salt
'that salt'

(42b) *a-**ri**/*aru* *pana-tí*
DEM-3SG.M house-UPOSS
'that house'

(42c) *a-**ri**/*aru* *atuwɛ́ɛ́*
DEM-3SG.M cloud
'that cloud'

While nominal gender is only overtly expressed through agreement with demonstratives and verbs, there is a tendency for feminine nouns (animate and inanimate) to end in [u]. Comparisons with the gender systems in other Arawakan languages should be a priority in future research to determine how the preponderance of word-final [u] in feminine forms is related to Arawakan gender systems diachronically.

3.2.4 Adjectives

It is unclear if there is a separate adjective word class in Iñapari. Noun modifiers that function similarly to adjectives in other languages are clearly present. These modifiers must agree with the gender of the noun they modify, but use a different set of gender-marking suffixes than those described above, namely *-tʃì* 'masculine' and *-tu* 'feminine'. They always follow the modified. Adjectives cannot be possessed using the bound pronominal prefixes.

Adjectives with agreement

(43a) *ahɨtʃì* *ɨhahi-tʃì*
man handsome-3SG.M
'handsome man'

(43b) *awɨtu* *ɨhahi-tu*
woman handsome-3SG.F
'beautiful woman'

(43c) *ajatʃì* *ɨhi-tʃì*
paca big-3SG.M
'big paca'

Adjectival modifiers are frequently used without these gender agreements, and in conjunction with argument agreement suffixes (Table 5) and verbal tense markers they function as clausal predicates. Gender in predicate function is encoded using the same agreement suffixes as demonstratives (see above). In this way, it does not seem necessary to distinguish these words from the class of stative intransitive verbs described below.

Adjectives as stative verbs

(44a) *pana-tí* *puʔani-tʃi*
house-UPOSS clean-3SG.M
'The clean house'

(44b) *pana-tí* *puʔani-ri*
house-UPOSS clean-3SG.M
'The house is clean'

3.3 Verbs

Verbs show argument agreement and inflections for tense, aspect, or mood. They can also be the base for nominalizations and valency-adjusting derivations. Syntactically, verbs function as the head of the predicate in a clause.

3.3.1 Agreement

Verbs are obligatorily marked for person agreement for both subjects (using the pronominal prefixes) and objects (using the pronominal suffixes). Note that these agreement markers are optional if the cross-referenced referent is present in the clause as a full noun phrase. Furthermore, as noted above (and in Parker 1995: 192) these are the same agreement markers used for noun possession, and show the same phonological variation before a consonant-initial or vowel-initial stem.

Verb subject and object agreement

(45a) ***i***-*niʔa-ma*-***ri*** *tavari*
3SG.M.SUBJ-eat-DEF-3SG.M.OBJ chicken
'He definitely ate/eats/is eating/will eat the rooster'

(45b) ***pi***-*niʔa-ma*-***ru*** *tavari*
2SG.SUBJ-eat-DEF-3SG.M.OBJ chicken
'YOU definitely ate/eat/are eating/will eat the hen'

(45c) ***ru***-*niʔa-ma*-***ra*** *tavari*
3SG.F.SUBJ-eat-DEF-3SG.M.OBJ chicken
'She definitely ate/eats/is eating/will eat the chicken (unknown gender)'

(45d) ***ru***-*niʔa*-*ma*-***na*** *tavari*
3SG.F.SUBJ-eat-DEF-3PL.OBJ chicken
'She definitely ate/eats/is eating/will eat the chickens'

3.3.2 Tense-Aspect-Mood

Iñapari distinguishes the future from non-future tenses. There is one future tense marker *-he*, and two non-future tense markers: *-ma* and *-Ø* (null). The non-future tense markers are distinguished based on definiteness, where the action is completed with 'certainty' (this is a translation of Jorge's description as being done *con certeza*). This distinction appears to indicate a combination of realis mood and perfective aspect. Parker (1995) refers to *-ma* as the marker of 'indicative tense', but to avoid confusion with the indicative/subjunctive mood distinctions in other languages, this term has been avoided here. Note that the future tense marker is only ever understood as being definite, meaning there is no future-indefinite option, though the nonfuture-indefinite form is used as the translational equivalent. This organization is represented in Figure 2.

