

Some Features of Yora Grammar

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Abbreviations and Symbols

A	agent
ABS	absolute case
ABLOC	action-bearing location
AAC	agent accompaniative
ACC	non-subject syntactic argument of the verb
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjective
AP	this verb's action is previous to the governing verb's action
ATT	“at this time”; if the verb is not negated, the morpheme (-yo) means “do x action first”; if the verb is negated, the meaning is “yet” or “at first”
AUG	augmentative
BFUT	beyond intermediate future
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circularly
CMPL	complementizer
COMP	comparative
CTRST	contrastive
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
DES	desiderative
DET	the action or state has detrimental impact
DIS	the subject is not respected by the speaker
DS	the subject of this verb is not coreferential with the subject of the governing verb
DWN	the subject did the action in a downward direction, or did the action to the objects one after another
EMPH	the speaker is emphatic about the assertion
ERG	ergative case
ES	endscope marker for mirative information
EXCL	exclamation
EXH	exhortative
FALS	false start
FAV	the subject has favor in the speaker's eyes

FT	the action is done for the first time, or is done anew
FUT	future
GNLOC	general locative, as in, “that general area”
GVI	the governing verb is intransitive
GVT	the governing verb is transitive
HAB	habitual aspect
HES	hesitation expression
HSY	hearsay marker
HUM	human
I	indirect object
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
IMFUT	intermediate future
INSTR	ergative marker serving as an instrument marker
INT	interrogative
IT	iterative
ITR	this verb is intransitive
IVL	interval marker
LAT	the subject did the action from one side of the speaker’s “picture” of the scene towards the other side
LOC	locative
MENT	previously mentioned
MIR	mirative
MK	“make”
MAS	the subject of the sentence moved away from the speaker’s location after doing the action expressed by the root
MTS	the subject of the sentence moved towards the speaker’s location after doing the action expressed by the root
NDES	not wanting to do x action
NEG	negation
NHUM	non-human
NOCT	action done at night
NOM	nominative case
NOMIN	nominalizer
NPNF	near past/near future, depending on the context
NSUR	the speaker deems the information marked is not surprising to the hearer

NVIS	the referent is not visible to the speaker
O	direct object
OS	the object of this verb is coreferential with the subject of the governing verb
P	patient
PER	persuasion marker; if there is no explicit command, it is rendered in free translation as “so do what I imply”
PL	plural
PO	potential
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfective aspect
PST1	past tense used for events occurring in a relatively remote time period
PST2	past tense used for events occurring in a more recent time period than represented by PST1
PST3	past tense used for events having occurred recently, but not the same day of utterance
PST4	past tense marker used for events having happened the day before, or two days before
PST5	past tense marker used for events that happened the previous night, after the subject or others had retired
QTY	quantifier
RCP	reciprocal action
REDUP	previous morpheme reduplicated
REL	relativizer
REP	reportative
RFX	reflexive
RL	“really”
S	the subject of an intransitive verb
SG	singular
SLF	the action done by self-initiative or without external causation
SO	the subject of the marked verb is coreferential with the object of the governing verb
SOV	following the constituent order of subject-object-verb
SUS	the action is sustained, not completed right away
SS	the subject of this verb is coreferential with subject of governing verb
S ^u	subject
TS	time specifier
TR	this verb is transitive

TRANS1	the subject of this verb goes away from the speaker's location, does the action expressed, and then returns to the speaker's location
TRANS2	the subject of this verb comes toward the speaker's location, does the action expressed, and then goes away from the speaker's location
V	verb
WL	adverbial "well"
VIS	the referent is visible to the speaker
VOC	ergative marker serving as a vocative marker
?	the function/meaning of this morpheme has not been analyzed
1 (on pronouns)	first-person
2 (on pronouns)	second-person
3 (on pronouns)	third-person
. (period)	within a gloss, signifies that the next feature is intrinsic to the morpheme, or cannot easily be represented separately in a gloss
*	This construction was rejected by a Yora speaker.
bolded morpheme	in an example, the morpheme (s) under discussion; in prose, it distinguishes Yora morphemes and words from the rest of the prose
<u>underscored</u> non-verb constituent	represents the constituent as having emphasis
<u>underscored</u> clause or complement	this type of clause/complement is under discussion
<u>more than one constituent underscored individually</u>	constituent order or emphasized constituents under discussion
...	the preceding/following part of the sentence was left out because it does not contribute to the understanding of the morpheme under discussion, or because it was not "captured" during elicitation
<i>italics</i>	in the pronunciation section it denotes an individual Yora letter; within an example sentence it denotes a Spanish word

Spanish nouns which are functioning as ergatives or absolutes in the example sentences will not be glossed as to these roles, unless (in the case of ergatives) the speaker marks them with nasalization or a suffix (see section 2.3. about this case marking system).

SOME FEATURES OF YORA GRAMMAR

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

1.1. General information about the Yora

1.1.1 Population and location

Yora, a Panoan language of Peru, is spoken by between 300 and 450 persons. Many of the Yora live on the upper Mishagua River, at the mouth of the Serjali River, in a community called “Santa Rosa del Serjali”, and in an adjacent hamlet called “San Martín”. There are also a number of Yora living in the vicinity of Sepahua, a town on the Urubamba River which is downriver from the mouth of the Mishagua. Sepahua is the closest large town to the Yora community. It takes a day by motorized canoe to reach it, from Santa Rosa. To go upriver to Santa Rosa from Sepahua takes two days by motorized canoe.

1.1.2 Their name

The Yora call themselves **Yora** [yure],¹ which means “people”. The Yora term **Shara** [ʃere] (“good”) is used by mestizos and other people living in Sepahua. In government land records they are referred to as “Nahua” [nəwe], which for the Yora means “outsider” or “mestizo”, depending on the context.

1.1.3 Classification of the Yora language within the Panoan spectrum

In the *Documento nacional de lenguas originarios del Perú*, Yora is classified as being closest to the Yaminahua language (Ministerio de Educación 2013:564).

1.1.4 Sub-dialects

Individuals have claimed (and claimed about others) to be one of three sub-groups – either **Maxonafa** [beʂodewə], **Roanifo** [roediho] or **Iskonafa** [iskodewə]. They base their claim on what group they believe their father belongs/belonged to. I have not been able to detect that each group speaks a different dialect. There appear to be differences in acceptability of certain vocabulary and a few grammatical markers. This may indicate that at one time the three

¹ See the pronunciation section about pronunciation of Yora o.

subgroups did speak different dialects. Also, a number of the young people seem to be consciously trying to shed the traditional intonations and speed of speech, opting for a rapid instead of medium or slow rate of delivery.

1.1.5 Interaction with other groups

During several years preceding 1984 the Yoras only had hostile contact with outsiders, as far as I know. However somewhere in their people's history there must have been contact with people of different racial ancestry, because some of the people that were born before the 1984 contact have very fair complexions.

1.1.6 Yaminahua influence

For some years a number of Yoras lived among Yaminahua speakers of the Purús/Piedras river dialect, in one of the districts of Sepahua. Some of the Yora orphans of the epidemic of 1984 (Daggett 1991:50-54) were raised by Yaminahua speakers of that dialect. In addition, a few Yaminahua speakers of the Purús/Piedras river dialect have lived among the Yoras for many years. These factors have probably influenced some Yora speakers to use certain Yaminahua morphemes and words.

1.1.7 Data source considerations

To minimize influence from Yaminahua and Sharanahua on the data in this sketch, I mostly used data from speakers who have not spent a lot of time in Sepahua, where they would have had contact with Yaminahua speakers, and who do not noticeably use Yaminahua vocabulary. I also avoided using data from speakers who have Yaminahua or Sharanahua spouses. However in searching for examples featuring a particular morpheme, if I had already established that the morpheme or construction I was looking for was used by people who have not had as much exposure to the other languages, then I felt free to select an example featuring that morpheme or construction from data gathered from one of the individuals in the less-preferred pool of sources. Though it was not my preferred method of obtaining data, for a number of the examples I constructed a sentence, and if the speaker accepted it and repeated it, I used it. One of the contexts I did this was when I knew of an alternative form or anticipated there was an alternative form, and constructed a sentence with that form in it. Another context was when I changed components in the sentence to see if the same form could be used. Often the speaker corrected the sentence in some way, so then I used the modified sentence.

1.1.8 Other information about the people

The Yoras practice slash and burn agriculture, hunt and fish, and gather fruit. Their traditional world view is animistic. A number of the people attend Roman Catholic prayer services held by schoolteachers. Others attend an evangelical service. There is an elementary grade school in the village, founded by the Roman Catholic church. Its number in the public school system is 638. There are Yora young people attending high school classes at the Roman Catholic boarding school in Sepahua. At least one Yora is taking classes at a university in Atalaya, and a few Yoras have taken high school or university level classes in Pucallpa. One Yora has obtained a bachelor of arts degree from an institution in Pucallpa. A Yora speaker did post-secondary studies and received certification to teach. She has taught kindergarten in the Yora village for several years.

1.2. General information about the Yora language

1.2.1 Major features of the language

Probably the three most major characteristics of the Yora language are that the verb is clause-final, agreement in a given clause revolves around the transitivity of the governing verb, and most dependent verbs must indicate by a suffix whether its governing verb will have the same subject.

1.2.2 Alphabet and pronunciation guide

The Yora alphabet consists of 18 letters, which are the following: *a, ch, e, f, i, j, k, m, n, o, p, r, s, sh, t, ts, x, y*. The letters *a, ch, p, s, sh, t, y* are pronounced approximately the same as in English. (Specifically, the *a* is pronounced like the *a* in “father” [ɛ].) The rest are pronounced as described below:

The vowels marked with a tilde (*ã, ê, ï, ò*) are nasalized. For example: **isã** “ungurahui” (a species of palm). However the tildes that are on vowels following *m*’s and *n*’s are only to indicate that those consonants are [m] and [n], not that the vowels themselves are nasalized.

m varies between [m] and [b]. A nasalized vowel can also nasalize what precedes it in the word, depending on certain rules. For this reason there are two ways to pronounce *m* when reading Yora, depending on whether there is a vowel marked for nasalization immediately

following it. Nasalization or lack of it plays a part in Yora grammar. Many nouns are ergative or absolutive depending on whether they are nasalized (see section 2.3).

For example, **māri** “agouti” (its form when it is an ergative) is pronounced [məri]; **mari** “agouti” (in other environments) is pronounced [bəri] because it is not nasalized. Intra-morpheme [b] between two *i*’s and between *a* and *i* is sometimes pronounced [β]. For example, **imi** “blood” can be pronounced [ibi] or [iβi].

n varies between [n], and [d]. There are two ways to pronounce *n* when reading Yora, depending on whether there is a vowel marked for nasalization immediately following it. For example, **pinō** “hummingbird” (its form when it is an ergative) is pronounced [pino]; **pino** “hummingbird” (in other environments) is pronounced [pido] because it is not nasalized. When an *n* is utterance initial and not receiving nasalization from a segment that follows it, some speakers have been heard to pronounce it [n̥d]. I have not done a study to know if these speakers are consistent in this, nor what percentage of the people do this.

Additional information regarding interaction of nasalization with *m* and *n*:

As nasalization passes from right to left, it can pass through some consonants to affect *m* and *n* in preceding syllables, even across morpheme boundaries. In addition, the syllable that was the original source of the nasalization, sometimes de-nasalizes. For example, **nīke** “having stood up” can be pronounced [niki]. The root form of the verb “to stand” is **ni-** [di], but when switch-reference **-kē** is suffixed to it, it can be pronounced [ni], and **-kē** can be de-nasalized. See examples 92 and 232. The reasons for when this type of modification can occur are outside the scope of this paper.²

Other letters in the alphabet:

e is pronounced by positioning the tongue as if to pronounce *u* and the lips as if to pronounce *i*. An example: **epe** “yarina” (a species of palm) is pronounced [ip̥i].

f The following description is based mostly on the data from the speaker who pronounced most of the examples in this paper. Word-initial *f* followed by *a* or *e* seems to be pronounced [h^w] with more frequency than it is pronounced [w]. It has not been determined whether there

² See Eugene E. Loos’ paper “Discontinuous nasal spread in Yaminahua”. Some of his hypotheses may fit Yora patterns of nasalization.

are phonological rules influencing which pronunciation is chosen. An example: **fake** “child” can be pronounced [h^wɛki] or [wɛki]. Intra-word morpheme-initial *f* followed *a* or *e* can be pronounced either [h^w] or [w]. For example, the *f* in **-faĩ**, a suffix meaning “action done moving away from the speaker,” can be pronounced [h^w] or [w]. When *f* is word initial and followed by *i* it can be pronounced [h^w], [w] or [ϕ]. For example, the same individual pronounced the *f* in *fixotana* of example 253 as [h^w], the *f* in *fixotaita* of example 71 as [w], and the *f* in *fia* of example 315 as [ϕ]. When *f* is word initial and followed by *o*, it is pronounced as *h*. For example, **foo** “hair” is pronounced [hoo]. An exception to the rule is that **fo-** “go (plural)” has been heard pronounced [ϕ^wo]. Another exception is that **fo-** “transport something away from speaker” has been heard pronounced [wo] as well as [ho]. Intra-word morpheme-initial *f* followed by *o* can be pronounced [h]: **-fofa** “laterally” is pronounced [howɛ]. The plural suffix **-fo** can be pronounced [ho] or [wo]. It has been heard pronounced [βo] when it was preceded by an *o*. Vowel-medial *f* within a morpheme is almost always pronounced [β], but is sometimes pronounced [w]. For example, **afi** “wife” can be pronounced [ɛβĩ] or [ɛwĩ].

i is pronounced like the double *e* in “reed”. An example: **ini** “fragrant” is pronounced [ini].

j is pronounced as *h* in “head”. An example: **jekẽ** “no” is pronounced [hiki] with nasalization on the last syllable.

k sounds like English *k*. When it occurs between vowels within a word, some people pronounce it as a glottal stop. Some examples: **kashi** “bat” is pronounced [kɛʃi]; **oka** “ani” (a species of bird) can be pronounced [ukɛ] or [uʔɛ]; **koka** “uncle” can be pronounced [kukɛ] or [kuʔɛ].

o is pronounced [o] or something that sounds like [u]. Since the latter has no symbol representing it on the IPA chart, I will refer to it phonetically as [u]. A quick check of vowel sequences in two-syllable morphemes seems to show that the vowel preceding it can be a factor in how it is pronounced. If the vowel preceding it is *i* or *a*, it raises it or lowers it accordingly. For instance, *o* in the sequence *aCo* (*C* = consonant), such as in **sano** “larvae”, is pronounced [o], and the *o* in **iso** “spider monkey” has been pronounced [u]. High tone or stress may play a part also, since the high tone *o*’s in **noko** at the beginning of a sentence have been pronounced [u] but the low tone *o*’s in **noko** in a different environment have been pronounced [o].

r is a single flap *r*. An example: **riro** “musmuque” (a species of monkey) is pronounced [riro].

ts a *t* is pronounced, immediately followed by an *s*. An example: **tsaoti** “chair” is pronounced [tʂəoti].

x is pronounced similar to how *sh* is pronounced, but with the tip of the tongue retroflexed. An example: **xiki** “corn” is pronounced [ʂiki].

I have not done a study of Yora stress.

Where grammatical tone is discussed, some of the nouns are marked for tone. On two-syllable nouns marked for tone, an accent mark over a vowel indicates high tone and no accent mark on the other vowel indicates low tone. See section 2.3 for examples having grammatical tone marking.

NOTE: The presence of tone marking on one word does not mean that the rest of the sentence or even the rest of the word is marked for tone.

Contractions

Where one morpheme ends with the same vowel that the following morpheme begins with, contraction often occurs. However, for space and time considerations, in the examples I chose to spell out the full morpheme.

Mã and first-person pronoun *ẽ* often contract to *mẽ*, but in the examples the full morpheme *mã* is shown.

Some speakers contract other adjacent morphemes having different vowels, but in examples containing these contractions the full morpheme is given.

Nasalization marking considerations

I recorded a Yora speaker repeating the example sentences, in order to mark them for nasalization, given that not all the rules for nasalization have been determined.

The tendency of the speaker who repeated most of the examples for me was to nasalize the last syllable preceding a significant pause, most notably sentence-final. For this reason it wasn't always easy to know if the syllable of the last word of the sentence was inherently nasalized or

if it was her idiosyncratic nasalization. When I saw that in cases like perfective aspect **-a** and **-tiro**, this speaker did not nasalize them in non-sentence final environments, when she nasalized them in sentence-final position I did not mark them with a tilde. Otherwise I marked the data for nasalization as I heard it. Because of iterative nasalization and other phonological rules there will not be consistency between how nasalization is marked on morphemes in isolation and how they are marked in the examples, but explaining all the seeming irregularities is not within the scope of this paper.

In addition, there are several suffixes whose baseline nasalization status has not been determined. In such cases, if a given suffix is mentioned in isolation in this description, if it has ever been found to be nasalized with no risk of iterative nasalization spread from what followed it, it will be marked for nasalization as we have standardly marked such, on the last syllable (with exceptions for morphemes containing [m] and [n], as described above).

If the example sentence contained a feature that the principal speaker of the recordings does not use in her dialect, I recorded some other speaker repeating the example.

As I mentioned above, the main reason for recording the examples was to mark the nasalization correctly. If the speaker preferred to order the clauses differently from my original source's order, or added in a personal pronoun, I accepted the recording.

1.2.3 Some items of interest

Some interesting features of the language are grammatical tone (in addition to lexical tone), expressive narrative intonation patterns and sound effects, a multi-past tense system, a multi-future tense system and directional verb suffixes.

1.3. Theoretical approach

My grammar write-up is intended to be descriptive. My approach also draws from work done in typology and grammar universals. My main intended audience is people who want to learn the Yora language.

1.4. Scope of this description

I am only describing declarative sentences, with the exception of a brief description of imperative and interrogative markers in the purpose mode section, since the same markers are used for purpose constructions. There are some imperative and interrogative sentences included among the example sentences, but some suffix or construction other than imperative and interrogative markers is being illustrated in such examples. Since this is not intended to be a complete descriptive grammar of Yora, there are several suffixes which will only appear in a list in the Appendix.

2. CASE MARKING OF GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

Grammatical relations in Yora are distinguished by case marking. The case marking system is split-ergative. The first and second person pronouns follow a nominative-accusative pattern. Third person singular pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and nouns follow an ergative-absolutive pattern. Third person plural pronouns sometimes follow an ergative-absolutive pattern, and sometimes follow a tripartite pattern.

2.1. Case-marking of personal pronouns

In the following description and in other sections of this grammar sketch, the abbreviations S, A and P are used. S stands for “the only nominal argument of a single argument clause”, A stands for “the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause” (Payne 1997:133), and P stands for “the most PATIENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause” (Payne 1997:134).

2.1.1 Case-marking of first and second person pronouns

As seen in the chart below, first and second person S and A pronouns have the same form, and P personal pronouns are marked differently.

Chart 1. First and second person pronoun paradigm

Person number	S and A (Subject)	P (Object)
1SG	(ĩ/ẽ) [ĩ]/[ẽ]	ia/ea [ia]/[ia]
2SG	(mĩ) [mi]	mia [bia]
1PL	nõ [no]	noko [doko]or [do?o]
2PL	mã [ma]	mato [bato]

The top row of each cell shows how the pronouns are written, and the bottom row shows how they are pronounced.

There are two forms in the 1SG cells because of dialectal differences within the language. Apart from this, denasalized forms of the 1SG pronoun occur also.

The subject pronouns *ĩ/ẽ* and *mĩ* are in parenthesis in the chart because they can be omitted when the context is clear who is being referred to. They are commonly omitted during leave-takings.

Since languages which mark S and A the same, and mark the P differently are often said to have “nominative-accusative case marking”, when glossing the examples I will use NOM to gloss the first and second pronominal subjects, and ACC to designate the non-subject first and second pronouns. However, the forms in the P column of the chart also serve for first and second pronominal arguments which have the role of recipient or dative-of-interest. The role these pronouns have will be evident from the free translation.

An example of use of the 1SG in the role of subject in an intransitive clause:

- (1) *Ë* *nomi* *-koĩ.*
 1SG.NOM be.thirsty -RL
 I am really thirsty.

The same form is used in a transitive clause:

- (2) Chii mapo ã mâtso -mis.
fire ash.ABS 1SG.NOM sweep -HAB
I always sweep up the ashes.

An example of use of the 1SG in the role of patient:

- (3) Ia ifi -i o -fẽ.
1SG.ACC transport.to.addressee.location.HUM -IMPF come -IMP
Come and take me to where you are.

An example of the 1SG in the role of recipient:

- (4) Arroz -rifi ia inã -ita.
rice.ABS -ADD 1SG.ACC give -PST3
[She] gave me some rice, also.

An example of the 1PL in the role of subject in an intransitive clause:

- (5) Nõ afa -keran -i.
1PL.NOM run -MTS.ITR -IMPF
We took off running as we came.

The same form is used in a transitive clause:

- (6) Nõ tae fena -tirõ.
1PL.NOM footprints search -PO
We look for footprints.

An example of the 1PL in the role of patient:

- (7) Atirifi pãxta noko keyo -pai -tiro -ma.
some dogs.ERG 1PL.ACC bite -DES -PO -NEG
Some dogs don't want to bite us.

An example of the 2SG in the role of subject in an intransitive clause:

- (8) Tsaoti -ki **mĩ** tiis i -tan -a.
chair -ABLOC 2SG.NOM stumble do.ITER -TRANS1 -PRF
You stumbled against a chair.

The same form is used in a transitive clause:

- (9) Xoi fã -xo **mĩ** oĩ -ĩ.
hole.ABS make -PRF.SS.GVT 2SG.NOM see -IMPF
Having made it [the leaf] into a tube you are looking (through it).

An example of the 2SG in the role of patient:

- (10) **Mia** koi -nĩ na -ma -tiro -ki.
2SG.ACC smoke -ERG die -CAUS -PO -PER³
Smoke can kill you, so do what I imply.

An example of the 2PL in the role of subject in an intransitive clause:

- (11) **Mã** e -fe ka -tiro -mẽ.
2PL.NOM 1SG -AAC.GVI go -PO -INT
Can you folks go with me?

The same form is used in a transitive clause:

- (12) **Ē** mato iyo -nõ **mã** yõka -nõ.
1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC transport.HUM -EXH 2PL.NOM ask -EXH
I will take you folks [to him] so that you can ask [him].⁴

³ This is the gloss for a persuasion marker. The marker refers to either an implied or explicit command. If there is no explicit command that precedes or follows the marked statement, then the hearer is expected to know what action he is expected to take, in light of the situation described and marked with **-ki**.

⁴ The free translation here does not sound like an exhortation, but culturally the speaker expects the person hearing him to respond by telling him to do the action of the verb marked with **-nõ**. So perhaps one can think of this type of construction as an indirect exhortation.

An example of the 2PL in the role of patient:

- (13) Mǎ **mato** kena -a.
 now 2PL.ACC call -PRF
 He has called you folks.

Zero anaphora, that is the omission of a pronoun, never occurs when 1PL and 2PL participants are objects of the verb. The respective pronouns must be used.

2.1.2 Case-marking of third person pronouns

The Yora form for the third person singular pronoun is **a**. When its governing verb is transitive, this pronoun must be marked to show that it is the agent of the sentence, the A. It is marked with **-to**, for ergative case. When the governing verb is intransitive and this pronoun has the role of subject, it is not marked. It is the S of the sentence. The same is true for when it has the role of object in a transitive sentence. It is the P of the sentence and is not marked. Therefore the third person singular pronoun case marking system is an ergative-absolutive one (see section 2.2 for more information on this type of case marking). Below is a chart showing the Yora third person singular pronoun system. The parentheses in the table are to show that the pronoun enclosed can be omitted. In fact, omission of the pronoun, or zero anaphora, is the more common practice. One reason for this may be because of an empathy hierarchy ranking (see section 3.3.1 below).

Chart 2. Third person singular pronoun paradigm

A	S	P
(ato)	(a)	(a)

Following is an example showing use of the 3SG pronoun as an A. The verb governing it is transitive, so it carries an ergative marker.

(14) A -to fi -a -ma. Na -to fi -a.
 3SG -ERG obtain -PRF -NEG DEM.VIS -ERG obtain -PRF
He didn't get one. This one got one.

An example of the 3SG pronoun as an S:

(15) “Měfě kiti tosha -a -mẽ.” “A tosha -a -ma.”
 2SG.POSS cooking.pot.ABS break.ITR -PRF -INT 3SG.ABS break -PRF -NEG
“Did your cooking pot break?” “It didn't break.”

An example showing zero anaphor for 3SG S:

(16) Faka -tiro” ě fa -a.
 burn -PO 1SG.NOM say -PRF
I said, “[It] can burn.”

An example of the 3SG pronoun as a P:

(17) A -roko ě fi -fai -naka safeti.
 3SG.ABS -MIR 1SG.NOM obtain -all.day -IMFUT clothing.ABS
Contrary to what you expect, I will get it, that item of clothing.

An example showing zero anaphor for both the 3SG A and 3SG P pronouns:

(18) Nēte -fa -pai -ki achi -ita.
 stop -MK -DES -IMPF grab -PST3
Trying to stop [it] (the boat) [he] grabbed [it] (the cane).

The third person plural pronoun system is a tripartite system since when the form **ato** for P PL is used, each of the three forms for A, S and P are different. Below is a chart showing the Yora third person plural pronoun system. Parentheses are around all three forms to show that they may be omitted. It may be the case that the subject forms can be omitted without danger of ambiguity because the verb is commonly marked for plural when the subject is third person plural.

Ato is only used for animate P's, whereas **afō** can be used for both animate and inanimate P's.

Chart 3. Third person plural pronoun paradigm

A	S	P
(afafē)	(afo)	(ato)/(afo)

An example demonstrating use of the 3PL S pronoun:

- (19) Mā **a -fo** na -ni -fo.
 now 3 -PL.ABS die -PST1 -PL
 All those are now dead.

The plural patient form **afo** is required after a list of patients. One instance has been found where a list was followed by **ato**, but the list was also preceded by **ato**. More examples need to be found to confirm that this is representative of a pattern rather than a false start followed by a correction.

The pronoun form **afo** should not be confused with the noun **afo** that means “relatives”. The latter is always modified by a possessive pronoun adjective, e.g. “**efē afo**” (“my relatives”).

An example showing use of the 3PL A pronoun:

- (20) Nā nane -pake -a -tii -xō
 DEM.NVIS conceive -DWN -PRF -QTY -GVT

 ā **-fāfē** a -ni.
 3 -PL.ERG do.TR -PST1
 They did (engendered) each one of those siblings, also.

An example showing zero anaphor for 3PL S:

- (21) Niaifãfẽ ato kena -a
 chief.ERG 3PL.ACC call -PRF
- fe -**fai** -**yaxã** -**nõ** -fo.
 come.3PL -NPNF -IVL -EXH -PL
- The chief called them so that they will come.*

An example showing zero anaphor for both 3PL A and 3SG P:

- (22) Patsa patsa -ni -fo.
 pat pat -PST1 -PL
- [They] repeatedly patted [him] (on the chest).*

Below are three examples showing use of the 3PL P pronoun **ato**. In the first two examples, the form refers to people described by a noun phrase earlier in the sentence. In the third example the form refers to the subject of the subordinate clause.

- (23) ... efẽ koka ranã ã **ato** xiki
 ... 1SG.POSS maternal.uncle few.ABS 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC corn.ABS
- inã -a ea mini -xo -ta -nõ -fo.
 give -PRF 1SG.ACC give -BEN -TRANS1 -EXH -PL
- ... I gave a few of my uncles corn for them to go sell for me.*

- (24) Pachia nafa -fo -rifi **ato** mini -a.
 ripe.banana.ABS outsider -PL.ABS -ADD 3PL.ACC give -PRF
- [He] gave ripe bananas to the outsiders also.*

- (25) Isi -nĩ ik -aifãfẽ **ato**
 illness -INSTR do.STR -IMPF.SO.PL 3PL.ACC
- oi -fera -yame -xakĩ ã **ato** shinã -ĩ.
 see -MTS.TR -PST2 -IVL 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC think -IMPF
- Before I left to come [here], I saw that they were ill, so I am missing them.*

Below is an example showing use of the 3PL P pronoun **afo**. It refers back to a list of a variety of P's.

- (26) *Āsĩ* kefo koxo isko
 curassow.ABS partridge.ABS “koxo”.bird.ABS yellow.rumped.cacique.ABS
- a** **-fo** nĩ pi -tiro.
 3 -PL.ABS 1PL.NOM eat -PO
- Curassows, partridges, “koxo” birds, yellow-rumped caciques – those are what we eat.*

2.2. Case-marking of demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns also employ the ergative-absolutive case-marking system. The forms used for the S and P are the unmarked forms **na** and **nã**. They are made plural using the absolutive plural form **-fo**. The **A** is marked with ergative/instrumental suffixes **-to** or **-fafẽ**, the latter being for plural subjects. The pronouns **na**, **nato**, **nafo**, and **nafafẽ** are used to refer to something or someone that is visible to the speaker at the moment of the utterance. The pronouns **nã**, **nãto**, **nãfo** and **nãfafẽ** are used to refer to something or someone that is not visible to the speaker at the moment of the utterance. All eight forms can be pronounced with a lengthened *a*.

Chart 4. Demonstrative pronoun paradigm

Number	A visible	A non-visible	S and P visible	S and P non-visible
SG	nato	nãto	na	nã
PL	nafafẽ	nãfafẽ	nafo	nãfo

The first two examples show use of demonstrative pronoun **na** as an S, with the roles subject and object respectively.

- (27) **Na** tonã.
 DEM.VIS.ABS blue
This [is] blue.

(28) **Na** *ẽ* *tae* *-fa* *-nõ.*
 DEM.VIS.ABS 1SG.NOM begin -MK -EXH
I'm going to [eat] this first.

The next example shows **na** with its ergative suffix **-to**, to mark it as the A of the sentence.

(29) **A** *-to* *fi* *-a* *-ma.* **Na** *-to* *fi* *-a.*
 3SG -ERG obtain -PRF -NEG DEM.VIS -ERG obtain -PRF
He didn't get one. This one got one.

The next two examples show use of demonstrative pronoun **nafo** as an S, with the roles subject and object respectively.

(30) **Na** *-fo* *efẽ* *kaifo* *-ma.*
 DEM.VIS -PL 1SG.POSS relatives -NEG
Those [are] not my relatives.

(31) “*Afe* *-ska* *-fã* *-xo* *fi* *-chaka* *-yamea* *-fo* *-mẽti*
 something -COMP -MK -PRF.SS.GVI obtain -DIS -PST2 -PL -INT

naa *-fo*” *ẽ* *fa* *-yamea.*
 DEM.VIS -PL 1SG.NOM say -PST2
I asked myself, “How did those rascals obtain those?”

The following example shows **na** suffixed with the ergative plural suffix **-fafẽ**, to mark it as the plural A of the sentence.

(32) **Na** *-fafẽ* *ato* *a* *-xo* *-i.*
 DEM.VIS -PL.ERG 3PL.ACC do.TR -BEN -IMP
These will help them.

The next example shows use of demonstrative pronoun **nã** as an S in the role of subject. The pronoun refers to any Yora man in general.

(33) **Nã** yono -tiro -xã -kĩ yono -i
 DEM.NVIS.ABS work -PO -IVL -IMPF work -IMPF
 ka -i ka -tiro.
 go -IMPF go -PO

Having worked habitually in the past, that one can leave to go to work.

The following example shows use of demonstrative pronoun **nã** as a P. The sentence was given as what could be said after a caiman submerged into the river.

(34) **Nã** a -fe.
 DEM.NVIS.ABS do.TR -IMP

Do [kill] that.

The following sentence shows a lengthened form of demonstrative pronoun **nã** as an A. It is marked with ergative suffix **-to** to show concordance with its transitive verb.

(35) **Nãa** **-to** -rifi noko *fariña* fi -xo -ta -yamea.
 DEM.NVIS -ERG -ADD 1PL.ACC manioc.cereal obtain -BEN -TRANS1 -PST2

That same [guy] went and got manioc cereal for us.

The next two examples show use of demonstrative pronoun **nãfo** as an S, with the roles subject and object respectively.

(36) **Nã** **-fo** tae rafe -ta fo -mis -fo.
 DEM.NVIS -PL foot two -INSTR go.3PL -HAB -PL

Those go on two feet.

The following example shows use of demonstrative pronoun **nãfo** as a P. The speaker had reported what she had seen in a visit to the zoo.

(37) **Nã** **-fo** ã õi -ita.
 DEM.NVIS -PL 1SG.NOM see -PST3

I saw those.

The following sentence shows use of the demonstrative pronoun in its A form **nāfafě**.

(38) Měfe fake ak -a keskã -fã -kĩ
 2SG.POSS child.ABS do.TR -PRF do.like -MK -IMPF

nā -**fãfě** texe mini -mis -fo.
 DEM.NVIS -PL.ERG food give -HAB -PL

They give food in the same way that [someone] did to your child.

2.3. Case-marking of nouns

It has been demonstrated above that third-person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are marked according to whether they are in ergative or absolutive case. This is true of all nouns, also. All A's, which are in ergative case, are marked in one of three ways, depending on what noun class they belong to. The A's in one class are marked by an ergative suffix. The A's in another class are marked by a certain tone pattern plus nasalization. The A's in a third class are marked by reduplication of the last vowel in the word. All S's and P's, which are in absolutive case, are left unmarked. (See section 2.1.1 for what A, S and P represent.)

As for the A's that are marked with an ergative suffix, each noun in this class has its own suffix that is always used when the noun is in ergative case.

First we will look at an example in which there is an absolutive with the role of object. In this example, **koĩ** "smoke" has the role of object, therefore it is in absolutive case and is not marked. The absolutive form of **koĩ** has a high-low tone pattern and carries nasalization.

(39) **Kóĩ** xea -ax nō kaya -pai -tiro.
 smoke.ABS swallow -PRF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM get.well -DES -PO

If we have breathed smoke we try to recover.

In the example below, the verb of which **koĩ** is the subject is intransitive. In this case also, the absolutive form of **koĩ** must be used.

(40) Ina -ki -ri -ri **kóĩ** fo -tirõ.
 up -ABLOC -GNLOC -ADD smoke.ABS go.PL -PO

Smoke can go upwards, also.

The absolutive form of **koĩ** has a high-low tone pattern and carries nasalization. Most two-syllable nouns having these features as absolutives are ergativized by adding a suffix. In the example below, the verb of which **koĩ** is the subject is transitive, therefore **koĩ** is an **A** and the ergative form of **koĩ** must be used. The ergative form of **koĩ** is formed by attaching the suffix **-nĩ**.

- (41) Mia kóí -nĩ na -ma -tiro -ki. O -fe.
 2SG.ACC smoke -ERG die -CAUS -PO -PER come -IMP
Smoke can kill you, so come [away from it].

Not all A's requiring a suffix for their ergative form use the same suffix. For instance, the noun **amẽ** "capybara" uses **-nõ**, the noun **asĩ** "curassow" uses **-mã**, and the noun **peiya** "bird" uses **-to**.

- (42) Amẽ -nõ afa pi -tiro -mẽ.
 capybara -ERG something.ABS eat -PO -INT
What can capybaras eat?

- (43) Asi -mã pĩ -kĩ pio fimi pi -tiro.
 curassow -ERG eat -IMPF pio fruit.ABS eat -PO
What curassows can eat is "pio" fruit.

- (44) Peiya -to sano pi -tiro.
 bird -ERG larvae.ABS eat -PO
A bird can eat a larvae.

Now let's look at examples illustrating what forms nominals from another major noun class take for absolutive and ergative case. In the following sentence **afa** "his mother" is an **S** and therefore, as with other **S** nouns in the same class, has no nasalization, and the tone pattern is level (in this case, a phonetic description of the tone is actually mid-high, assuming that the high tone on the first syllable of **afa** was lowered a bit by the low tone preceding it).

(45) Aõ fake mano -i
 her child.ABS not.find -IMPF

áfá sãa i -tiro.
 his.mother.ABS cry do.ITER -PO.

When [she] discovers her child is not there, his mother can cry.

In the example below, the first occurrence of **afa** is an A and therefore it has the high-low tone pattern plus nasalization that all nouns in its class feature when ergativized. The second **afa** is a P and therefore is in absolutive case, so it has level tone (in this case, a phonetic description is mid-high, for the same reason given for the previous example) and absence of nasalization.

(46) Fake -shta áfã yoi -ano
 child -FAV.ABS his.mother.ERG tell -PRF.DS

anã áfá chãfa -tiro -ma.
 again his.mother.ABS follow -PO -NEG

After his mother tells the dear child (not to), [he] doesn't follow his mother anymore.

Nominals that are not nasalized and end in an alveolar, post-alveolar or retroflex fricative form a third major noun class, and are marked for ergative case by reduplicating the last vowel of the word onto the end of the word, and nasalizing it. In the first example, **kamox**, a species of venomous snake, is an S. It has no nasalization. The second example illustrates the ergative form. The o of the last syllable has been reduplicated, suffixed to the end of the word, and nasalized.

(47) Ka -ki kamox fichi -a.
 go -IMPF viper.ABS encounter -PRF

As [he] was going along [he] spotted a viper.

(48) Ia kamox -õ pi -ã e na tiro.
 1SG.ACC viper -ERG eat -PRF.OS 1SG.NOM die -PO

After a viper bites me, I can die.