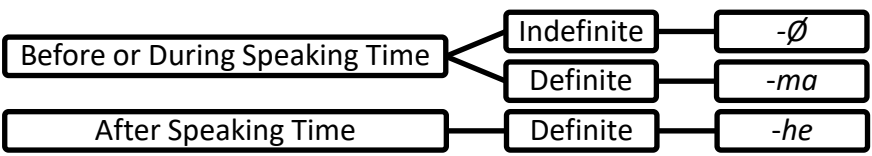

Figure 2: Tense-Aspect organization

I have not yet considered how this might reflect diachronic patterns, though a realis/irrealis distinction is prevalent in other Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999; Michael 2014).

Examples of tense/aspect marking

(46a) *i*-*niʔa*-***Ø***-*ri*
3SG.M-eat-NFUT.NDEF-3SG.M
'He might be eating it.'

(46b) *i*-*niʔa*-*pira*-***Ø***-*ri*
3SG.M-eat-DESI-NFUT.NDEF-3SG.M
'He wants to maybe eat it' 'He will eat it'

(46c) *i*-*niʔa*-***ma***-*ri*
3SG.M-eat-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He is eating it'

(46d) *i-niʔa-pirá-**ma**-ri*
3SG.M-eat-DESI-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He wants to eat it'

(46e) *i-niʔá-**he**-ri*
3SG.M-eat-FUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He will eat it in the future'

(46f) *i-niʔa-pirá-**he**-ri*
3SG.M-eat-DESI-FUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He wants to eat it in the future'

3.3.3 Verb Classes

There is some morphological evidence of a verb class system in Iñapari. Four morphological patterns can be observed for verb inflection which correspond to changes in the argument structure of a verb. The four classes are referred to here as TRANSITIVE, ACTIVITY INTRANSITIVE, NON-ACTIVITY INTRANSITIVE, and STATIVE INTRANSITIVE verbs.

A. TRANSITIVE VERBS

As shown above, transitive verbs show both subject and object agreement (with gender agreement for third-person singular arguments). Subject agreement is indicated using the bound pronominal prefixes and object agreement is indicated using the bound pronominal suffixes. In terms of argument structure, the subject of a transitive verb is always more agentive than the direct object. Three-argument (ditransitive) predicates are also possible, but they are not distinguished in any formal way from two-argument (transitive) predicates (only two agreement affixes are ever used with transitive or ditransitive verbs). However, the object marking suffix in ditransitive clauses agrees with the indirect object (the recipient in 47) rather than the direct object. In (47), *ahirí* 'fruit' is a masculine noun and would require the *-ri* suffix if it was the controller of verbal suffix agreement.

(47) *arí* *ehína* ***i**-pa-ma-**ru*** *ahirí* *Sarah*
that man 3SG.M-bring-NFUT.DEF-3SG.F fruit Sarah
'That man brings/brought fruit to Sarah'

B. ACTIVITY INTRANSITIVES

In Iñapari, intransitive verbs can be divided into three groups based on: (1) formal properties, (2) allowed semantic roles of the arguments, and possibly (3) lexical aspect class of the predicate. What I am calling 'activity intransitive' verbs show only subject agreement using the pronominal prefixes, like transitive subject agreement. The single argument of this verb class most often has an actor or experiencer semantic role, though patient/undergoers are also possible.

In terms of lexical aspect, these verbs are all activities (for diagnostics see Van Valin & La Polla 1997; Van Valin 2005).[6]

Activity intransitive verbs

(48a) ***n****-apaatahe-ma* *nohá*
1SG-yawn-NFUT.DEF I
'I am yawning'

(48b) ***no****-ya-na-ma* *nohá*
1SG-go-PERM-NFUT.DEF I
'I am walking'

(48c) ***r****-ɨpɨ-na-ma* *aria*[7]
3SG.M-die-PERM-NFUT.DEF he
'He died'

(48d) ***i****-parina-ma* *aria*
3SG-get.up-NFUT.DEF he
'He is getting up'

C. STATIVE INTRANSITIVES

A second-class of intransitive verbs are what I am referring to as 'stative intransitive' verbs. These mark agreement using pronominal suffixes, like object agreement for transitive verbs. Semantically, the single argument is always understood as a complete undergoer or passive experiencer of the verbal action. The lexical aspect of these verbs is always a state with some amount of permanency.

Stative intransitive verbs

(49a) *nati-ma-****no***
be.hungry-NFUT.DEF-1SG
'I am hungry'

(49b) *yuʔahɨ-ma-****ri***
be.dirty-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He is dirty'

---

[6] In a theory of lexical aspect, such as that of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & La Polla 1997), these verbs are all [-state] [+dynamic][-telic][-punctual], and are usually considered *activities*. However, more data (especially naturalistic data) is necessary to determine if this is true for all non-resultative intransitive verbs in the language.

[7] There is a typology of the verb 'die' that indicates that for some languages it is non-stative (Botne 2003).

(49c) *puʔani-ma-**ri***
be.clean-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He is clean'

(49d) *huini-ma-**ru***
be.far-NFUT.DEF-3SG.F
'She is far away'

As mentioned in 3.2.4, nominal modifiers which function like adjectives pattern with this class of verbs. It has not yet been determined if all stative intransitives can be used to modify nouns.

D. NON-ACTIVITY INTRANSITIVES

The third class of intransitive verbs combines properties of the other two; I refer to these as 'non-activity intransitive' verbs. Like activity intransitives, non-activity intransitives also use subject agreement prefixes, but they also require the class suffix *-ʔa* 'intransitive' immediately after the root. Semantically, the subject argument for these verbs is not as agentive as for activity intransitive verbs, and is more properly classified as an experiencer. In terms of lexical aspect, these verbs are either accomplishments, achievements, or active accomplishments, with telic and/or punctual attributes.[8]

Non-activity intransitives

(50a) ***n**-imi-**ʔa**-ma*
1SG-sleep-IV-NFUT.DEF
'I am sleeping', 'I slept'

(50b) ***no**-ʔutape-**ʔa**-ma*
1SG-laugh/be.happy-IV-NFUT.DEF
'I am laughing', 'I laughed', 'I was/am happy'

(50c) ***r**-iru-**ʔa**-ma*
3SG.M-hide-IV-NFUT.DEF
'He is hiding', 'I hid'

(50d) ***p**-ɨwitʃi-**ʔa**-ma*
2SG-squat.down-IV-NFUT.DEF
'You are squatting down', 'I squatted down'

The suffix *-ʔa* 'intransitive' likely has a wider distribution than just marking this verb class. For example, it is also used in deriving a passive construction from a transitive verb, where only one argument bearing an undergoer

[8] Note that semelfactives have not been studied in the language yet.

semantic role is required by the predicate and expressed via subject agreement.

-ʔa in voice changes

(51a)	*i-niʔa-ma-ri*	*ahiɾí*
	3SG.M-eat-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M	fruit
	'He ate fruit'	
(51b)	*i-niʔa-**ʔa**-ma*	*ahiɾi*
	3SG.M-eat-IV-NFUT.DEF	fruit
	'The fruit was eaten'	

Not all the non-activity intransitive verbs recorded can be derived from a transitive equivalent. This is the motivation for treating them as a separate class of verbs.

Lastly, note that Parker (1995: 197) provides a similar suffix *-ʔaʔ* glossed as 'reciprocal'. I have no evidence that *-ʔa* can be used in reciprocal constructions. In fact, I have recorded *-hiɾi* as the reciprocal in Iñapari.

Reciprocal construction

(52a)	*ehé*	*av-ituʔana-hiɾi-ma*
	we	1PL-speak-RECIP-NFUT.DEF
	'We speak to each other'	

Regarding alignment types, Iñapari can be seen to exhibit a type of split-intransitive system (Aikhenvald 1999). Interestingly, two intransitive splits appear to be shown: (a) a grammatical split (based on changes in morphosyntactic forms) between stative intransitive verbs and the other classes, and (b) a semantic split (based on semantic requirements of predicate arguments) between non-activity and stative intransitive verbs on the one hand and activity intransitive and transitive verbs on the other. This is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Verb class intransitive splits

Verb Class	**Agreement**	**Subject Role**	**Lexical Aspect**
Transitive	Prefix, Suffix	Actor	
Activity Intransitive	Prefix	Actor, Undergoer	activity
Non-activity Intransitive	Prefix	Experiencer (non-actor)	accomplishment, achievement, active accomplishment
Stative Intransitive	Suffix	Undergoer (non-actor)	stative

3.4 Clausal Word Order

Transitive clauses can have variable word order, showing both VOS and SVO orders.