3. CONSTITUENT ORDER

Yora has fairly flexible constituent order, with APV⁵ and PAV occurring nearly equally in frequency. Orders PVA and AVP are used infrequently. However I don't feel that I can label it as a flexible constituent order language, for the same reason I cannot claim it is an APV or PAV language, since I cannot yet say for certain what pragmatic motives the speaker has in varying the order. I am aware of certain possible factors, but because they may interact, it makes it more difficult to determine why in a given sentence the speaker chooses APV over PAV, and vice-versa. It may turn out that APV is the unmarked order when the agent is human, and that PAV is the unmarked order when the agent is non-human. Then it would be expected that non-APV orders are marked orders when the agent is human, and that non-PAV orders are marked orders when the agent is non-human.

3.1. Ordering of noun phrase arguments

To determine the order of noun phrase arguments I looked at nine oral narrative texts, which had a total of around 2844 clauses. In counting clauses which had an agent, patient and verb, or an S and a verb, I counted only clauses with arguments consisting of noun phrases, not pronouns. Furthermore, to get as pragmatically neutral a sample as possible, I did not count dependent clauses (unless they highly resembled independent clauses), negated clauses, clauses introducing a participant, and interrogative clauses.

3.1.1 Order of S and V in intransitive clauses

Out of the 43 clauses having a noun phrase S, in 37 clauses the S occurred before the verb. In 5 cases the S occurred after the verb. In one case the S occurred both before and after the verb, but this was a quote construction. This is not believed to occur in non-quote constructions.

Examples:

(49) Nā- -no takara ichapa -kōi ik -ita.
DEM.NVIS- -LOC chicken many -RL.ABS do.ITR -PST3
In that place there were a lot of chickens.

⁵ See section 2.1 for what the abbreviations A and P represent. The abbreviation V stands for “verb”.

(50) Afě fero is -ĩ.
 3SG.POSS eye.ABS hurt -IMPF
Her eye hurts.

(51) ... chiko -shta “A -fe e
 younger.sister -FAV.ABS 3SG -AAC.GVI 1SG.NOM

 tsao -kaspá -i -rã” ik -ita chiko -shta.
 sit -NDES -IMPF -REP do.ITR -PST3 younger.sister -FAV.ABS
 ... *younger sister. “I don’t want to sit with him,” younger sister said.*

3.1.2 Order of A, P and V in transitive clauses

In the same corpus, out of a total of 25 clauses having a noun phrase A and an implicit P, 24 clauses had AV constituent order, and one clause had VA order.

Following are two examples demonstrating AV order.

(52) Nāfa -rifi fi -xo -ita.
 outsider.ERG -ADD obtain -BEN -PST3
An outsider got [it] (some grass) also.

(53) Shipifāfē ak -a -fo -kiã.
 Shipibo.ERG.PL do.TR -PRF -PL -NSUR
Shipibos have done it, of course.

In the same corpus, out of a total of 30 clauses having a noun phrase P and an implicit A, all 30 clauses had PV constituent order, and one of these listed the same P again after the verb.

Following are two examples showing PV order.

(54) Fasi pi -ita.
 grass.ABS eat -PST3
[It] ate grass.

(55) A -no -xõ afa mana -ita.
 DEM.MENT -LOC -GVT its.mother.ABS wait -PST3
[It] waited for its mother there.

In the same corpus, 2 clauses had A and P noun phrases in the APV constituent order. One of the clauses was a repeat of a previous statement, minus a modifier.

(56) Ēfē iyoa yamāshta pisinafa ia
 my elder.brother respected.ERG woody.palm.heart.ABS 1SG.ACC

a -xo -shta -yamea.
 do.TR -BEN -FAV -PST2
My respected elder brother got some woody palm heart for me, dear fellow.

The other APV clause had a noun phrase as its A and the head of a relative clause as its P.⁶

(57) ... Chochonĩ nāa ēfē pakamaiti ē
 ... Chochodi.ERG DEM.NVIS 1SG.POSS bamboo.crown.ABS 1SG.NOM

 fe -a -a
 bring.NHUM -REL -PRF.ABS

 ia mā- fi -inĩ -fōfa -yamea.
 1SG.ACC head obtain -up -LAT.TR -PST2
... Chochodi took the bamboo crown I brought, off my head.

In the same corpus, 1 clause had A and P noun phrases in the PAV constituent order. Example:

(58) ... taoxaxo efē iyoa yamāshta
 ... palm.bark.canoe.ABS my elder.brother respected.ERG

achi -shta -xo -yamea.
 grab -FAV -BEN -PST2
... my respected elder brother grabbed hold of the palm bark canoe, dear fellow.

⁶ This particular example is actually a revised version of the original text, as a different Yora speaker felt the original was not a natural way to express the information.

3.2. Ordering of noun phrase and pronoun arguments

For typological purposes, constituent order of arguments is not traditionally established by counting clauses having at least one pronoun argument. However, since the Yora language makes use of pronouns so often I felt that such a study might show a preferred pattern of APV over PAV, but as will be shown, it did not.

For this study I used just one narrative out of the same corpus. This narrative had a total of around 666 clauses. I included clauses with at least one pronoun argument of whatever kind, i.e., personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns such as “everything”. As in the study described in section 3.1, to get as pragmatically neutral a sample as possible, I did not count dependent clauses (unless they highly resembled independent clauses), negated clauses, clauses introducing a participant, and interrogative clauses.

All of the examples in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 are from the text used for the study.

3.2.1 Order of S and V in intransitive clauses

Out of the 65 clauses having a pronoun S, in 64 clauses the S occurred before the verb. There were no cases of VS constituent order. In one case the S occurred both before and after the verb. (For comparison, this same text had 11 clauses in which a noun phrase constituted the S and preceded the verb, and 1 clause in which the noun phrase S followed the verb.)

The following example shows an independent clause with the pronoun **nō** “we” as its S.

(59) Nō o -ita.
1PL.NOM come -PST3
We came (this direction).

In the next example, the pronoun S precedes and follows the verb. The few occurrences of a subject occurring both before and after the verb give the impression of lending emphasis to the assertion.

(60) Ē mese -koĩ -ĩ ē.
1SG.NOM be.afraid -RL -IMPF 1SG.NOM
I was very afraid, I (was).

3.2.3 Placement of the indirect object

In the following prose sections on constituent order, S^u = subject, O = direct object, I = indirect object, and V = verb. S^u refers to either A or S. I am using S^u to represent “subject” instead of S, because S is what I use to refer to the single argument of an intransitive clause.

In the corpus of about 2844 clauses described in section 3.1, only one clause had a noun phrase for the S^u, O and I, but it cannot be used to establish an unmarked order because it introduced a participant (actually two new participants, the O and the I), which makes it not pragmatically neutral.

My narrative corpus not having a good supply of clauses with all noun phrase S^u, O, and I from which to deduce a pattern, I turned to those clauses in the same corpus having at least one pronoun argument. Of the 12 pragmatically neutral clauses found, three had S^uOIV order, three had OIV order without a subject, one had S^uIOV order, two had IOV order without a subject, one had OS^uIV order, and there was one each of S^uIV and IS^uV order.

In one of the three clauses having S^uOIV order, the I is probably a dative of interest. The clause having IS^uV order and one of the IOV clauses may have a dative of interest also.

An example showing S^uOIV constituent order:

(67) ... nafa -fafē ... fariña noko mini -yamea.
... outsider -PL.ERG ... manioc.cereal 1PL.ACC give -PST2
... *outsiders ... gave us manioc cereal.*

An example showing S^uOIV constituent order in which the I appears to be a dative of interest:⁷

(68) ... Chochonĩ nāa ēfē pakamaiti ē
... Chochodi.ERG DEM.NVIS 1SG.POSS bamboo.crown.ABS 1SG.NOM

fe -a -a
bring.NHUM -REL -PRF.ABS

⁷ This particular example is actually a revised version of the original text, as a different Yora speaker felt the original was not a natural way to express the information.

ia mã- fi -inĩ -fõfa -yamea.
 1SG.ACC head obtain -up -LAT.TR -PST2
 ... *Chochodi took the bamboo crown I brought, off my head.*

A clause showing S⁰IOV constituent order:

(69) ... nãa -to -ri noko fariña
 DEM.NVIS -ERG -ADD 1P.ACC manioc.cereal

fi -xo -ta -yamea.
 obtain -BEN -TRANS1 -PST2
 ... *that guy also, went and got some manioc cereal for us and came back.*

An example showing OS⁰IV constituent order:

(70) Ãnĩ chaka mĩ ia a -xo -tan -a -kĩ ...
 “anĩ”leaf bad 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC do.TR -BEN -TRANS1 -PRF -PER
You went and did wickd “anĩ” leaves for me and came back, so do what I imply

When including all clauses having an indirect object and an object, whether pragmatically neutral or not, in the text of one particular speaker, the speaker tended to use S⁰IOV constituent order when the valence of the clause was increased by some kind of marking in the verb, such as when the verb was marked with a benefactive, detrimental or causative. However this tendency needs to be confirmed by more pragmatically neutral occurrences. The two times that the speaker used S⁰OIV order even though the verb was marked for benefactive was when there was a strong possibility that he was drawing attention to the unusualness of the object (see example 56 in section 3.1.2 above).

Another speaker used OIV order when the verb was marked with a benefactive with much less consistency. One exception that might be pragmatically motivated was when she told of a subject doing an action for her but which did not result in the subject giving the object to her to keep, but only to look at.

(71) Fotõ ia fi -xo -ta -ita.
 photo 1SG.ACC obtain -BEN -TRANS1 -PST3
 [*She*] *went and got some photos for me and came back.*

3.3. Factors that possibly affect constituent order

The following are descriptions of factors that may possibly affect constituent order.

3.3.1 Empathy hierarchy status

In the Yora empathy hierarchy, humans outrank animals. Thus the empathy hierarchy may be what is influencing the object to precede the subject when the subject is non-human and the object is human, in the following example.

(72) Noko xāxo rete -tiro -ra ik -ax
1PL.ACC canoe.ERG kill -PO -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI

nō ene mēra pake -tiro.
1PL.NOM water in fall -PO

Having thought that the canoe can kill us we go down [deeper] into the water.

In the following example the Yora empathy hierarchy may be dictating that the first person pronoun is listed first, rather than the noun phrase referring to a non-person agent, “stomach”.

(73) Ia xaki -mā fina -chaka -ta -ita.
1SG.ACC stomach -ERG do.exceedingly -DIS -TRANS1 -PST3

Recently my stomach briefly (hurt) intensely; I don't like that.

In the next two examples the Yora empathy hierarchy may be dictating that the first person pronoun is listed first, rather than the third person indefinite pronouns.

(74) Ia tsōa paa a -pai -nō.
1SG.ACC someone.ERG hotpacks.of.leaves do.TR -DES -EXH

Oh that someone would put hotpacks of leaves on me.

(75) Ia tsōa afa mini -a -ma.
1SG.ACC someone.ERG something.ABS give -PRF -NEG.

No one has given me anything.

3.3.4 Emphasis

The repetition of a subject within a sentence, with the second mention occurring after the verb, may work together to give emphasis to the assertion. In the example below, the speaker relates his reaction to travelers in a boat who refused to give him a lift when he was struggling with a whirlpool.

- (78) “... na chaka -fāfē tsoa
... DEM.VIS bad -PL.ERG someone.ABS
- iyō -chaka -tiro -fo -ma -i na -fāfē”
transport.MAS.HUM -DIS -PO -PL -NEG -PER DEM.VIS -PL.ERG
- ē fa -yamea.
1SG.NOM say -PST2
- “... *these wicked guys don’t transport anyone, they [don’t], so do what I imply. How wicked of them!*” I said.

In the following sentence, a personal pronoun subject is placed after the verb, after already being made explicit earlier in the same clause.

- (79) ... ē fitsa -koī -īta ē.
... 1SG.NOM laugh -RL -PST3 1SG.NOM
- ... *I laughed hard, I [did].*

The fronting of a previously-introduced inanimate syntactic argument may express emphasis. In the following excerpt from a narrative, sentence 80 introduces the inanimate participant “masato” (manioc drink) for the first time. Unlike the animate non-human O of example 76 above, it is not fronted. However in the sentence 81 it is. In sentence 82 the speaker reverts back to the order she first employed. Sentence 83 gives information that makes it plain why she emphasized what she did.

- (80) Mā ē masato fa -a.
now 1SG.NOM manioc.drink make -PRF
- I have now made manioc drink.*

(81) Masato -rifi ě fa -a.
 manioc.drink -ADD 1SG.NOM make -PRF
I have made manioc drink also.

(82) Na rama ě masato fa -a.
 DEM.VIS recently 1SG.NOM manioc.drink make -PRF
I recently made manioc drink.

(83) ... ĩ afa fa -yo -fãfain -a -ma
 ... 1SG.NOM something.ABS make -ATT -IT.TR -PRF -NEG
 kaya -xo -ma.
 get.well -PRF.SS.GVT -NEG
... at first I wasn't making anything, not having gotten well.

The context for the following two examples was that the speaker was contrasting what food she could go to someone else's house to consume and what she could not go to someone else's house to consume. She had already made the same contrast earlier in the text, so "masato" had already been introduced. Therefore it seems likely that the fronting of it in the example below was for emphasis. Example 85 immediately followed it in the text, and shows the other half of the contrast.

(84) Masato fisti ĩ a -pai -i ka -tiro ...
 manioc.drink one.ABS 1SG.NOM do.TR -DES -IMPF go -PO ...
I go just to drink manioc drink ...

(85) ... ě nami chaka nika -fãĩn -i
 ... 1SG.NOM meat bad.ABS hear -MAS.TR -IMPF
 ka -tiro -ma.
 go -PO -NEG
On the other hand, I don't go because of hearing about their old meat.

3.3.5 Specification

When a P of an independent clause is in post-verb position, it could be to specify what a qualifier used earlier in the clause refers to.

(86) Nātifi -xō nō ōī -yata -ita
all -GVT 1PL.NOM see -SUS -PST3

ato ina -fo.
3PL.POSS domestic.animal -PL.ABS

We took our time looking at all of them, all their domesticated animals.

(87) Paxa chaka raka -ita a nami.
raw bad.ABS lie -PST3 DEM.MENT meat.ABS

Old raw stuff was lying there, that is, meat.

3.4. Constituent order of noun phrases containing a noun and adjective

The basic constituent order of this type of noun phrase is noun-adjective. This is inconsistent with the expectation that modifiers in OV languages precede the noun (Greenberg 1963:78).

Examples:

(88) ... pi -ti shara -koī nō pi -a.
... eat -NOMIN good -RL.ABS 1PL.NOM eat -PRF
... *we ate very good food.*

(89) Kīti fexte -ki ta- rata -i o -i.
pot thin -ABLOC foot- lay -IMPF come -IMPF
She is coming to lay [the meat] in a thin cooking pot.

3.5. Genitive noun phrase constituent order

The basic constituent order of the genitive noun phrases is genitive-noun. This is consistent with the expectation that in languages having postpositions the genitive almost always precedes the noun (Greenberg 1963:88). Examples:

(90) ... ēfe choka ni- -ri nee -ita.
 ... 1SG.POSS clothing.ABS DEM.VIS- -GNLOC cling -PST3
 ... *my clothing clung here.*

(91) Nōko pachia iki -ita -ma.
 1PL.POSS banana.ABS enter -PST3 -NEG
Our bananas didn't go in [the river].

3.6. Numeral noun phrase constituent order

The basic constituent order of the numeral noun phrases is noun-numeral. This is inconsistent with the tendency of numerals to precede the noun even when descriptive adjectives follow the noun (Greenberg 1963:67). Examples:

(92) **Rao** **fisti** ia fō -xo -ano
 med one.ABS 1SG.ACC transport.MAS.NHUM -BEN -PRF.DS

 nã ã xeya -ita.
 DEM.NVIS.ABS 1SG.NOM swallow -PST3
After they took one pill over to me, I swallowed it.

(93) **Oke** **rafe** ak -ita.
 inside two.ABS do.TR -PST3
He did [its] two inner places [inner ears].

Example 94 demonstrates the adoption of Spanish numeral and noun constituent order when a Spanish numeral is used. In the Spanish system the numeral precedes the noun.

(94) **Ocho** **día** oo -xifi.
 eight day come -BFUT
[It] will come in eight days.

3.7. Constituent order in noun phrases containing a noun and a demonstrative

The basic constituent order of this type of noun phrase is demonstrative followed by the noun. This is consistent with the tendency of demonstratives to precede the noun even when descriptive adjectives follow the noun (Greenberg 1963:67). Examples:

(95) Nā fai a- -no noko nīchi -itā.
DEM.NVIS trail DEM.MENT- -LOC 1PL.ACC drop.off -PST3
[He] let us off at that road.

(96) Na nokofenē yono -tiyani.
DEM.VIS man.ERG work -HAB
This man works regularly.

3.8. Constituent order in locative phrases

Oblique constituents expressing location are expressed as postpositional phrases. This is consistent with the universal that states that OV languages use postpositions (Greenberg 1963:62). Here are some examples:

(97) Ia fisfā achi -ita e kachio -ri.
1SG.ACC ? grab -PST3 1SG behind -GNLOC
[They] grabbed me from behind.

(98) No- -no tishpi mēra nō mishki -tiro.
DEM.VIS- -LOC throat in 1PL.NOM stick -PO
[It] can get stuck here in the throat.

4. TENSE, ASPECT AND MODE

4.1. Tense

Yora has different types of markers to express when an event occurred or will occur. These include tense suffixes and aspect markers.

4.1.1 Past tense

This section illustrates how past time is marked in Yora, in independent clauses and dependent same-subject clauses.

4.1.1.1 Past tense in independent clauses

There are six time periods represented by corresponding five past tense suffixes and one aspect marker. The following shows the relative placement of these suffixes on a time line, beginning with the one representing the most remote point in time on the left, progressing to the one representing the most recent time period on the right.

Chart 5. Time markers for past events

-ni	-mis/-yamea/-ti	-ita	-fayamea	-fa	-a
Relative Past	Relative Past	Relative Past	Past	Past	Past
1	2	3	4	5	6
Remote	Intermediate	Recent	Yesterday	Last night	Today

The Yora numbering system is comprised of **fisti** “one” and **rafe** “two” (but not always precisely two). I have seen them show fingers, hands and feet for showing a quantity of something or of people.⁸ Individuals familiar with the Spanish numerical system will use Spanish terms for numbers beyond “two”, and depending on how much schooling they have had, the number may or may not match the actual quantity. However, their past tense system co-existed with their limited and flexible numbering system long before they became acquainted with the Spanish numerical terms. Because of this, and because different individuals can assign different tense markers to the same event, I think it is better not to try to impose an exact number of months or years for these tenses for determining how long ago a particular event occurred.

It might turn out to be the case that the parameters of the tenses’ time spans have events as their axes. The parameters might be oriented around chronological landmarks in the individual’s life. If that is the case, the parameters would differ for each person.