Examples of word order

(53a) *p-amana-ma* *utʃiru* *(pisá)* VOS
2SG-buy-NFUT.DEF machete (you)
'You bought the machete'

(53b) *n-inuʔa-ma-ri* *hirimatiri* *(nohá)* VOS
1SG-kill-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M tiger (I)
'I killed the tiger'

(53c) *mahawi-tu-hɨ* *r-ituʔa-ma-ri* *mahawi-tʃi* SVO
child-F-DIM 3SG.F-hit-DEF-3SG.M child-M
'The girl hit the boy', 'The girl, she hit the boy'

(53d) *aria* *ehɨ* *r-iʔapa-ma-ru* *ahirɨ* *Sarah* SVO
he man 3SG.M-give-NFUT.DEF-3SG.F fruit Sarah
'The man gave fruit to Sarah', 'The man, he gave the fruit to Sarah'

(53e) *aria* *niʔa-ma* *ahirɨ́* SVO
he eat-NFUT.DEF fruit
'he eats the fruit'

Transitive clauses with a predicate and both arguments present are necessary only when the arguments are unknown in the discourse. It is more common for one or both of the arguments to be absent and solely referenced on the verb. Note, however, based on both frequency of occurrence and corrections offered by Jorge and Maria, the default position for any expressed argument is after the verb.

More word order examples

(54a) *r-iara-ma-no* *tuʔatí*
3SG.M-burn-NFUT.DEF-1SG sun
'The sun burned me'

(54b) *n-ituʔa-ma-ri* *Fernando*
1SG-hit-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Fernando
'I hit Fernando'

(54c) *r-inuʔa-ma-ri*
3SG.M-kill-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'He killed it'

(54d) *r-ituʔa-ma-no* *Fernando*
3SG-hit-NFUT.DEF-1SG Fernando
'Fernando hit me'

When a noun phrase occurs before the verb, Jorge and Maria always provide two translations, (as for SVO sentences (53c) and (53d) above).

(55) *Fernando* *r-ɨtuʔa-ma-no*
Fernando 3SG-hit-NFUT.DEF-1SG
'Fernando hit me', 'Fernando, he hit me'
(contrast (54b) and (54d) above)

The first translation provided is a simple transitive sentence, while the second includes the subject noun phrase and a coreferential pronoun. From a cross-linguistic perspective, we might expect some sort of difference in information structure (e.g., topic or focus), however, since my fieldwork was limited, I was unable to record discourse contexts where the function of these clause-initial arguments could be determined.

Note, that Iñapari does have an overt topic marker, *-ra*, but this is not always used in examples like (55) (see Parker 1995: 203-204 for other examples of topicalized noun phrases). Rather, *-ra* appears only after the subject is quite old contextually, such as in sequential elicitation involving the same argument. As such, it might better be described as an 'old information' marker. Noun phrases with *-ra* always occur utterance-initially. However, the possible role of pragmatic factors or information structure on clausal word order remains relatively unexplored, as yet. Consequently, much more work on word order variation is necessary.

Topicalized NPs

(56a) *Fernando-ra* *ituʔa-ma-no*
Fernando-TOP hit-NFUT.DEF-1SG
'Fernando hit me'

(56b) *pisa-ra* *ɨʔunu-ʔa-ma-rí* *Fernando*
you-TOP beat-IV-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Fernando
'You beat Fernando (as in a contest)'

Interrogative pronouns are always utterance-initial, and frequently occur with the topic marker *-ra* also (Parker 1995: 204-205 lists the same interrogative pronouns). Syntactically, then, it seems that nouns marked with *-ra* and interrogative pronouns fill similar syntactic functions (treated distinctly in various syntactic theories).

Interrogative pronouns and word order

(57a) *hawa-ra* *r-eta-ma* *Fernando*
who-TOP 3SG.M-see-NFUT.DEF Fernando
'Who did Fernando see?'

(57b) *hawa-ra* *eta-ma-ri* *Fernando*
who-TOP see-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Fernando
'Who saw Fernando?'

(57c) *hajtatiri p-amaná*
which 2SG-buy
'Which did you buy?'

(57d) *hitʃaʔu no-ʔaʔa-tʃìni-ʔa*
donde 1SG-bathe-RELT-loc
'Where should I bathe?'

(57e) *haj-ra p-etá-ma pisá*
what-top 2SG-see-NFUT.DEF you
'What did you see?'

(57f) *haj ɨwaʔa-ri*
what be.named-3SG.M
'What is his name?

(57g) *hajuni i-hinia-ru*
how 3SG.M-make-3SG.F
'How does he make it'

Interestingly, interrogative pronouns do not require verbal cross-referencing. In fact, this is not permitted, as shown in:

Interrogative pronouns and verb agreement

(58a) **hawa-ra r-eta-ma-ri/ru Fernando*
who-TOP 3SG.M-see-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M/F Fernando
'Who did Fernando see?'

(58b) **hawa-ra r-eta-ma-ri Fernando*
who-TOP 3SG.M/F-see-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Fernando
'Who saw Fernando?'

It has not been determined if this is because they are actually unacceptable or if it is because these questions do not indicate which gender *hawa-ra* has.

3.5 Complex sentences

The basic parameters of the constituent orders described above do not appear to change in most complex sentence types. During field research, the complex sentence documentation focused on conjunctions, adverbial clauses, and subordination. There are no conjunctions in Iñapari, though polarity is a feature of clause linking. Juxtaposed clauses are discourse-linked, and if they have parallel polarity, they are always interpreted as being conjoined (as in 59a), and if they have opposing polarity they are always interpreted as being disjoined (as in 59b).

Conjoined clauses

(59a) *no-nʔa-ma* *ahɨrí* *n-imi-ʔa-pirá*
1SG.eat-NFUT.DEF fruit 1SG-sleep-IV-DESI
'I ate fruit and I want to sleep'

(59b) *no-yana-ma* *aa-no-niʔa-ma-ri*
1SG.go-NFUT.DEF NEG-1SG-eat-NFUT.def-3SG.M
'I went but I didn't eat it'

Adverbial clauses modify other clauses but are not integrated into the argument structure of the matrix predicate. When used to suggest a relative time for a related clause, they are marked with the suffix *-tʃìni* 'relative time'.[9] When they are used to create a sequence of events between the two clauses, they are marked by an adverbial suffix. Only two of these were recorded during fieldwork, namely *-mɨʔani* 'until' and *apaʔatu* 'then'.[10]

Adverbial clauses

(60a) *r-ituʔa-ʈʃìni-ma-no* *Fernando* *no-niʔa-pirá ahɨrí*
3SG.M-hit-RELT-NFUT.DEF-1SG Fernando 1SG-eat-DESI fruit
'Even though Fernando hits me, I will eat the fruit'

(60b) *n-apu-ʔa-ʈʃìni* *n-ituʔa-pira-ma-ri* *Fernando*
1SG-arrive-IV-RELT 1SG-hit-DESI-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Fernando
'When I arrive, I will hit Fernando'

(60c) *Fernando* *i-ʔaʔa-ʈʃìni* *no-niʔa-pira-ma*
Fernando 3SG.M-bathe-RELT 1SG-eat-DESI-NFUT.DEF
'While Fernando bathes I will eat', 'Fernando, while he bathes, I will eat'

(60d) *aa-no-yana-pira-ma* *p-imiti-mɨʔani*
NEG-1SG-go-DESI-NFUT.DEF 2SG-wake.up-until
'I won't go until you wake up'

(60e) *no-niʔa-pirá* *ahɨrí* *no-ʔaʔa-pirá-apaʔatu*
1SG-eat-DESI fruit 1SG-bathe-DESI-then
'I will eat fruit then I will bathe'

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[9] Note Parker (1995: 208) calls this simply a 'subordinator' and provides the form *-tʃini(ho)*. However, neither Jorge nor Maria ever used *ho* in conjunction with this suffix.

[10] The order of these constituents appears to be iconic since the linear order matches the temporal order, but it is unknown if this is a requirement for these constructions.

Subordinate clauses prototypically fill an argument requirement of a main clause predicate in Iñapari. Most often, elicitations for subordination resulted in one of the conjunction constructions mentioned above. However, verbs of cognition or mental experience, such as *eta* 'see' or *apu* 'know, think' were never given with a conjunction translation, but with a Spanish subordinate clause. Other than these translations, there is no overt way of distinguishing them from the juxtaposed clauses above.