⁸ On one occasion, when the chief was teaching me how to count, he gave the names of certain fingers for the numbers three, four and five. However, I have not heard other Yoras use names of fingers for numbers.

I have labeled the three past tenses which mark events that took place before yesterday as being relative past tenses, because of the flexibility of use as described below. I will give a small sample of the spans of time that have been found to be involved with each tense marker and with the aspect marker.⁹

4.1.1.1.1 Relative past 1

The past tense marker **-ni** (past 1) is associated with events that happened several years or more ago.

The following example refers to an event that took place when the adult speaker was a child.

- (99) Ë fai fena **-ni**.
1SG.NOM trail.ABS search -PST1
I was the first-born.

The following example refers to an event that took place between eighteen and twenty-five years previous to the time of the utterance, when the speaker had her first baby.

- (100) Yame ia a -shĩ **-ni**.
night 1SG.ACC do.TR -NOCT -PST1
She did it to me [caused labor pains] in the night.

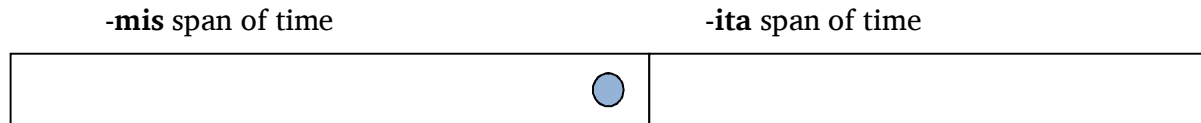
4.1.1.1.2 Relative past 2

There are three forms to express this relative past tense: **-mis**, **-yamea** and **-ti**. The past 2 suffix **-mis** has been used for events that took place within half a year to a year prior to the utterance. It has been used interchangeably with **-yamea**. At least one Yora speaker regards **-mis** as referring to a more recent time period than **-yamea**.

The following example was prefaced by a statement that the event happened a year previous. The qualifying adverbial phrase **rama shara** perhaps reveals a schema in the speaker's mind of **-mis** events happening at some point in a finite span of time, and she views the time of this

⁹ For the tense systems of Yaminahua and Junikuin (Kashinahua), see Faust and Loos 2002:119-122 and Montag 2008:36-37. For the tense system of Amahuaca, see Sparing-Chávez 2012:6,8. These three are Panoan languages of eastern Peru.

event to be close to the endpoint of the **-mis** span, and close to the beginning of the **-ita** span, like this:



(101) Rama shara i **-mis** feno -i.
 recently good do.ITR -PST2 become.lost -IMPF
It happened very recently, that [he] got lost.

The event referred to in the following statement took place four months previous to the utterance.

(102) Mariana mĩ ka **-mis** õshĩ -ano.
 Mary Ann.ERG 2SG.NOM go -PST2 become.red -PRF.DS
Mary Ann, you left after [she] had completed the red stage.

Past tense suffixes **-yamea** and **-ti** seem to be associated with the same time period. The suffix **-yamea** can be used for events that are as recent as three or four weeks ago, but not for events of the day before. Where **-yamea** is used, **-ti** will sometimes be used also in the same context. The former is used a lot more than the latter.

The following event took place within four weeks of the utterance.

(103) Ē mesta i -ta **-yamea**.
 1SG.NOM jump do.ITR -TRANS1 -PST2
I jumped, being startled.

The time of the event about which the following statement was made is uncertain. It took place somewhere between five and seven weeks prior to the utterance. Thirteen days before the utterance someone else referred to the event using the relative past tense 3 **-ita**.

(104) Keke -kě ã -fãi **-yamea** -fo -kia.
 order -PRF.SO do.TR -MAS.TR -PST2 -PL -HSY
I heard that they did it and then left, because someone told them to.

The event referred to in the following example took place somewhere between one and four months previous to the utterance.

- (105) Mã fene -fe kemã -nã -ti.
now husband -AAC.GVI answer -RCP -PST2
She got back together with her husband!

The event referred to in the following example took place about four months previous to the utterance because it was when a squash that was recently harvested was planted.

- (106) Efẽ efã fana -ti.
1SG.POSS mother.ERG plant -PST2
My mother planted it some months ago.

4.1.1.1.3 Relative past 3

The suffix **-ita** is associated with the recent past. Some speakers also use it interchangeably with past 4 to refer to an event that took place the day before.

The following example refers to an event that took place four months before the utterance.

- (107) ... ẽ chi xoisã- -fã -tã ẽ yoo -ita.
... 1SG.NOM fire.ABS flame.up -MK -AP 1SG.NOM warm.self -PST3
... right after fanning the fire up, I warmed myself by it.

The next example refers to an event that took place within a week or two of the utterance.

- (108) Ia ene fi -xõ -ãno ãya -ita.
1SG.ACC water.ABS obtain -BEN -PRF.DS 1SG.NOM drink -PST3
After [he] got me [some] water, I drank [it].

The next two examples refer to events that took place the day before the utterance. In the case of the first example, shortly afterward the speaker used **-fayamea** to refer to the same event.

- (109) Sete -nã -ita -fo.
hit -RCP -PST3 -PL
They were in a fist-fight.

(110) Nō isafo pi -itaa.
 1PL.NOM peccary.ABS eat -PST3
 We ate white-collared peccary meat.

4.1.1.1.4 Past 4

If **-fayamea** is used, it refers to an event that took place the day before or a few days before the time of the speech act. It is tentatively analyzed as being a combination of near-past/near-future suffix **-fai**¹⁰ and relative past tense suffix **-yamea**.¹¹

The time context for the next two utterances by the same speaker on the same day was a Wednesday.

(111) E lunes mano -fayamea.
 1SG.NOM Monday not.find -PST4
 I noticed it was missing on Monday.

(112) ... mano -ita.
 ... not.find -PST3
 ...noticed it was missing.

In the following example the same speaker that supplied the previous two examples stated that the following can be said “after one sleep”. A temporal adverbial phrase “that day” narrows the time of the event to the day before the utterance.

(113) Na xafa -tā ē mano -fayamea.
 DEM.VIS light -AP 1SG.NOM not.find -PST4
 Yesterday I noticed it was missing.

¹⁰ See sections 4.1.2.3 and 4.3.4.2 for this suffix’s use with future time markers.

¹¹ I am indebted to Faust’s and Loos’ suggested analyses of the Yaminahua forms **-faiyamea** and **-fainaka** (2002:120, 123) by which I was alerted to the possibility that **-fai** means “one day from today”, since the marker **-fayamea** can mean the previous day, and future marker **-fainaka** can express “tomorrow”. I give a slightly different analysis of the morpheme **-fai** in order that it cover for when it refers to events a one or more days prior to today or one or more days after today, and for when it expresses “all day”.

4.1.1.1.5 Past 5

Past tense **-fa** is used to signal that an event took place the night before.

(114) Yame a **-fa**.
evening do.TR -PST5
(I did (killed) (it) last night.

(115) “Ka **-fa** -ma. Aicho” fa -tiro.
go -PST5 -NEG Yay say -PO
One can say “[He] didn’t leave last night. Yay!”

4.1.1.1.6 Past 6

The most common role of perfective aspect marker **-a** is to express that an event happened earlier in the day, on the same day of the utterance.

For example, a Yora speaker said that we can say the following not having slept yet, in other words, the same day as the event.

(116) Na pena -tã ã mano **-a**.
DEM.VIS dawn -AP 1SG.NOM not.find -PRF
Today I noticed it was missing.

The following two utterances were spoken consecutively. They were in response to my question asking if the speaker had washed clothes today. Her answer shows the contrast between the time frames indicated by past tense 3 and perfective marker **-a**.

(117) Ì a -tan **-a** -ma.
1SG.NOM do.TR -TRANS1 -PRF -NEG
I didn’t go do it (wash clothes) today.

Ì a -ta **-ita** na xafa -tã.
1SG.NOM do.TR -TRANS1 -PST3 DEM.VIS light -AP
I went and did it yesterday.

If the action is represented by a locomotion verb and/or modified by a directional suffix, then a noticeable amount of time has to have passed between the time of the event and the time of the report, for **-a** to be used. If the event happened immediately prior to the speech act reporting it, then a different suffix is used (see 4.2.1.1.1.1).

The context of the following utterance was that the event reported took place around noon, and the report took place at 4:20.

- (118) Oi oxo -pa i -fān -a.
 rain white -ADJ do.ITR -TRANS2 -PRF
 The sunny day rain shower came and left earlier today.

The following utterance reported an action that was being done repeatedly at the time of the utterance, so it was unexpected that perfective aspect marker **-a** was used instead of the imperfective marker **-i** (see 4.2.1.1.1.1).

- (119) *Zapatilla* kexto mee -kĩ mee mee ak -a.
 tennis.shoe thick sense -IMPF sense sense do -PRF
 He was repeatedly feeling of the thickness of the tennis shoes.

4.1.1.2 Dependent clauses marked for past tense

When a tense marker occurs on a dependent clause, the construction shows that the dependent verb's event did not happen the same day as the governing verb's event, but at some point farther back in the past. The tense marker gives the hearer an idea of how much time passed between the event expressed by the dependent verb and the event expressed by the governing verb. There are three dependent clause markers that can be preceded by a tense marker: same-subject interval marker **-xakĩ**, and switch-reference markers **-ano** and **-kẽ**. See sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.2.3 for examples of tense markers in switch-reference clauses.

4.1.1.2.1 Same-subject dependent clauses marked for past tense

When a past event represented by a dependent clause did not take place the same day as the event of the governing clause, and the subjects of the two clauses are the same, a tense marker followed by interval marker **-xakĩ** is employed. Same-subject interval marker **-xakĩ** does not indicate whether the marked verb has transitivity concordance with its governing verb. See section 4.2.2.3.1 for its function when preceded by a potential mode marker.

This interval marker is composed of interval marker **-xa** and imperfective marker **-kĩ**.

Examples illustrating same-subject interval marker **-xakĩ**'s use with tense markers.

(120) I- -skara -ma pexe fa -ni -xa -kĩ tiki -ita.
 VIS- -COMP -NEG house.ABS make -PST1 -IVL -IMPF move -PST3
Not recently, having made a house a long time ago, he moved.

(121) Fenãmãri ka -fã -xa -kĩ yora feno -tiro.
 morning go -PST4 -IVL -IMPF person.ABS become.lost -PO
Having gone in the morning before it gets light out, a person can become lost.

The tense marker **-yamea** is truncated to **-yame** in this type of a construction.

(122) Nã -skara -fi ě yoi -tiro -kĩ
 DEM.NVIS -COMP -EMPH 1SG.NOM tell -PO -PER
 a- -ska -yame -xa -kĩ.
 DEM.MENT -COMP -PST2 -IVL -IMPF
Having experienced that some time ago, I can tell about it like that!

4.1.2 Future time

There are five kinds of timeline future expressed in Yora: today-future, tonight-future, relative future beyond today, intermediate future and beyond intermediate future. There are five Yora markers that can be used to mark verbs for future, and one of them, **-naka**, can be modified by other time suffixes to express tonight-future and relative future beyond today. Their relative placement on a timeline is represented in the following chart.

Chart 6. Markers used to express future time

-i/-i kai	-shinaka	-fainaka	-naka	-xifi/-nōpokoi
Future 1 today	Future 2 tonight	Future 3 tomorrow or in a few days	Future 4 beyond–tomorrow future: intermediate future	Future 5 beyond intermediate future

In conjunction with all of these markers an adverbial phrase can be used to specify a certain time in the future.

4.1.2.1 Today-future time

Today-future time, that is, sometime later in the day and not necessarily immediately, is expressed using the imperfective aspect marker **-i** or future marker **-i kai**. These same markers are used for other time periods (see section 4.1.2.6), but context disambiguates which time period is meant.

4.1.2.1.1 Use of imperfective aspect marker -i for expressing today-future time

Future time referring to some event expected later the same day can be expressed morphologically and analytically, by using imperfective aspect **-i** with a temporal adverb or adverbial clause.

(123) Yame -ta rao xea -man -i.
 become.evening -AP medicine.ABS swallow -CAUS -IMPF
 [She] will give [him] medicine in the evening.

(124) Yatapake a -fe tsãĩ ik -i.
 late.afternoon 3SG -AAC.GVI talk do.ITR -IMPF
 [He] will talk with her in the late afternoon.

4.1.2.1.2 Use of future constructions -i kai/-i fokani for expressing today-future time

A verb suffixed by the imperfective marker **-i** followed by the verb **ka** which is also marked with imperfective **-i**, can be used to refer to some event expected later the same day, with or without a temporal adverb or adverbial clause.

The verbs of this construction, **ka-** or its plural form **fo-**, have the meaning “go”. English uses a similar construction, “going to” as a kind of future marker. As the first two examples demonstrate, it does not necessarily indicate that the subject is going to move away from the locus of the speaker.

(125) Samama -shta ã o -i ka -i -ki”
soon -FAV 1SG.NOM come -IMPF go -IMPF -PER

fa -tiro.

say -PO

[He] can say, “I’m going to come soon, so do what I imply.”

(126) “Afiãã ã poke -feran -i ka -i -ki” fa -tiro.
again 1SG.NOM cross -MTS.TR -IMPF go -IMPF -PER say -PO

[He] can say, “I am going to cross and come again, so do what I imply.”

(127) Fo- -ske -kãin -i ka -i -ra
head- -break.off -MAS.ITR -IMPF go -IMPF -REP

ik -ax nã rate -yamea.

do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM be.afraid -PST2

We were frightened because we thought [it] was going to break off at the top.

This construction has two additional uses: future-in-past and contingent future. The meaning intended in a given utterance is sorted out by the context. (See section 4.1.2.7 for the future-in-past use of this suffix and section 4.1.2.8 for its contingent future function.)

Just as there are past tense markers that are relative to one another but do not delineate fixed time frames, there are also future time markers that are relative to another and do not indicate fixed time frames.

4.1.2.2 Tonight future time

Future events expected to take place in the night can be expressed morphologically using the adverbial “in-the-night” marker **-shī** plus future tense marker **-naka**. Some speakers, perhaps because of Yaminahua influence, use **-shī** only for events that will take place all night. Since **-shī** has been found on at least two verbs that are inherently punctual (see examples 128 and 129), I am giving it the more general gloss “in the night”, which covers both a durative and punctual meaning.

(128) Nēxpakayā nō fā **-shī** **-naka**.
Middle 2SG.NOM place -NOCT -IMFUT
In the night we will put [our child] between [us].

(129) Ē noko **-shī** **-naka**.
1SG.NOM arrive -NOCT -IMFUT
I will arrive in the night.

The following could be interpreted as describing either a punctual or durative event.

(130) Yame -tā oi ĩ- **-shī** **-naka**.
become.evening -AP rain.ABS do.ITR -NOCT -IMFUT
After it gets dark, it will rain in the night.

4.1.2.3 Tomorrow future time

Future events planned for “tomorrow” or within the next few days can be expressed morphologically using a combination of the suffix **-fai** that marks near-past¹²/near-future events, and relative future tense marker **-naka** (see section 4.1.2.4 about the latter). This construction is made plural by adding the plural suffix **-fo**.

The following example shows that the use of this marker is not restricted to events that will happen on the next day.

¹² See footnote 10.

(131) Fato -ra xafa ě mi -ki noko -i
 which -any light 1SG.NOM 2SG -ABLOC arrive -IMPF

o -fai -naka -ki ...
 come -NPNF -IMFUT -PER ...

Any day soon I will come to where you are, so do what I imply ...

The example below shows the use of this marker with the plural suffix **-fo**.

(132) Na xafa -tã fai fana -fai -naka -fo.
 DEM.VIS light -AP field.ABS plant -NPNF -IMFUT -PL

Tomorrow they are going to plant a field.

4.1.2.4 Future tense marker **-naka**

Events occurring more in the future relative to **-fainaka**-marked events are marked with intermediate future suffix **-naka**. However this marker is not used very much without a preceding modifier. When it occurs, it is usually in conjunction with **-shi**, **-fai** or **-pã/-pake** (see section 4.2.1.3.4 for its use with the latter). The plural suffix **-fo** follows **-naka** to form **-nakafo**.

When **-naka** follows a one-syllable verb root, the vowel of the verb root is lengthened. (See examples 133 and 134.)

An example showing use of the future suffix **-naka** without a temporal adverbial phrase:

(133) Anã mĩ oo -naka -mẽ.
 Again 2SG.NOM come -IMFUT -INT
Will you come again?

An example showing use of the future suffix **-naka** with a temporal adverbial phrase:

(134) Oxe fetsa kaa -naka.
 moon other.ERG go -IMFUT
[He] will go some other month.

The next example is a rhetorical question. It was given as being something someone could say if someone else did x unacceptable behaviour.

(135) Afe -tiã mĩ tapi **-naka** -mẽ.
 something -TS 2SG.NOM learn -IMFUT -INT
 When will you learn?

4.1.2.5 Future tense markers -xifi and -nōpokoi

Events occurring more in the future relative to **-naka** are marked with either **-xifi** or **-nōpokoi**. For some Yora speakers the suffixes are interchangeable. For others, the **-nōpokoi** marker indicates a time period more in the future than the **-xifi** marker does.

The plural of **-xifi** is constructed by inserting the plural suffix **-kan**, to form **-xikani**. The plural form of **-nōpokoi** is constructed in the same way, to form **-nōpokokani**.

The Yaminahua equivalent of **-xifi** is **-xii**, and some Yora speakers use the latter rather than **-xifi**. This is probably because they lived in close proximity to Yaminahuas for several years.

Since plural suffix **-kan** can be inserted in **-xifi** and **-nōpokoi**, and because in both cases the final “i” can be replaced with certain other suffixes, I have analyzed these future markers as being respectively, combinations of future tense marker **-xi** and imperfective marker **-i**, future tense marker **-nōpoko** and imperfective marker **-i**. Though in the past this imperfective marker on these future markers might have expressed imperfective aspect, they do not appear to do so now. In parsing the examples, I will only parse the imperfective marker in the plural forms.

When **-xifi** follows a one-syllable verb root, the vowel of the verb root is lengthened. (See examples 137-140.)

The first two examples below demonstrate that the time period represented by **-xifi** is further into the future than the one represented by **-fainaka**. I asked a Yora speaker for the meaning of the first sentence below, and he said in Spanish, “Tomorrow I go”. When I asked if I could say **kafainaka** if I were going in August (I asked this question in April of the same year), he gave the second sentence.

(136) Ē ka **-fai** **-naka** -ki.
 1SG.NOM go -NPNF -IMFUT -PER
*I am leaving tomorrow, so do what I am going to ask you to do.*¹³

(137) Ē kaa **-xifi**.
 1SG.NOM go -BFUT
I will leave.

An example showing use of the future suffix **-xifi** with a temporal adverbial phrase:

(138) Fari fisti xeta ya ii **-xifi**.
 sun one.ABS tooth.ABS have do.ITER -BFUT
After one year she will have a tooth.