Potential subordinate clauses

(61a) *Juan* *niʔa-ma* *ahɨrí* *n-eta-ma-ri*
Juan eat-NFUT.DEF fruit 1SG-see-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I saw Juan eat fruit' < Spanish 'Ví Juan comer fruta'

(61b) *p-iníí-ma-no* *n-apu-ʔa-pira-ʧini*
2SG-know-NFUT.DEF-1SG 1SG-arrive-IV-DESI-RELT
'You know that I will arrive' < Spanish 'Tú sabes que voy a llegar'

3.6 Comparative constructions

There are no distinct comparative constructions in Iñapari, rather we find the juxtaposition of clauses, as in (62a), or use of a transitive verb, as in (62b). The opposition in polarity in (62a) is the same as the disjoined clauses in (59b), meaning it could be interpreted as a disjunction.

Comparative constructions

(62a) *noha-ra* *niʔa-ma* *tavari* *a-ʔi-niʔa-ma* *aria*
I-TOP eat-DEF chicken NEG-3SG.M-eat-NFUT.DEF he
'I ate more chicken than him' lit. 'I ate chicken but he did not eat chicken'

(62b) *Cristian* *r-aʔapenía-ma-ri* *Fernando*
Cristian 3SG.M.SUBJ-surpass-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M.OBJ Fernando
'Cristian is taller than Fernando'

However, note that superlatives are indicated by the suffix *-putʃi* 'extreme', as shown in (63a-d). It can also be noted that this suffix does not have a unique superlative function; in (63c) it is used to indicate an extreme act of looking, and in (63d) it indicates an extreme distance.

Superlative constructions

(63a) *Fernando* *tenorí-putʃi*
Fernando be.old-extreme
'Fernando is the oldest'

(63b) *Fernando aʔapenía-putʃi*
Fernando surpass-extreme
'Fernando is the tallest'

(63c) *r-unaʔa-putʃi-he-ʔa-no*
3SG.M.SUBJ-look-extreme-FUT.DEF-ITER-1SG.OBJ
'He is staring at me'

(63d) *huini-putʃi-ma-ri* *hipuʔã*
be.far-extreme-NFUT.DEF-3PL.M.OBJ lake
'The lake is very far away'

Parker (1995: 201) suggests *-putʃi* can also mean 'positive'. Jorge confirms that this is possible, as in:

(64) *n-ɨmɨ-ʔá-putʃi-ma*
1SG-sleep-IV-extreme-NFUT.DEF
'I slept well' (< Spanish dormí bien)
'I slept a lot'

However, when asked about this translation, Jorge said that it is positive because 'I was able to sleep a long time uninterrupted' (*pude dormir **largo** sin ser despertado*). This seems to also be a function of the extreme meaning in the other examples.

3.7 Other morphosyntactic properties

As the purpose of this article is to provide a very basic sketch of Iñapari morphosyntax, many characteristics have not been covered, either because they were not the central focus of the field research or because they are not overly distinctive from other languages generally. This is not to suggest their unimportance, but rather is a consequence of the particular focus of this article. However, a few additional morphosyntactic characteristics occurred frequently during the documentation of the language, and are briefly mentioned in the following sections.

3.7.1 Verbal Nouns

Iñapari verbal nouns are derived nouns that retain some of the verbal argument structure and can focus on either the most agentive argument or the most patientive argument of the verb. These verbal nouns are often used as translation equivalents to verbless clausal predicates. For example, 'He is old' is translated as *terimare,* lit. 'He is the aged one', 'He is the one who has undergone aging'. Agentive verbal nouns are derived using the suffix *-ti*, and patientive verbal nouns are derived using the suffix *-ri* (see also the discussion of *-re* in section 3.2.3). Note that they mark person and gender agreement using pronominal suffixes, like adjectives and stative intransitive verbs.

Verbal Nouns

(65a) *niʔa-ri-ri*
eat-PN-3SG.M
'the eaten', 'food'

(65b) *ituʔa-ri-ri*
hit-PN-3SG.M
'the hit'

(65c) *niʔa-ti-ri*
eat-AN-3SG.M
'the eater'

(65d) *ɨma-ti-ri*
sleep-AN-3SG.M
'the sleeper' i.e., in Spanish *dormilón*

3.7.2 Plant classifier

The collected information reveals only one noun classifier, *-he* 'plant'. It functions derivationally to derive a plant name related to any noun. It appears to be possible to use this suffix in conjunction with any noun, though pragmatically not all such derivations are felicitous (marked by # in the examples).