The following example shows use of the future suffix **-xifi** without a temporal adverbial clause, but the time frame context (turtle egg season, which was to start in two months) had already been established earlier in the conversation.

(139) Fari pãě **-fã** **-kõĩ** ii **-xifi**.
 sun.ABS pain -AUG -RL do.ITER -BFUT
The sun will be very hot.

The example below demonstrates the plural form **-xikani**. The event referred to was to take place in two months.

(140) Yora **-fãfě** něxo too fi -i foo **-xi** **-kan** **-i**.
 person -PL.ERG turtle.ERG egg.ABS obtain -IMPF go.3PL -BFUT -PL -IMPF
People will go get taricaya turtle eggs.

An example showing use of the plural form of future suffix **-nõpokoĩ** without a temporal adverbial phrase:

¹³ “so do what I am going to ask you to do” is communicated by persuasive suffix **-ki**.

(141) Ēfē fake -fāfē ia ōi -i
 1SG.POSS child -PL.ERG 1SG.ACC see -IMPF

fe -nōpoko -kan -i.
 come.3PL -BFUT -PL -IMPF

My children will come to see me.

An example showing use of the future suffix **-nōpoko** with a temporal adverbial phrase:

(142) Oxe fafe -aino poye -nōpoko.
 moon.ABS shine.brightly -IMPF.DS stage.x.development -BFUT

When the moon is shining brightly [the baby] will go into the “poye” stage of his development.

4.1.2.6 Conditions for interchangeability of future suffixes

Some of the future suffixes are interchangeable, but only when the context has established what time period is being referred to.

The suffixes **-i** and **-i kai** can be used to refer to an event that will take place after today, if used with a temporal adverb or adverbial phrase that indicates the specified time. In talking about events that will take place after today, they are interchangeable with all of the beyond-today future suffixes.

The next example demonstrates the use of imperfective **-i** with a temporal adverbial clause to talk about an event expected to take place in two days from the time of the utterance, and the use of imperfective **-i** without a temporal adverb to describe what it will be like when that same event occurs. In both cases the speaker is talking about a stage of the moon. The day of the utterance, the moon had only been waxing four days, so for that reason alone the second statement could not be taken to mean that the moon was currently shining brightly.

(143) Dos día -ta ik -i. ... Pena -a oĩ -tsa shara
 two day -AP do.ITR -IMPF ... dawn -PRF see -seems.like good

ik -i.

do.ITR -IMPF

Right after two days it will do it. ... It's going to look very much like daylight.

The next example demonstrates the use of imperfective aspect marker **-i** with a temporal adverbial clause to express an event expected to take place the night of that day.

- (144) Nō oxa -ano nō -nāmā -ri kāfan -i.
 1PL.NOM sleep -PRF.DS 1PL -underneath -GNLOC go.by -IMPF
After we go to sleep, [the sun] will go by underneath us.

The next example demonstrates the use of imperfective aspect marker **-i** with a temporal adverbial clause to talk about an event expected to take place on the morrow.

- (145) Mā pena -aino oxe o -i.
 Now dawn -IMPF.DS moon.ABS come -IMPF
The moon will come when it gets daylight out.

The next three utterances were given consecutively by the same speaker, and show that when the event is in the near future and previous sentences have established that the event will take place in just a few days, future 5 -**xifi** can then be used instead of **-fainaka**. The utterances in the following sequence were given on a Thursday, and the event referred to was to take place the following Saturday.

- (146) Sábado afa fa -pai -i -ma.
 Saturday something.ABS do -DES -IMPF -NEG
[I] will not try to do anything Saturday.

Tene -**fai** -**naka**.
 rest -NPNF -IMFUT
[I] will rest in a few days.

Tene -fai -xifi.
 rest -NPNF -BFUT
[I] will rest all day.

4.1.2.7 Future-in-past

The future construction **-i kai** can be used to express future-in-past tense. It can arbitrarily be preceded by the “first/yet” suffix **-yo**.

In the following excerpt from a legend, the speaker refers to an event that would take place later in the story.

- (147) Nā paka mǎpo i -yo -i ka -i.
 DEM.NVIS bamboo species.of.bird.ABS be -ATT -IMPF go -IMPF
This one would later become a bamboo “mapo” bird.

The context for the example below was that the speaker had told me about a time that she had accidentally cut herself with a machete. Later she told of things she did previous to going to where she cut herself – that she took hold of a machete, and left her children with their grandmother. It was soon after or immediately after she told me that, that she said the sentence below.

- (148) Rete -fi -i ka -i -kiã.
 cut -MIR -IMPF go -IMPF -NSUR
Even though [I] was later to cut myself, of course.

4.1.2.8 Contingent future

Contingent future use of future construction **-i kai** occurs when the speaker indicates he feels that an event will take place should x condition or event occur or persist. Therefore mode is also in operation, not just timing of the event.

The event on which the event of the marked verb is contingent may be left implicit. In a number of the cases where it easily could just indicate “today future”, it could also be rationalized that the suffix was being used in the contingent sense; in other words one could think of a contingency that might have been in the mind of the speaker.

The context for the next example is that the speaker and others were contemplating crossing a river that was in flood condition and flowing swiftly. The bracketed clause in the gloss is what may have been in the speaker’s mind, as a condition upon which the event was contingent.

- (149) “... Mǎ *motori* *apaga* -i.
 “... now motor.ABS quit -IMPF

 Nō na- -pa -keme -i ka -i.
 1PL.NOM middle -DWN -REFX -IMPF go -IMPF
“Now the motor is quitting! We’re going to dump [if we’re not careful].

The following example seems to show that the construction **-i kai** can be used in a contingent sense for some indefinite time in the future, whenever the condition is met. The context was that I had asked an individual if she had ever been deceived. If she had just been deceived (which was not the case), a today-future interpretation would have been valid. The clause in the second set of brackets in the gloss is what is surmised as being the implied condition.

(150) ... ia para -a -fo ã cha
 1SG.ACC deceive -PRF.OS -PL 1SG.NOM bad

iko -i -ra fa -yo -mis.
 tell.truth -IMPF -REP say -ATT -PST2

... mã e na -tia tapi -fo -i ka -i.
 ... now 1SG.NOM DEM.VIS -TS learn -MAS -IMPF go -IMPF

Mã ã na -tia tapi -a.
 now 1SG.NOM DEM.VIS -TS know -PRF

... after [someone] told me a lie, wretched me I automatically believed what I was told.
... now I will verify it [if I am told anything]. I know better now.

4.2. Aspect

In this section I will describe how various aspects are expressed in Yora. There are six kinds of aspect possible with independent clauses: imperfective, perfective, perfect, habitual, iterative and brief duration. In some cases an aspect marker replaces the tense marker. In other cases an aspect marker precedes the tense marker.

4.2.1 Aspect in independent clauses

This section is focused on aspect in independent clauses, but some of the markers have overlap in usage with dependent clauses. This overlap will not be mentioned in the dependent clause section unless its usage in a given dependent clause construction serves a different function or requires an additional suffix.

4.2.1.1 Imperfective aspect

In this section I will describe how imperfective aspect is marked in Yora independent and dependent clauses.

4.2.1.1.1 The functions of imperfective aspect in an independent clause

Just as three of the past tense markers do not delineate a fixed time frame, in a similar way the imperfective aspect marker *-i* can be used for an event that occurred immediately prior to the speech act, for an event in progress, or for an event in the immediate future. Below is a visual representation using a horizontal line as a time continuum. The dot represents the time of the speech act. The vertical line running through the dot represents an event in progress at the time of the speech act. Vertical lines to the left of the dot represent events that occurred immediately prior to the time of speech act. Vertical lines to the right of the dot represent events that are anticipated to occur immediately after the speech act. Imperfective aspect covers all possibilities represented.



In the following sections examples of the three uses of imperfective are presented.

4.2.1.1.1.1 Use of the imperfective aspect marker to denote an event of the immediate past

The imperfective aspect marker *-i* can be used to denote events in the immediate past. In English we use “just” to express the immediacy of a past event. The context clues the listener where on the time continuum the event occurred, in relation to the time of the speech act.

The following is often heard after the speaker has arrived at his destination, and is no longer moving in a trajectory towards the listener. (See section 4.2.2.1 about the function of the imperfective marker of the subordinate verb.)

- (151) Ë mia oĩ -ĩ o -i.
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC see -IMPF come -IMPF
 I have come to see you.

The following question was asked after the subject of the verb had left a short time earlier.

- (152) Mǎ ka -i -mẽ.
Now go -IMPF -INT
Did [he] just now leave?

The source of the following example said it could be said even though he may have eaten in the interim between arrival and the speech act.

- (153) E rama noko -i.
1SG.NOM recently arrive -IMPF
I just arrived, recently.

The following can be said after lightning flashes.

- (154) Ēfě òĩti xate -risa -tan -i.
1SG.POSS heart.ABS stop -instantly -TRANS1 -IMPF
Immediately my heart stopped temporarily.

The imperfective aspect marker **-i**, in conjunction with the use of the directional **-ta/-tan**, is also used to denote events in the immediate past, that is, when the verb is a locomotion verb that has two destinations as part of its meaning. It is common for someone who has gone somewhere and has just returned to use **-i** instead of perfective **-a**. But at some point, perhaps after they have started a different activity, they will start referring to the trip by using perfective **-a** instead of **-i**.

The following utterance was made after a trip to the river.

- (155) ... ě nashi -ma -yo -tan -i ...
... 1SG.NOM bathe -CAUS -ATT -TRANS1 -IMPF ...
... I ... just now got back from bathing him first thing ...

The source of the following example said that the meaning was “Recién me he ido” (“I went recently.”).

(156) Ē ramairi ka -tan -i.
 1SG.NOM recently go -TRANS1 -IMPF
I just got back from going [somewhere].

(157) ... nii mēra ka -tan -i
 ... forest in go -TRANS1 -IMPF.SS.GVI

o -ax pĩ -tã ě
 come -PRF.SS.GVI eat - AP 1SG.NOM

oxa -kaĩ -tan -i.
 sleep -MAS.ITR -TRANS1 -IMPF

After coming back from a trip into the forest, I ate, and I just woke up from a nap.

The same speaker said that (in contrast with the preceding example) the following could be said in the afternoon or the night of the same day; in other words, enough time would have passed between the event referred to and the event of the utterance reporting it that perfective -a could be used instead of imperfective marker -i.

(158) Ē nii mēra ka -yo -tan -a.
 1SG.NOM forest in go -ATT -TRANS1 -PRF
First thing I did today was go into the forest and return.

4.2.1.1.1.2 Use of the imperfective aspect marker to denote an event in progress

The imperfective aspect marker -i can be used to indicate that the event is taking place at the moment of the utterance. Context indicates when the present is understood rather than the immediate past or the immediate future. Imperfective aspect marker -i has not been found on resultative verbs such as “stand”/“live”, “sit down” and “lie down” in independent verbs; when these verbs are used, the completed state or position is usually expressed, rather than the process. Examples follow.

(159) Kee inĩ tofe -koĩ -i.
 wow fragrance pour.out -RL -IMPF
Wow, [it] is putting out a strong fruity fragrance.

The following utterance is what is expressed when rain is actually falling in the area of the speaker. (When rain is coming, a different verb root is used.)

(160) Oi ik -i.
rain do.ITR -IMPF
It's raining.

4.2.1.1.1.3 Use of imperfective aspect marker to denote an event in the immediate future

The imperfective aspect marker *-i* can be used to indicate that an event will shortly take place. Context indicates when the immediate future is meant rather than the immediate past or the time of the speech act. The context or an adverbial phrase denoting a time later in the day or at some time beyond today also take it out of the immediate time frame (see sections 4.1.2.1.1 and 4.1.2.6 about the latter use of imperfective aspect *-i*).

The following example from a narrative shows the use of *-i* to anticipate that an event would take place soon after the utterance. The context is provided to show that the *-i* is not being used to express progressive aspect. Before making the first statement the speaker said that she wanted to eat. After the utterance she states that someone roasted a banana and gave it to her, and she ate it.

(161) “Mā e pi -i -koī -ki”
Now 1SG.NOM eat -IMPF -RL -PER

ē fa -ita. Mānīa xoi -xo ia
1SG.NOM say -PST3 plantain roast -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.ACC

inā -ita. Mā ē pi -ita.
give -PST3 Now 1SG.NOM eat -PST3

I said, “Now I am truly going to eat, so do what I imply.” [Someone] roasted a plantain and gave it to me. I ate [it]!

The following utterance is what is expressed when, by observing the weather first-hand, it is deduced that it will rain soon. When the rain is actually falling in the area of the speaker the verb root meaning “do” is used rather than the verb root meaning “come”.

(162) Oi fe -i.
 rain come.PL -IMPF
It's going to rain soon.

4.2.1.2 Perfective aspect

In Yora, the perfective aspect marker is **-a**. See section 4.1.1.1.6 for examples of how it is used to mark independent verbs for events that took place the day of the utterance. See section 4.2.1.3.2 for its use in forming a recent past habitual construction.

In narratives in which past tense 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 was used earlier in the discourse, **-a** serves a discourse-related function, which is outside the scope of this grammar.

In certain cases **-a** is translated as expressing perfect aspect. In such cases it indicates that the event marked happened and the effects of the event continue. Context or the use of a temporal adverb disambiguates it from today-past. If the time axis has already been established as being not today, one can deduce that perfect aspect rather than today-past is being conveyed.

The temporal adverbial clause in the following example clearly indicates that **-a** is being used for perfect aspect and not today-past tense.

(163) “Fari fetsā āfi fi -a” nō
 sun other.ERG wife.ABS obtain -PRF 1PL.NOM
 fa -tiro.
 say -PO
We say, “Some other year he took a wife.”

In the following example, the scope of **-a** extends back to times previous to the day of the utterance, not the same day. The context was that the speaker was telling about her trip to the zoo.

(164) Afamamīshiti ina -fa -a -fo.
 everything domestic.animal -MK -PRF -PL
They have domesticated everything.

The following sentence refers to an event that the speaker learned about during the past tense 2 time frame relative to the time of utterance. The context was that the speaker was telling about how many brothers and sisters and other family members she had. The death of a sibling would of course affect the number of living siblings one has.

(165) A- -no ěě chiko -shta nã -xo -shta -a.
 DEM.MENT- -LOC 1SG.POSS younger.sister -FAV.ABS die -DET -FAV -PRF
There my younger sister died to my detriment.

4.2.1.3 Habitual aspect

4.2.1.3.1 Remote past habitual aspect

Remote past tense suffix **-ni** is preceded by habitual aspect marker **-pao** to refer to a habitual action or state of that relative time period. This combination can also be used to refer to habitual actions or states of more recent time periods such as are associated with past tense markers **-mis** and **-yamea**. Historically the combination of suffixes **-paoni** may have originally been pronounced “pakeni” (or more likely, “paeni,” with ellipsis of the glottal used instead of “k” in one of the dialects), composed of the suffixes **-pake** and **-ni**, since the suffixes **-pake** and **-pã** are used with future tense **-naka** to mark a future event for habitual aspect (see section 4.2.1.3.4).

The first example refers to events during a time period not less than twelve years previous to the utterance.

(166) E -res i -pao -ni -ma.
 1SG.NOM -alone do.1TR -HAB -PST1 -NEG
Back then I didn't dance by myself.

The following sentence refers to a habitual action that took place prior to the summer of 1984. The insertion of the suffix meaning “used to” or “first” between **-pao** and **-ni** is evidence that the form **-paoni** is a combination of two suffixes rather than a single suffix.

(167) Māchi -ki -no -a yora
 hill -ABLOC -LOC -GVI person.ABS

a- -ska -**pao** -yo -**ni**.
 DEM.MENT- -COMP -HAB -ATT -PST1

People used to do that in the hills.

The following two sentences were spoken consecutively. The first refers to a time period more than a year and a half previous to the utterance. The second sentence tells the event that ended the first event.

(168) Sepahua i -yo -**pao** -**ni**.
 Sepahua do.ITR -ATT -HAB -PST1

She used to live in Sepahua.

(169) O -mis.
 come -PST2
 [*She*] *came.*

4.2.1.3.2 Recent past habitual aspect

When iterative suffixes **-kakaĩn/-fafaĩn** are marked with perfective aspect **-a** they indicate habitual aspect in association with recent past time frames associated with tense markers **-ita**, **-fayamea** and perfective aspect marker **-a**. The form **-kakaĩn** is used when the verb it marks is intransitive. The form **-fafaĩn** is used when the verb it marks is transitive. Some Yora speakers pronounce **-fafaĩn** as **-foafoaĩn** or some other similar variation.

The following two examples were in a text in which the majority of the independent verbs were marked with past tense 3 **-ita**.

(170) Ē xaki -mã ě pi -tiro
 1SG.NOM stomach -INSTR 1SG.NOM eat -PO

i -yo -**kākain** -**a** -**ma**.
 do.ITR -ATT -IT.ITR -PRF -NEG

At first because of my stomach I often wasn't in a state that I could eat.

(171) ... ě afa fa -yo -fãfoain -a -ma
 1SG.NOM something make -ATT -IT.TR -PRF -NEG

ě kaya -xo -ma. ... ě
 1SG.NOM get.better -PRF.SS.GVT -NEG ... 1SG.NOM

kaya -xõ ě aa -xifi -ki.
 get.better -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM do.TR -BFUT -PER

I haven't been cooking anything often yet, because of not having gotten well. ... after I get better I will, so do what I imply.

In the immediately preceding example, the second sentence is evidence that the habitual in the first sentence is covering for today-past.

An exception to the above aspectual function of **-fafaĩn** can occur when the subject is plural and the verb marked represents an event that is not normally punctual in nature, and so is not usually done in an iterative fashion, such as “sleep”, “sit” or “lie down”. In such a case it expresses that there are many subjects rather than habitual aspect.

In the example below, even though the verb is intransitive and is not punctual in nature, the iterative suffix usually reserved for transitive verbs is used. Therefore we can conclude that the subject of the verb marked is plural, and so plurality rather than habitual aspect is being expressed.

(172) Kene -mëra raka -fãfain -a.
 enclosure -inside lie.down -IT.TR -PRF

Many were lying down inside the enclosure.

Just as some speakers use **-kaikaĩn** with pro-verb **i-** for iterative aspect (see section 4.2.1.4), some speakers use this same form instead of **-kakaĩn** and **-fafaĩn** (if there is no intervening suffix) with perfective aspect **-a** to express recent past habitual aspect. The pro-verb **i-** “do x intransitive action/be x state/live” is suffixed by **-kaikaĩn** when the subject is singular, and **-faifaĩn** when the subject is plural. I have no evidence that pro-verb **a-** “do x transitive action” is used with **-faifaĩn** to express recent past habitual aspect.