Plant classifier

(66a) *himeʔa-he*
yuca-CL
'yuca plant'

(66b) *anuʔa-he*
sun.dry-CL
'tree used for drying things in the sun'

(66c) *ʔutipa-he*
shapaja-CL
shapaja-tree (urucuri palm) *Attalea phalerata*

(66d) *#Fernando-he*
Fernando-CL
'Fernando tree' (lit. 'a tree where Fernandos grow')

(66e) *#pana-he*
house-CL
'house tree' (lit. 'a tree where houses grow')

3.7.3 Causatives

Iñapari has two causative constructions that are used to distinguish between the semantic role of the cause in the resulting predicate (grammatical marking related to the semantic roles of arguments is an obvious theme in the language). Both causative suffixes increase the valency of a verb by one. *-ʔá* indicates that the causee is non-volitional (i.e., they are being forced to do something) as in (67a), or is unaware of the causer's actions as in (67c). *-tahi* indicates that the causee is volitional (i.e., no force is implied), as (67b), or is aware of the causer's actions, as in (67d). It appears any class of verb can be the foundation for either causative construction.

Causative constructions

(67a) *no-niʔa-**ʔá**-ma-ri*
1SG-eat-CAUS.NVOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I forced him to eat'

(67b) *no-niʔa-**tahí**-ma-ri*
1SG-eat-CAUS.VOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I made him eat'

(67c) *n-ɨme-**ʔá**-ma-ri*
1SG.be.sick-CAUS.NVOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I made him sick without him knowing' (i.e., by secretly poisoning him)

(67d) *n-ɨme-**tahí**-ma-ri*
1SG-be.sick-CAUS.VOL-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I made him sick with him knowing' (i.e., by openly poisoning him)

3.7.4 Contrastive emphasis

There is a verbal morpheme *-yíí* that marks contrast in discourse participants. It has been glossed here as 'contrastive emphasis', perhaps vaguely. The function is to contrast the subject argument of a predicate with some other potential discourse participant, even when no other participant has been mentioned.

Contrastive emphasis

(68a) *no-yuaʔana-**yíí**-ma-ri*
1SG-send-CONTR-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I (and not someone else) sent it'

(68b) *aa-n-ava-**yíí**-ma-ri*
NEG-1SG-have-CONTR-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M
'I don't have it (but someone else might)'

(68c) *i-niʔa-**yíí**-ma-ri* *Juan*
3SG.M-eat-CONTR-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M Juan
'Juan (and not someone else) ate it'

3.7.5 Homophony

A salient feature of this documentation of Iñapari morphosyntax is a significant amount of homophony in the bound verbal suffixes. This was, and is, a source of difficulty for discovering morpheme boundaries and functions. This homophony has implications diachronically and synchronically, which need further study. For example, at least five different suffixes are pronounced identically.

Verb suffix homophony

(69a) *-ʔa* 'affirmative'
(69b) *-ʔa* 'iterative
(69c) *-ʔa* 'non-activity intransitive'
(69d) *-ʔa* 'imperative
(69e) *-ʔá* 'causative'

While it was not possible to collect information where all five of these suffixes were used in conjunction with a single verb root, several words using four of them were collected (providing evidence that they are not multiple functions of the same morph).

Examples of multiple homophonic suffixes on a single stem

(70a) *pi-niʔa-ʔa-ʔá-ʔa-ma-ʔa*
2-eat-IV-ITER-CAUS.NVOL-AFF-NFUT.DEF-IMP
'Indeed eat many times!'

(70b) *aa-a-ʔaʔa-ʔa-ʔá-ʔa-yaʔa-ma-naʔa-ʔa*
NEG-1PL-bathe-ITER-CAUS.NVOL-AFF-QUANT-NFUT.DEF-again-IMP
'Indeed, let's not cause others to bathe themselves often again!

During normal, unelicited speech, co-occurring homophonous suffixes are often simply reduced to an extra-long vowel, and it is expected that listeners will be able to distinguish which morphemes are being used, based on discourse context. This makes perceptual parsing an interesting problem for Iñapari speakers and language learners.

(71) */pi-niʔa-ʔa-ʔá-ʔa-ma-ʔa/*
[pi-niʔa-ʔá::-ma-ʔa]
2-eat-IV-ITER-CAUS.NVOL-AFF-NFUT.DEF-IMP
'Indeed eat many times!'

Of course, Iñapari descriptive work is only in its infancy. The materials resulting from the documentary efforts reported here present valuable information. It is hoped that more data can yet be collected and that further analyses can elucidate both synchronic and diachronic patterns of the Iñapari grammatical system.

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