(173) E xaki -mã pi -tiro
 1SG.NOM stomach -INSTR eat -PO

i -**kaikain** -a -ma.
 do.ITR -IT.ITR -PRF -NEG

Because of my stomach I was often in a state that I couldn't eat.

In the following example, the aspect of the first clause's verb is evidence that the event referred to in the habitual construction of the second clause cannot have occurred in the distant past.

(174) Rama ka -ano “I -**kaikain** -a” nõ
 recently go -PRF.DS do.ITR -IT.ITR -PRF 1SG.NOM

fa -tiro.
 say -PO

After someone has left, the day he leaves we can say about him, “He lived [here].”

Below is an example of recent-past habitual aspect marker **-faifañ**. Even though the verb is intransitive, since it has a plural subject the form used for transitive verbs is employed.

(175) Saki i -**fãifãñ** -a -fo.
 fever do.ITR -IT.TR -PRF -PL

They habitually had a fever.

4.2.1.3.3 Present habitual aspect

Three markers used to signal present habitual aspect on the independent verb are the composite forms **-tiyani**, **-tiya**, and the suffixes **-tiro**, and **-mis**.

The form **-tiyani** is presently being analyzed as a composite of the nominalizer suffix **-ti**, the passive accompaniment suffix **-ya** (“has”), followed by the (relatively) remote past tense marker **-ni**. A Yora gave the meaning “always” to verbs that carry the suffix, and the meaning “recently has begun to do x” to the form **-tiya**. Therefore it seems safe to assume that **-tiyani** means “acquired the ability to do x a long time ago”, and that it is implied that the subject continues to do it. Thus the action can be interpreted as being habitual. Because the form's

meaning as interpreted by the Yoras sounds habitual and they do not give a back translation having three components, I am glossing it as one unit rather than as three morphemes.

The meaning of **-tiro** ranges from “habitually” to “should” to “is physically capable of,” depending on the context. The word “can” in English seems the best choice for glossing **-tiro** even though it does not represent the English meanings of “habitually” and “should” well. In talking about someone’s habits a Yora speaker may choose to use **-tiro** instead of **-mis** to put the person talked about in the best possible light. That is why I believe the range of meaning also includes “sometimes.” The impression is that if **-mis** is used in describing negative behavior it comes across as criticism of the person’s character. (See section 4.3.1 about the use of **-tiro** as a potential marker and section 4.3.2 for its use as a deontic marker.)

The habitual aspect use of **-mis** is disambiguated from the past-tense use of it by the context. (See section 4.1.1.1.2 for how it is used as a past-tense marker.)

Examples of the form **-tiyani**:

(176) A -fo ina -fa **-tiyani** -fo.
 3SG -PL.ABS domestic.animal -MK -HAB -PL
 They habitually domesticate those.

(177) Na nokofenē yono **-tiyani**.
 DEM.VIS man.ERG work -HAB
 This man works regularly.

An example of the form **-tiya**:

(178) Mā “Gustavo” fa **-tiya** -fo.
 now Gustavo say -HAB -PL
 Now they call [him] “Gustavo”.

Examples of the habitual suffix **-mis**:

(179) Chii mapo ē mātso **-mis**.
 fire ash.ABS 1SG.NOM sweep -HAB
 I always sweep up the ashes.

(180) I- -skara tĩa anã tsoa fana -ti -nĩ i -**mis** -ma.
 VIS- -COMP -TS again someone.ABS sing -NOMIN -INSTR do.ITR -HAB -NEG
Now no one does the sing-dance anymore.

Examples of use of the potential marker **-tiro** for habitual aspect:

(181) Āfi -nĩ fene sina -koĩ -**tiro**.
 wife -ERG husband.ABS be.angry -RL -PO
She gets very jealous of her husband.

(182) Na fākē poroto pi -pai -**tiro**.
 DEM.VIS child.ERG beans.ABS eat -DES -PO
That child likes to eat beans.

(183) Atiri paxta noko keyo -pai -**tiro** -ma.
 Some dog.ERG 1PL.ACC bite -DES -PO -NEG
Some dogs don't want to bite us.

4.2.1.3.4 Habitual aspect on verbs marked for future time

Payne's definition of habitual aspect is that it "expresses an assertion that a certain type of event ... regularly takes place (i.e., is instantiated by actual events) from time to time" (1997:241). Habitual aspect is marked on verbs expressing future events, using the "down"/"orderly" suffixes **-pā/-pake**. It must be followed by the future 4 suffix **-naka** to form **-pānaka** or **-pakenaka**, respectively. It is never used with the other future 4 suffixes.

The following rule determines which form is used: when the root has an odd number of syllables, **-pā** is employed; even-numbered roots employ **-pake**.

In the first example below, the verb root **ka-** has one syllable, an odd number, so **-pā** is the suffix used with it.

(184) Nā -skara kā -**pa** -naka.
 DEM.NVIS -COMP go -DWN -IMFUT
[You] will always behave like that.

In the next example, **-pã** follows the morpheme that means “die”. Since one person cannot die over and over again, in this case the **-pã** communicates “one after another”.

- (185) Fisti rasi yora nã **-pa** -naka.
 one few.ABS person.ABS die -DWN -IMFUT
Year after year people will die, one after the other.

The following two examples have an even number of syllables in their roots, so **-pake** is the suffix used with them.

- (186) Fai ko -fa xõ xiki fana **-pake** -naka -fo.
 field.ABS burn -MK -PRF.SS.GVT corn.ABS plant -DWN -IMFUT -PL
They will always burn fields and then plant corn [in them].

- (187) Omis -koi **-pake** -naka -fo.
 fear -RL -DWN -IMFUT -PL
Year after year they will suffer.

4.2.1.4 Iterative aspect

A verb stem consisting of one morpheme can reduplicate to express iterative aspect. Examples:

- (188) Fake moi -pai -aito nõ
 child.ABS awaken -DES -IMPF.SO 1PL.NOM

patsa **patsa** -tiro.
 pat pat -PO

When a child is trying to wake up we can repeatedly pat him.

- (189) Noko **koshi** **koshi** -fa -tiro.
 1PL.ACC quickly quickly -MK -PO

It can make us [have labor pains] close together.

As the next example shows, if the verb stem begins with a monosyllabic morpheme followed by a polysyllabic morpheme, the monosyllabic morpheme and the first syllable of the polysyllabic morpheme are included in the first set of the reduplication.

(190) Noko **mi-** **ri** **mi-** **riyo** -tiro.
 1PL.ACC hand rub hand rub -PO
[She] can repeatedly rub our hand.

If the second morpheme in the verb stem ends in a consonant, the syllable-final consonant is dropped in the first set.

(191) Fãke charo **fi** **-ta** **fi** **-tan** -aino
 Child.ERG flower.ABS obtain -TRANS1 obtain -TRANS1 -IMPF.DS

 “Mee yamã -fẽ” fa -tiro.
 “Sense -NEG -IMP say -PO
When a child repeatedly picks flowers, [she] can say: “Don’t touch.”.

If the verb consists of a morpheme plus “do” verb **i-/ik** or **a-/ak-**, and the first part of the construction ends in a vowel, iterative aspect is expressed by reduplication of the first part of the construction:

(192) Mese -i nõ **choa** **choa** **ik** -ita.
 be.afraid -IMPF 1PL.NOM tremble tremble do.ITER -PST3
Being afraid we trembled.

(193) Fake fini -fena -a tita tita ik -i.
 child.ABS get.up -FT -PRF toddle toddle do.ITER -IMPF
After a child stands up for the first time, [he] toddles around.

If the first part of the **i-/ik** or **a-/ak-** construction ends in a consonant, the syllable-final consonant is dropped in the first word of the set.

(194) Anã ia **piri** **pirish** **ak** -i -ma.
 again 1SG.ACC prick prick do.TR -IMPF -NEG
[The thorn] is not bothering me anymore.

(195) Fetais ã -kẽ **piti** **pitis** **ak** -i.
 close.door do.TR -PRF.SO tap tap do.TR -IMPF
Because he closed the door, [someone else] is knocking [on it].

Iterative aspect can be marked morphologically on the verb using either **-kakaĩ/-kakaĩn** or **fafaĩ/-fafaĩn** in conjunction with any tense or aspect marker except perfective **-a** (see section 4.2.1.4.2 for what these suffixes combined with perfective **-a** express). The suffixes **-kakaĩ/-kakaĩn** are used when the verb is intransitive. An exception is when the subject of the intransitive verb is third-person plural; then **-fafaĩ/-fafaĩn** is used instead of **-kakaĩ/-kakaĩn** (see example 198). Transitive verbs are marked with **-fafaĩ/-fafaĩn**.

Preceding a morpheme beginning with a consonant, **-kakaĩ** or **-fafaĩ** is used, depending on the rules mentioned above. Preceding a morpheme beginning with a vowel, **-kakaĩn** or **-fafaĩn** is used, except when preceding past tense suffix **-ita**.

Examples of use of **-kakaĩ/-kakaĩn**:

(196) Ē kaya -pai -koĩ **-kakai** -naka.
 1SG.NOM get.well -DES -RL -IT.ITR -IMFUT
I am truly going to keep trying to get well.

(197) Afianã xafa -pai -aino nõ
 again light -DES -IMPF.DS 1PL.NOM

i -kera **-kãkai** -ita.
 do.ITR -MTS.ITR -IT.ITR -PST3

When there was a brief break [in the traffic] we kept coming [through it].

In the following example, the subject is plural, so even though the verb is intransitive, the iterative suffix used is **-fafaĩ**.

(198) Carro “Fo fo” i -fõ **-fãfõãĩ** -tiro.
 Car “whoosh whoosh” do.ITR -MAS -IT.TR -PO
Cars repeatedly make a “whoosh whoosh” sound as they go by.

Examples of use of **-fafaĩ/-fafaĩn** in transitive verbs:

(199) Āto opo tsista -ferã **-fafai** -yamea -fo.
 3PL.POSS sacks.ABS stack -MTS.TR -IT.TR -PST2 -PL
They stacked their pieces of baggage before coming.

(200) Ē yono -fai -fāfain -i.
 1SG.NOM work -NPNF -IT.TR -IMPF
I am working repeatedly all day.

When **-fafaĩ/- fafaĩn** are used instead of **-kakaĩ/-kakaĩn** even though the verb is intransitive, and the verb is non-punctual and marked for perfective aspect, **-fafaĩ/- fafaĩn** is functioning as a plural marker, not as an iterative. The marked verb's action results in a continuing state.

(201) Shino -fo oxa -fāfāĩn -a.
 ...“shino”.monkey -PL sleep -IT.ITR -PRF
All the “shino” monkeys are asleep.

If in addition to habitual aspect, iterative aspect is to be expressed, or if the person wants to intensify the repetitiveness of the action, the first syllable of the iterative suffix is reduplicated.

(202) Nā- -ri ě ka -ka -kakain -a.
 DEM.NVIS- -GNLOC 1SG.NOM go -REDUP -IT.ITR -PRF
I went over there a lot.

(203) Ē shinã -fa -fa -fafain -a.
 1SG.NOM dry -MK -REDUP -IT.TR -PRF
I sunned [the clothes] over and over again.

At least one instance of directional morpheme reduplication along with use of iterative **-kakaĩ** has been noted:

(204) Kōĩ chachoko -kāfa -kafa -kakain -i.
 smoke blow.near.ground -LAT.ITR -LAT.ITR -IT.ITR -IMPF
The smoke keeps drifting by near the ground.

With pro-verb **i-** “do/be” some speakers use a variant of the suffixes mentioned above with imperfective aspect **-i** to express iterative aspect. The pro-verb, which is intransitive, is suffixed by **-kaikaĩn** when the subject is singular. It is assumed that **-faĩfaĩn** is used when the subject is plural, following the pattern described above for **-kakain** (see the paragraph following example 195).

I have no evidence that “do” pro-verb **a-** can be suffixed by **-faĩfaĩn** together with imperfective aspect **-i**.

Here is an example of how **-kaikaĩn** is used:

(205) E foshkã ã **-kaikain** -i.
 1SG.NOM head.INSTR do.ITR -IT.ITR -IMPF
I get headaches.

Iterative aspect can also be marked morphologically on the verb using the suffixes **-ria/-riafa/-rifa**. These suffixes also concord with the transitivity of the verb they mark. The suffix **-ria** is used in all intransitive verbs. The suffix **-riafa** is used in transitive verbs if the immediately preceding morpheme has an odd number of syllables. Its counterpart **-rifa** is used in transitive verbs if the immediately preceding morpheme has an even number of syllables.

In the two examples that follow, the verbs marked are intransitive, therefore **-ria** was employed.

(206) “Ë nomi” i **-ria** -tiro.
 “1SG.NOM thirsty do.ITR -IT.ITR -PO
[He] can say “I’m thirsty” over and over.

(207) Kõĩ fo **-ria** -tiro.
 smoke.ABS flow -IT.ITR -PO
Smoke can keep drifting for a while.

Examples showing **-riafa** and **-rifa** as having concordance with transitive verbs.

(208) Fãke pi -pai -kĩ pi **-riafa** -tiro.
 child.ERG eat -DES -IMPF eat -IT.TR -PO
When a child wants to eat he can eat and eat.

(209) Mĩ aya -pai **-rifa** -i.
 2SG.NOM drink -DES -IT.TR -IMPF
You keep trying to drink (something)

In the following two examples, even though the verb root has an odd number of syllables, **-rifa** is used instead of **-riafa** because the suffix that immediately precedes the iterative suffix has two syllables.

(210) Ane shara mee -kĩ nõ
 fragrance good sense -IMPF 1PL.NOM

a -pai **-rifa** -tiro.
 do.TR -DES -IT.TR -PO

When we smell [its] nice fragrance, we can keep wanting to eat it.

(211) Mee -pai **-rifa** -yamã -fe.
 sense -DES -IT.ITR -NEG -IMP

Don't keep trying to touch it.

Likewise, though the verb roots in the following examples have an even number of syllables, **-riafa** is used instead of **-rifa**, because the suffix that immediately precedes the iterative suffix in each case has an odd number of syllables.

(212) Yõã -ma **-riafa** -i.
 speak -CAUS -IT.ITR -IMPF

[He] is repeatedly calling [on the radio].

(213) Yoi -xo **-riafã** -tã -fě.
 tell -BEN -IT.ITR -TRANS1 -IMP

Go tell them for me repeatedly, and come back.

4.2.1.5 Brief duration aspect

In movement verbs, adverbial suffix **-ta/-tan** is used to express that the subject went and did the stated action, and returned, but in non-movement verbs it expresses that the state was of short duration. In some contexts (such as the context of example 215) the shared component of meaning with the movement is that there will be a returning (i.e., to the previous state). In general, when a suffix beginning with a consonant follows, the form **-ta** is used; when a suffix beginning with a vowel follows, the form **-tan** is used. An exception to the latter is when past-tense suffix **-ita** follows; then **-ta** is used instead of **-tan**.

The following example illustrates the use of brief duration aspect in a stative verb.

- (214) Afara yosi -ax fena -koĩ i -ta -tiro.
 whatever grow.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI new -RL do.ITR -TRANS1 -PO
Whatever has grown can be temporarily very new.

In the following example the context makes it clear that the subject did not move to another location, so a state is understood.

- (215) Ēfē òĩti xate -risa -tan -i.
 1SG.POSS heart.ABS stop -instantly -TRANS1 -IMPF
Immediately my heart stopped temporarily.

4.2.2 Aspect in same-subject dependent clauses

Here I will describe how aspect is marked in Yora dependent clauses whose subjects are identical to the subjects of their governing clause.

In same-subject dependent clauses one of a pair of suffixes occurs when the governing verb is transitive, and the other occurs when the governing verb is intransitive. In addition to aspect, these same suffixes signal that the governing verb will have the same subject as the marked verb. This imperfective/perfective system can be illustrated in a six-cell paradigm.

Chart 7. Same-subject markers

The suffix specifies the transitivity of the governing verb?	Imperfective Aspect	Perfective Aspect
Yes, when it is intransitive	-i	-ax
Yes, when it is transitive	-kĩ	-xõ
No	-yanã	-tã

4.2.2.1 Imperfective aspect in same-subject dependent clauses

The imperfective aspect marker **-i** is used when the governing verb is intransitive, and the imperfective marker **-kī** is used when the governing verb is transitive. Complements to certain phasal verbs do not follow this rule (see section 6.1.3).

In the following example the dependent clause verb's event is still occurring when the governing verb's event takes place.

- (216) Nokofene noi -yama -i chai -koī
man.ABS like -NEG -IMPF.SS.GVI far -RL
- ferotame -pao -ni -fo.
suspended.hammock -HAB -PST1 -PL
- If they didn't like a man [who was interested in them], [women] suspended their hammocks way up high.*

In example 217 below, **sīa i** “cry” is an intransitive verb, and governs the dependent clause verb **moi** “awaken”. Because: 1) the dependent clause verb has a “go and come” marker (**-tan**) and the event took place immediately before the governing verb's event occurred, 2) the subject of the dependent clause verb is the same as the subject of the governing verb, and 3) the governing verb is intransitive, the dependent clause verb **moi** “awaken” is marked with **-i**.

- (217) Moi -tan -i sīa i -tiro.
awaken -TRANS1 -IMPF.SS.GVI cry do.ITR -PO
- Having woken up briefly, and now while going back to sleep, [she] can cry.*

In the above examples we saw that **-i** is used when the governing verb is intransitive. The imperfective marker **-kī** is used when the governing verb is transitive. For example, in 218, the governing verb **pi** (“eat”) is a transitive verb, one without an overtly mentioned object. Because it is transitive, and also because the subordinate verb's event was still taking place when the event “eat” occurred, and because the subject of the subordinate verb is the same as the subject of its governing verb, the subordinate verb is marked with **-kī**.

(218) Fãke pi -pai -kĩ pi -riafa -tiro.
 child.ERG eat -DES -IMPF.SS.GVT eat -IT.TR -PO
When a child wants to eat, he can eat and eat.

The following example meets the same criteria. The governing verb is transitive, both clauses have the same subject, and the subordinate verb's action was still taking place when the governing verb's event began.

(219) Yame -ta icho -kĩ ã kini
 become.evening -AP run -IMPF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM hole
 fichi -a -ma.
 encounter -PRF -NEG
Because I was running after dark, I didn't see the hole.

The suffix **-yanã** expresses imperfective aspect and same-subject reference, but does not indicate whether the governing verb is intransitive or transitive. The action of the marked verb is simultaneous with the action of the governing verb. Examples:

(220) Nã- -no -xõ oĩ -yanã nõ gaseosa ak -ita.
 DEM.NVIS -LOC -GVT see -IMPF.SS 1PL.NOM soft.drink do.TR -PST3
There we did [drank] soft drinks while looking at [spider monkeys].

(221) Pi -yanã nõ tsaĩ i -tiro -ma.
 eat -IMPF.SS 1PL.NOM talk do.ITR -PO -NEG
We shouldn't eat and talk at the same time.

This suffix can be used with intransitive verbs if they are not directional. Example 222 was accepted but 223 was not. 224 was given as a correction to 223.

(222) Ichõ -yanã tsaĩ i -tiro -ma.
 run -IMPF.SS talk do.ITR -PO -NEG
[He] can't run and talk at the same time.

(223) *Ka -yanã nō tsaĩ i -tiro.
 go -IMPF.SS 1PL.NOM talk do. ITR -PO
 We can go and talk at the same time.

(224) Ka -i nō tsaĩ i -tiro.
 go -IMPF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM talk do. ITR -PO
 As we go we can talk.

4.2.2.2 Perfective aspect in same-subject dependent clauses

Perfective suffix **-ax** is used when the governing verb is intransitive, and perfective suffix **-xõ** is used when the governing verb is transitive. Though these suffixes have perfective aspect, and thus play a part in sequencing, they differ from the other same-subject perfective suffix **-tã** in that they mark the means, reason or condition that facilitated the event of the governing verb.

In the first example below, **na-** “die” in the governing clause is an intransitive verb, and governs the verb **kaĩ-** “give birth” in the dependent clause preceding it. Because of the governing verb’s intransitivity, the dependent clause’s event took place before the governing verb’s event occurred, the subject of “die” is the same as the subject of “give birth”, and the event in the dependent clause was the reason for the event in the governing clause, the subordinate verb “give birth” is marked with **-ax**.

(225) Mã ě fake kaĩ -ax mã
 now 1SG.NOM child.ABS give.birth -PRF.SS.GVI now

 ě nã -kera -ita.
 1SG.NOM die -almost -PST3
After I gave birth, I almost died!

The following example meets the same criteria. The governing verb is intransitive, both clauses have the same subject, and the subordinate verb’s action took place before the governing verb’s event began. In addition, the dependent clause describes a condition that can lead to the event in the governing clause.

(226) Kõi xea -ax nō kaya -pai -tiro.
 smoke.ABS swallow -PRF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM get.well -DES -PO
If we have breathed smoke, we try to recover.

In the above examples we saw that **-ax** is used when the governing verb is intransitive. The suffix **-xõ** is used when the governing verb is transitive.

In the first example below, **pi-** “eat” is a transitive verb with an implied object, and governs the dependent clause’s verb **apa-** “take pot off the fire”. Because the governing verb is transitive, the dependent clause’s event was to take place before the event “eat” occurred, the subject of the event “eat” is the same as the subject of “take pot off the fire”, and the event of the dependent clause has to take place before the event of the governing clause can take place, the dependent clause’s verb “take pot off the fire” is marked with **-xõ**.

(227) Apa -pake -fõfa -**xo** pi -fe.
 take.off.fire -down -LAT.TR -PRF.SS.GVT eat -IMP
 Take [the pot of food] off of the fire and eat.

The following example meets the same criteria. The governing verb is transitive, both clauses have the same subject, and the subordinate verb’s action precedes the governing verb’s event. In addition, the event of the dependent clause would have been the means by which the speaker could have accomplished the event in the governing clause.

(228) Tãpi -**xõ** ã mia yoi -keran -a.
 know -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -almost -PRF
 If I had known, I would have told you.

The function of **-tã** is sequence, not means, reason or condition. Evidence for this is that in narratives it occurs much more frequently than **-ax** and **-xõ**, whereas **-ax** and **-xõ** occur much more frequently than **-tã** in procedural or explanatory texts. A hypothesis to be investigated is that in a given narrative, when the speaker chooses to use **-ax** or **-xõ** rather than **-tã**, it is for a discourse level reason.

The suffix **-tã** on a dependent clause expresses perfective aspect. When **-tã** is used it can be understood that the governing verb’s event takes place very soon after the marked verb’s event.

When use of this kind of clause was tested in isolated sentences that are not part of a narrative, at least one speaker would never repeat a sentence in which the verb marked with **-tã** and the governing verb had different subjects, unless the verb marked with **-tã** functioned as an adverbial construction meaning “in the daytime” or “at night” (see example 231). Since it does

4.2.2.3.1 Habitual aspect in same-subject dependent clauses referring to past events

We have seen in sections 4.2.1.3.2 and 4.2.1.3.3 that suffixes **kakaĩn/-fafaĩn**, **-tiyani**, **-mis**, and **-tiro** can be used in independent clauses to express habitual aspect. They can also be used for that purpose in dependent clauses that refer to past events or states.

Markers **-mis** and **-tiro** can precede the interval marker **-xakĩ** to form **-mixakĩ** and **-tiroxakĩ**, respectively. (Because of right-to-left iterative nasalization and rapid speech, the “m” in **-mis** is often pronounced [m]. The “s” is always dropped, preceding **-xakĩ**.) This combination conveys the meaning that the subject has habitually done the action up to the time of the governing verb’s event. For example:

- (232) Mā raka -mĩ -xa -ki na -tiro.
now lie.down -HAB -IVL -IMPF die -PO
Having been bedfast, [he] can die.

When the negative marker **-ma** modifies this habitual/interval construction, the marked verb expresses an event the subject (A or S) had not done or experienced up to the time of the main verb. For example:

- (233) Fake i -mi -xã -ki -ma too -fena -tiro.
child.ABS do.ITER -HAB -IVL -IMPF -NEG conceive -FT -PO
Not having had a child before, one can conceive for the first time.

The following examples show use of **-tiro** in a habitual/interval construction. Context disambiguates from when it expresses potentiality (see section 4.3.1 for the latter).

- (234) Nā yono -tiro -xã -kĩ yono -i
DEM.NVIS.ABS work -PO -IVL -IMPF work -IMPF

ka -i ka -tiro.
go -IMPF go -PO
Having worked habitually in the past, that one can leave to go to work.

(235) Tene -yama **-tiro** -xa -kĩ askafa -tiro.
 endure -NEG -PO -IVL -IMPF scold -PO
[A bad person] scolds [others], having had the habit of not enduring [things].

Habitual suffix **-tiyani** can also precede the interval marker **-xakĩ** to form **-tiyanĩxaki**.
 (Because of right-to-left iterative nasalization and rapid speech, **-tiyani** is often pronounced [tiɛni] preceding **-xakĩ**.) It has also been found immediately preceding switch/same reference perfective aspect suffixes.

Examples of use of **-tiyani** with interval marker **-xakĩ**:

(236) Iso fimi xea **-tiyanĩ** -xa -ki
 spider.monkey.ERG fruit.ABS swallow -HAB -IVL -IMPF

 xoa i -tiro.
 fat do.ITR -PO
Having habitually eaten fruit, the spider monkey can get fat.

(237) Raka **-tiyanĩ** -xã -kĩ pachi -koĩ.
 lie.down -HAB -IVL -IMPF weak -RL
Having been bedfast he is very weak.

Examples of use of **-kakaĩ/-fafai** on a dependent clause marked with perfective aspect markers **-ax** and **-xo** respectively:

(238) Isi -nĩ i **-kakaĩn** -ax na -ke
 illness -INSTR do.ITR -IT.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI die -PRF.SO

 a -tiro -fo.
 do.TR -PO -PL
They can do (say) it about a [child] who has been chronically ill and died.

(239) Noi -kasper **-fãfã** -ka -xo rete -yamea -fo.
 love -NDES -IT.TR -PL -PRF.SS.GVT kill -PST2 -PL.
Having habitually hated [him] they killed [him].

4.2.2.3.2 Habitual aspect in same-subject dependent clauses referring to future events

We have seen in section 4.2.1.3.4 that suffix **-pã/-pake** can be used in independent clauses marked for future tense, to express habitual aspect. It can also be used for that purpose in dependent clauses that refer to future events. As to which form is chosen, the same rule applies as when it is used with independent clauses: when the root has an odd number of syllables, **-pã** is employed; even-numbered roots employ **-pake**.

(240) Ato yono **-pake** -xa -ka -kĩ ato
 3PL.ACC employ -down -IVL -PL -IMPF 3PL.ACC

pota -ni -fo -ma.
throw.out -PST1 -PL -NEG

They didn't dismiss them, in order to employ them year after year in the future.

(241) Dios -fe i **-pa** -xa -kĩ nō
 God -AAC.GVI do.ITR -down -IVL -IMPF 1PL.NOM

ĩko -i -ra fa -tiro.
truth -IMPF -REP say -PO

We should believe, in order to live forever with God.

4.2.3 Aspect in switch-reference clauses

In this section I will describe how aspect is marked in Yora switch-reference dependent clauses.

This switch-reference system can be demonstrated by the following paradigm:

Chart 8. Switch-reference markers

In all cases: the S ^u of marked clause does not = the S ^u of governing clause	The marked verb has <u>imperfective</u> aspect	The marked verb has <u>perfective</u> aspect
Sequence-oriented	-aino/-aifono -yaino/-yaifono	-ano/-afono
Cause-oriented The P of marked clause = the S of governing clause	(There is no imperfective suffix that indicates the P of the marked clause = the S of the governing clause.)	-a
Reason/condition/experience-oriented If the governing verb is transitive the S ^u of the marked clause usually = the P of governing verb	-aitō/-aifafē -yaitō/-yaifafē	-kē

4.2.3.1 Imperfective aspect in switch-reference clauses

There are two sets of switch-reference suffixes which, in addition to reference, express imperfective aspect: **-aino/-aifono** and **-aitō/-aifafē**. The forms **-yaino/-yaifono**, **-yaitō/-yaifafē** are used instead if the root to which they are suffixed has two syllables, ends in “a” and the second syllable has low tone, or, if the stem to which it is suffixed has an even number of syllables and ends in “a”.

4.2.3.1.1 Switch reference markers -aino/-aifono

Switch-reference marker **-aino** (or its dialectal variant **-ainō**) indicates that the subject of that clause is not coreferential with the subject of the governing clause. Its aspect is imperfective, because the event of the governing clause can be interpreted as taking place sometime during or immediately after the event of the marked verb. The construction is sequence-oriented, rather than reason-oriented. It is analyzed as being composed of switch-reference suffix **-a**,

imperfective aspect marker **-i**, and locative suffix **-no**. The locative suffix **-no** places the event of the marked verb in a sequence. Evidence of **-no** being used in another construction within the schema of “place as time” is the word “**nãno**”, which in some contexts means “that place” and in some other contexts means “at that moment”.

When the subject of the marked clause is plural, plural marker **-fo** is optionally inserted, to form the construction **-aifono**.

In the following example the subject of the **-aino** clause is **fari** “sun”, and the **-aino** suffix indicates that the subject of the governing clause will not be “sun” and that the action of the governing verb (“went by”) was taking place during or immediately after the sun went down. Whether it was during or immediately afterwards, is determined by the speaker’s comparison with what the sun was doing at the time of his utterance.

(242) Mã fari i- -ska -pake **-aino**
 now sun.ABS VIS- -COMP -down -IMPF.DS

kãfã -ĩta.

go.by -PST3

When the sun was going down like it is right now, he went by.

The example below shows use of the plural form in an intransitive clause.

(243) Yora -fo inima **-aifonõ** nõ -ri
 person -PL.ABS be.happy -IMPF.DS.PL 1PL.NOM -ADD

inima -tiro.

be.happy -PO

When other people are happy, we should be happy also.

An example of the use of the plural form in a transitive clause.

(244) Yora -fafẽ pi **-aifono** oi fe -a.
 person -PL.ERG eat -IMPF.DS.PL rain come.PL -PRF

While the people were eating, rain came.

In the following example, the second syllable of the two-syllable verb **chãxa-** is low tone, so **-yaino** is used instead of **-aino**:

- (245) Fari chãxa **-yaino** isi -tiro.
 sun.ABS shine -IMPF.DS hurt -PO
 When the sun is shining [it] can be painful.

The example below shows use of the form **-yaifono**. Even though the stem **kofa** “make burn” has high tone on the second syllable, it doesn’t matter, because all that is required of stems is that they have an even number of syllables and end in “a”.

- (246) Yora -fãfẽ ko -fa **-yaifono** chii ichapa i -tiro.
 person -PL.ERG burn -MK -IMPF.DS.PL fire many do.ITR -PO
 When people are burning [chacras] there can be a lot of fire.

4.2.3.1.2 Switch reference markers **-aitõ/-aifafẽ**

The marker **-aitõ** and its plural counterpart **-aifafẽ** have imperfective aspect, and if their clause’s governing verb is transitive, they indicate that the subject of the marked clause is the object of the governing clause. These suffixes are analyzed as being composed of switch-reference suffix **-a**, imperfective aspect marker **-i**, and ergative/instrumentative markers **-tõ** or **-fafẽ**. The construction marks a reason for the event expressed by the governing verb, or a condition that is required for the event of the governing verb, depending on whether the governing verb is realis or irrealis. Since instrument/ergative markers mark nouns for their being an agent by which an action is brought about on an object, an extension of the meaning of agentivity is seen when in these switch-reference constructions, a reason can be thought of as an agent that brought about the action in the governing verb. The aspect of **-aitõ** and **-aifafẽ** is imperfective, because the event of the governing clause can be interpreted as taking place sometime during or immediately after the event of the marked verb. Evidence supporting this is that in reporting dialogue, imperfective **-aitõ** rather than perfective **-kẽ** is used, even though in many cases the utterance of the clause marked with **-aitõ** probably was completed before the other person replied. An example of this use follows.

(247) “Ē -ri ka -tiro -mē” ě fa -aitō
 1SG.NOM -ADD go -PO -INT 1SG.NOM say -IMPF.SO

“Ējē. Mī ka -tiro” ia fa -a.
 yes 2SG.NOM go -PO 2SG.ACC say -PRF

When I asked, “Can I go too?”, he said to me, “Yes. You can go.”

In both the preceding and the next example the marked clauses serve as reasons for the action of their respective governing clauses, because the latter are marked with tense or aspect, and so are realis in mode.

(248) Afē fake sīã ik -aitō
 3SG.POSS child.ABS cry do.ITR -IMPF.SO

ifi -tan -i.
 transport.to.addressee.location -TRANS1 -IMPF

Because her child was crying, she just now went and and got him and brought him back.

When suffix **-tiro** marks the governing verb for any of its possible meanings, potential or deontic mode, or habitual aspect, it sets the utterance into an irrealis mode, and so the **-aitō** clause describes a condition rather than a reason.

In the example below, the implied subject of the **-aitō** clause is “a child”, and the **-aitō** signals that the same child will be the object of the governing clause. The governing clause is marked with **-tiro**, so the context is irrealis. The **-aitō** clause, then, is the condition for the governing clause’s action, not the reason.

(249) Pōyē -aito nō tsãõ -tiro.
 stage.x.development -IMPF.SO 1PL.NOM sit.TR -PO

If [the baby] is in the “poye” stage of his development, we can sit [him] up.

The next example shows another instance of an **-aitō** marked clause expressing a condition.

(250) Nōko fake sīã ĩk -aito nō yōka -tiro.
 1PL.POSS child.ABS cry do.ITR -IMPF.SO 1PL.NOM ask -PO

When our child cries, we should ask [the child] [questions].

Conversely, a subject who is perceiving a patient is not at that point manipulating it, so the subject is an experiencer rather than an agent. If the perception clause is the independent clause of the sentence, then the **-aitō** clause is describing what was experienced, not the reason for the event.

(251) *Carro* mono mono i -fe **-aitō**
 car dance dance do.ITR -MTS -IMPF.SO

mã e mee -a.
 now 1SG.NOM sense -PRF

I have now felt a car repeatedly dancing as it comes along.

In the example below, **-aitō** marks a description of what was heard, not a reason for having heard.

(252) *Chichi* kena **-aitō** mã nika -a.
 maternal.grandmother.ABS call -IMPF.SO now hear -PRF

[He] has heard [someone] calling grandmother.

The root **kena-** has two syllables and ends in “a”, but it has high tone on the second syllable in this construction, so all the requisites for using **-yaitō** instead, are not met. It is pronounced as three syllables: **kenaitō**, with the tone pattern low-high-low.

In the following example the subject of the switch-reference **-aitō** clause and the object of the independent clause are not coreferential, because the subject of the switch-reference clause is “chief” and the object of the independent clause is “canoe”. But if one assumes that in the speaker’s mind the perception verb **nikakĩ** “hearing” is implied and is the governing clause of the **-aitō** clause, then there is indeed co-reference between the subject of the switch-reference clause and the object of its (implied) governing clause, because the subject of the **-aitō** clause, “chief”, becomes the object of **nikakĩ**.

(253) *Curaca* -pa yoi **-aitō** xaxo
 chief -ERG tell -IMPF.SO canoe.ABS

fĩ -xo -tan -a.
 obtain -BEN -TRANS1 -PRF

[Hearing] the chief tell me to, [I] went and got the canoe for him.

In the following example, the subject of the **-aitō** verb is not only the object of the governing clause, but also its subject. Though semantically a reflexive action is signalled, the governing verb is not marked with a reflexive subject. A different speaker did not accept this construction.

(254) Kokã ě i -shara **-aitō**
 son.ERG 1SG.NOM do.STR -WL -IMPF.SO

mee -i -ma -koĩ -ki.
 sense -IMPF -NEG -RL -PER

Son, I truly don't feel I am doing well, so do what I imply.

When **-aitō** needs to be negated, **-yama** is inserted preceding it:

(255) Fetsa yoi -ki anaiti **-yama** **-aitō**
 other.ERG tell -IMPF finish -NEG -IMPF.SO

nō xītĩ -ĩnĩ -fōfa -tiro -ma.
 1PL.NOM block -up -LAT.TR -PO -NEG

We can't interrupt someone before he is finished talking.

An example showing use of the plural form **-aifafē**:

(256) Shimã na **-aifafē** ě fi -riafa -ita.
 fish.ABS die -IMPF.SO.PL 1SG.NOM obtain -IT.TR -PST3

As the fish were dying, I repeatedly caught (them).

If the clause's governing verb is intransitive, **-aitō**/**-aifafē** do not indicate that the subject of the marked clause is the object of the governing clause, because, of course, the governing clause does not have an object, being intransitive. In such cases these markers only signal a reason for the event expressed by the governing verb, or a condition that is required for the event of the governing verb, depending on whether the governing verb is realis or irrealis.

In the following example the governing verb is intransitive, so there can be no subject-becomes-object coreferentiality between the two clauses. The event of the governing verb of 257 is irrealis, so all that is signaled by the suffix **-aitō** is that the dependent clause expresses a condition that can bring about the action of the governing verb.

(257) Yora na -**aito** -rifi nã- -no fisti tsista -tiro -fo.
 person.ABS die -IMPF.SO -ADD DEM.NVIS- -LOC one come -PO -PL
When a person is dying, also, [people] come there.

(258) Ñfe fake icho -pai -**aitõ** õĩ -kĩ
 3SG.POSS child.ABS run -DES -IMPF.SO see -IMPF

yãta -ni.

grab -PST1

When she saw her child wanting to run, she grabbed hold of him.

In the following example, the second syllable of the two-syllable verb **fin**a- ends in “a” and has low tone, so **-yaitõ** is used instead of **-aitõ**.

(259) Yona -i fina -**yaitõ**
 have.fever -IMPF do.exceedingly -IMPF.SO

ẽfẽ fake ẽ efe -a.

1SG.POSS child.ABS 1SG.NOM bring.HUM -PRF

Since [he] has a high fever, I brought my child.

4.2.3.2 Perfective aspect in switch-reference clauses

There are three switch-reference markers which, in addition to reference, express perfective aspect: **-ano**, **-a** and **-kẽ**.

4.2.3.2.1 Switch-reference marker -ano

The switch-reference marker **-ano** (or its dialectal variant **-anõ**) is the perfective aspect counterpart of the imperfective switch-reference marker **-aino**. It is analyzed as being composed of switch-reference suffix **-a**, perfective aspect marker **-a**, and locative suffix **-no**, the perfective aspect marker **-a** being infixes and coalesced with the first vowel. (See variant plural form **-afoano** below, for evidence of there being two **-a** suffixes in the same construction. Also see 4.2.3.1.1 where the analysis of **-no** is discussed.) It indicates that the event of the marked clause was completed well before the event of its governing verb (but the same day, unless marked otherwise; see examples 268–270). It also indicates that the subject of the marked

clause is not coreferential with the subject of the governing clause. Its relationship with the event of its governing verb is sequence-oriented rather than reason-oriented.

When the subject of the marked clause is plural, the plural marker **-fo** is optionally inserted, resulting in the form **-afono** or variant **-afoano**. If it has a verb stem other than **nãska** “doing action of previous verb” or **iska** “subject does what you see”, in certain contexts this type of clause can follow its governing clause rather than precede it.

The negated forms of these suffixes (resulting in the meaning “before x event took place”) are constructed in this way: the negation suffix **-ma** is infixes to **-ano** to form **-amano**. Another form with the same function is **-yoamano**, which consists of **-amano** preceded by the adverbial suffix **-yo** “first” or “yet”.

In the first example below, the subject of the clause marked with **-ano** is **nõ** “we”. “Moon” is the subject of the governing clause. The marker **-ano** signals that the event of the marked clause is completed before the event of the governing clause begins, and that the subject of the governing clause is not “we”.

(260) Nõ oxa **-ano** oxe kãfã -tiro.
 1PL.NOM sleep -PRF.DS moon.ABS go.by -PO
 After we go to sleep, the moon goes by.

(261) Ia ene fi -xõ **-ãno** ã ãya -ita.
 1SG.ACC water obtain -BEN -PRF.DS 1SG.NOM drink -PST3
 After [he] got me [some] water, I drank [it].

Even if the subject of the marked clause participates in the action of the governing clause along with the new subject, the change in subject must be marked by **-ano**.

(262) Efẽ fake yosi **-ano** ã fake -feta
 1SG.POSS child.ABS grow -PRF.DS 1SG.POSS child -AAC.GVT

 yono -xifi.
 work -BFUT
 [He] will work with my child, after my child has grown.

Below is a sentence employing the plural form **-afono**.

- (263) Mā mai fa **-afono** nō sīā ī -tiro.
 now land -MK -PRF.DS.PL 1PL.NOM cry do.ITR -PO
After they have buried [our deceased child] we can cry.

Examples having the negated form **-amano**:

- (264) Ēfē fene ka **-amano**
 1SG.POSS husband.ABS go -PRF.DS.NEG

 ēfē fake isi -nī ik -a.
 1SG.POSS child.ABS ill -INSTR do.ITR -PRF
Before my husband left, my child became ill.

- (265) Ēfē poko pake **-amano** ēfē ēfa
 1SG.POSS umbilical.cord.ABS fall PRF.DS.NEG 1SG.POSS mother.ERG

 ia efe -ni -kia.
 1SG.ACC bring.HUM -PST1 -HSY
It is said that my mother brought me before my umbilical cord fell off.

Examples having the negated form **-yoamano**:

- (266) Efē epa na **-yo -amano** māchi -ki -no -ax
 1SG.POSS father.ABS die -ATT -PRF.DS.NEG hill -ABLOC -LOC -GVI

 nō o -ni fake -ax.
 1PL.NOM come -PST1 child -PRF.SS.GVI
Before my father died, we came from the hills, when we were children.

- (267) Efē efa chii kete -fa **-yo -amano**
 my mother.ERG fire kindle -MK -ATT -PRF.DS.NEG

 nami fē -xō -a na -fo.
 meat bring -BEN -PRF DEM.VIS -PL.ABS
Before my mother got the fire going, [he] brought meat for [her], these [portions].

Verbs marked with **-ano** can be marked for tense. This is done by inserting a past 1, 2, or 3 tense marker immediately preceding **-ano**. This serves to give an idea of how much time elapsed (or can elapse, in irrealis contexts) between the event of the switch-reference clause and the event of the independent clause.

Examples of switch-reference marker **-ano** in dependent clauses marked for tense:

(268) Ēfē fake ka **-ita** **-ano** ě -rifi
 my child.ABS go -PST3 -PRF.DS 1SG.NOM -ADD

Sepahua kaa -xifi.

Sepahua go -BFUT

A few days after my son goes, I will go to Sepahua also.

The past tense suffix **-yamea** is always truncated to **-yame** preceding a clause suffix. In the following example it precedes the switch-reference marker **-ano**:

(269) Ēfē efã mã efē epa ene **-yame** **-ano**
 1SG.POSS mother.ERG now 1SG.POSS father.ABS leave -PST2 -PRF.DS

efē exto yono -i ka -ita.
 1SG.POSS younger.brother.ERG work -IMPF go -PST3

A number of months after my mother left my father, my younger brother left to work.

In the following example, the past tense suffix **-ita** indicates that the span of time between the time of the event of the dependent clause (“die”) and the time of the event of the governing clause (“receive”) can be a matter of days.

(270) Afa na **-ita** **-ano** ě
 his.mother.ABS die -PST3 -PRF.DS 1SG.NOM

fi -xo -tiro pi -ma -xi -kĩ.
 receive -BEN -PO eat -CAUS -BFUT -IMPF

After his mother has died some days previously, I can receive him, in order to feed him.

4.2.3.2.2 Switch-reference suffix -a

A third switch-reference suffix that expresses perfective aspect is **-a**. It is analyzed as being a coalescence of switch-reference marker **-a** and perfective aspect marker **-a**. (See section 4.2.3.2.1 about the evidence for this analysis.) The plural form is created by adding the plural suffix **-fo**, to create **-afo**. These suffixes are used to indicate that the P of the marked clause will be the S of the governing clause. That is, the P of the marked verb will respond to the event in the marked clause in a way described by the intransitive verb of the governing clause. This suffix (if not negated) also indicates that the event of the clause it marks was/is completed before the event of the governing clause.

The following two examples meet this criterion. In both cases the P of the marked clause becomes the S of the intransitive governing verb.

(271) Nō achi **-a** fake tita tita i **-tiro**.
 1PL.NOM grab -PRF.OS child.ABS toddle toddle do.ITR -PO
 After we take hold of [him], a child can toddle around.

(272) Xoko -shta nō fi **-a** ōshi **-tiro** **-ma**.
 immature -FAV.ABS 1PL.NOM obtain -PRF.OS ripe -PO -NEG
 If we get it when it is small, it can't get ripe.

The following is an example illustrating the plural form of the suffix. The context was that the speaker and another person were urged to accept a ride across a flooded river in a big motorized canoe so that they would not tip over in their small one. The bigger one ended up getting capsized. It may be that the speaker used **-afo** rather than switch-reference markers **-kē** (see 4.2.3.2.3) or **-afono** because she wanted to convey the feeling that she and those with her felt obligated to do what was expected of them, that socially they had no choice.

(273) “Mā na- -pa -keme **-tiro** **-ki**” noko
 2PL.NOM middle -DWN -RFX -PO -PER 1PL.ACC

 fa **-a** **-fo** nō nane -kera -ita.
 say -PRF.OS -PL 1PL.NOM embark -MTS.ITR -PST3.
 After they said to us, “You could dump, so do what we imply,” we got in and came this way.

When **-a** needs to be negated, **-yama** is inserted preceding it. Example:

(274) Nō yoi **-yama** -a xate -tiro -ma.
 1PL.NOM tell - NEG -PRF.OS stop -PO -NEG
If we don't tell him, he can't stop doing it.

4.2.3.2.3 Switch-reference suffix -kě

Another switch-reference suffix that expresses perfective aspect is **-kě**. It indicates that the subject of the marked clause is not coreferential with the subject of the governing clause. If the event has perfective aspect and the subject of the marked clause is the object of the governing clause, **-kě** must be used, rather than **-ano**.¹⁴ At times a speaker will mark agreement with the plural subject of such a clause by using **-fafě** instead of **-kě**.

In realis contexts and when the governing verb is intransitive, **-kě** marks the precipitating reason for the event expressed by the governing verb. Unless marked for tense to show otherwise, it also indicates that the event expressed took place the same day as the governing verb's event. In realis contexts and when the governing verb is transitive, **-kě** can either have the purpose of marking the precipitating reason for the event expressed by the governing verb, or it can have the purpose of sequencing the event of the dependent clause as having taken place before the event of the independent clause. The context determines which function it has. In irrealis contexts it marks the circumstances that were necessary for the action of the governing verb to be possible.

In example 275, unless **nikakĩ** “hearing” is the implied governing verb of the clause, the subject of the marked clause does not correlate with the object of the governing clause. However, the interpretation of reason fits the marked clause better than the interpretation of sequencing, so **-kě** is employed rather than **-ano**.

¹⁴ This is a feature that distinguishes **-kě** from other switch-reference suffixes, but **-kě** can be used when there is no coreference between the subject of the marked clause and the object of the governing clause (see examples 280, 281), or when there is no object in the governing clause (because the the verb in that clause is intransitive). See 4.2.3.2.3.

(275) “María -nē ea picha -xo -fē ia
 María -VOC 1SG.ACC cook -BEN -IMP 1SG.ACC
 fã -kē ã a -pao -ni.
 say -PRF.SO 1SG.NOM do.TR -HAB -PST1

Because she said to me: “María, cook for me”, I used to do it back then.

Following is an example where the function of **-kē** is to sequence two events. One does not see someone because of their having become a teenager. But since the subject of the marked clause becomes the object of the governing verb, **-kē** must be used instead of switch-reference **-ano**.

(276) Pexko -kē ã õĩ -fãĩ -ni afe -tĩã -ma.
 become.male.teen -PRF.SO 1SG.NOM see -MAS.TR -PST1 something -TS -NEG

After [he] had become a teenager, I saw [him]; before I left, a long time ago.

In the next example, the subject of the **-kē** clause is **mĩ** “you”, and the **-kē** indicates that the subject of the governing clause will not be “you”, and that the action of the marked clause was completed before the action of the governing clause was initiated. Since the subject of the marked verb becomes the object of the governing clause, **-kē** is used instead of **-ano**. The verb has the potential marker **-tiro** which is irrealis in mode rather than realis, so the marked clause is interpreted as a condition that must be met, rather than as a reason.

(277) Mĩ nĩ -kē ã mia
 2SG.NOM stand -PRF.SO 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC

fichi -tiro.

encounter -PO

If you are standing up, I can spot you.

This suffix can also mark modifiers of a copular construction. Examples:

(278) Ēfē yami shara -mã -kē mã e pota -a.
 my axe.ABS good -not -PRF.SO now 1SG.NOM throw.out -PRF

Because my axe was not good, I threw it away today.

(279) Mātsi -nã -kě ãfã
 cold -become -PRF.SO his.mother.ERG

rako -tiro.

cover -PO

If he has gotten cold, his mother can cover him.

Clauses marked with **-kě** can be marked with tense. This is done by inserting a past 1, 2, 3 or 4 tense marker immediately preceding it. This serves to give an idea of how much time elapsed between the event of the marked clause and the event of the independent clause.

Examples of switch-reference marker **-kě** in dependent clauses marked for tense:

(280) E rama fichi -a i -skara -ma
 1SG.NOM recently encounter -PRF VIS- -COMP -NEG

feno -nĩ -kě.

lose -PST1 -PRF.SO

I recently found it; it had been lost a long time ago.

(281) Pexe fa -xo -yame -ke pei inã -a.
 house.ABS make -BEN -PST2 -PRF.SO money.ABS give -PRF.

Because he had made a house for (someone) some months ago, (someone) gave (him) money.

(282) Afi -nĩ yoi -ita -kě ia chiko -shtã
 wife -ERG tell -PST3 -PRF.SO 1SG.ACC younger.sister -FAV.ERG

“Nõ ka -nõ” ea fa -ita.

1PL.NOM go -EXH” -1SG.ACC say -PST3

His wife having told [her] some days previously, younger sister said to me, “... Let’s go.”

(283) Fětsã kexe -ma -fãĩ -ti -ke rete -ni -fo.
 other.ERG guard -CAUS -MAS.TR -PST2 -PRF.SO kill -PST1 -PL

Because someone else some months previously before he left, had hired[the victim] to guard [the place], they killed him.

The example below shows an instance where **-fafě** was used to show agreement with the plural subject.

(284) Fake -fafě kene tapĩ -nĩ -fafě profesora -to ato
 child -PL.ERG writing learn -PST1 -PRF.SO.PL teacher -ERG 3PL.ACC

kene -ma -tiro.

write -CAUS -PO

Because they learned to write well, the teacher can have them write things.

Switch-reference suffix **-kě** can be preceded by one of the following habitual aspect markers: **-tiyani**, **-tiya** or **-mis**. These constructions give the meaning “because of having habitually done x”.

Examples containing the construction **-tiyanĩkě**:

(285) One -tiyanĩ -kě nĩ askafa -a.
 steal -HAB -PRF.SO 1PL.NOM scold -PRF

Because [he] habitually steals, we scolded [him].

(286) Noko para -tiyanĩ -kě nĩ iko -i -ra
 1PL.ACC deceive -HAB -PRF.SO 1PL.NOM truth -IMPF -REP

fa -i -ma.

say -IMPF -NEG

Because [he] has habitually deceived us, we don't believe [him].

An example containing the construction **-tiyakě**:

(287) Fake fekax i -tiya -ke
 child.ABS difficult do.ITR -HAB -PRF.SO

“Mĩ fekax -kakain -i” nĩ fa -tiro.

2SG.NOM difficult -IT.ITR -IMPF 1PL.NOM say -PO

When a child is always ornery, we can say to him, “You are very ornery. You repeatedly act ornery.”

Examples containing the construction **-miskē**:

(288) Fai fa **-mis** -kē “Māñāi -ifo”
crop.field.ABS make -HAB -PRF.SO crop.field -owner.ABS

nō fa -tiro.
1PL.NOM say -PO

Because [he] makes fields of crops, we can say “[He] [is] an owner of fields of crops”.

The combination **-miske** can also attach to a copular construction. Example:

(289) Chaka **-mĩs** -kē ãfē afo -ma
bad -HAB -PRF.SO 3SG.POSS relatives -NEG.ABS

sĩa i -tiro -fo -ma.
cry do.ITR -PO -PL -NEG

Since he has habitually been bad, his non-relatives can't cry [when he dies].

4.3. Mode

Now I will describe how certain modes are expressed in Yora. Payne states:

Mode describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood....Irrealis mode does not necessarily assert that an event did not take place or will not take place. It simply makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described (1997:244).

4.3.1 Potential mode

Roberts said in his paper “The category of *Irrealis* in Papuan medial verbs” that “... it is the nature of habituality that it can be classified as either an aspect or a mood” (1994:67). This helps explain why a marker used for habitual aspect, the suffix **-tiro**, is also used to express potential mode. Context indicates when potential mode is meant rather than the habitual aspect meaning this suffix can have.

These suffixes fill the slot that tense suffixes usually occupy.

(290) Mă ē i- -skara -tĩã ichapa pi -**tiro**.
 now 1SG.NOM VIS- -COMP -TS many eat -PO

Now I can eat a lot. (The context was that the speaker had been ill and hadn't been able to eat much when she was ill.)

The potential mode suffix **-tiro** can be modified with future tense marker **-xifi** to express that the action or state will be possible in the future. (When **-xifi** is postposed by **-tiro** and certain other suffixes, it has the shortened form **-xi**.) Examples:

(291) Ēfē afo ii -**xi** -**tiro**.
 1SG.POSS relative be -BFUT -PO

[He/she] can be my relatives in the future.

(292) Yono -xõ mĩ afara fii -**xi** -**tiro**.
 work -PRF.SS.TR 2SG.NOM whatever.ABS have -BFUT -PO

By working, in the future you can obtain whatever.

The potential mode suffix **-tiro** can also appear on dependent clauses, in the tense/aspect slot of the interval marker **-xakĩ** constructions. This combination communicates that the subject has (or has not, in the case of negated verbs) been able to do the action of the marked verb for a period of time up to the time of the governing verb's event. An example:

(293) Ē xaki -mã pi -**tiro** -xa -ki -ma
 1SG.NOM stomach -INSTR eat -PO -IVL -IMPF -NEG

ĩ afa -shta pi -itaa -ma.
 1SG.NOM something -FAV eat -PST3 -NEG

Not having been able to eat for some time because of my stomach, I didn't eat a thing.

4.3.2 Deontic mode

Deontic mode, the mode that is expressed by “should” in English, is marked on the main verb by the same suffix used for potential mode: **-tiro**. Context indicates when deontic mode is meant rather than habitual aspect or potential mode.

The context for the first example was that the speaker had been asked what the husband does while his wife gives birth.

(294) Fake tana -**tiro** -ma.
 child.ABS keep.track -PO -NEG

[The father of a newborn baby] should not pay attention to the child.

The context for the narrative excerpt below was that a close relative came to visit when the speaker was feeling ill. Usually in the context of a visit, if the one being visited intends to serve food or drink, and wishes to announce her intention, she uses a self-exhortative with the exhortative suffix -nõ. But in this instance, the speaker used -**tiro** in what I believe was deontic mode, to acknowledge her obligation to serve the visitor. The sequel is included to show that the visitor affirmed the host's obligation, and the speaker carried it out.

(295) "... yama -shta mia masato nefo -xo -**tiro**."
 "... no.relation -FAV.ABS 2SG.ACC manioc.drink add.water -BEN -PO
 "... Dear one, [I] should add water to the manioc drink for you."

(296) "Ĕjĕ. Mĩ ia a -xo -**tiro**. Ĕ nomi"
 yes 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC do.TR -BEN -PO 1SG.NOM thirsty

ia fa -ita.
 1SG.ACC say -PST3

[He] said to me. "Yes. You should do [that] for me. I am thirsty."

(297) "Ia" fa -ita.
 o.k. say -PST3
 "O.k." [I] said.

(298) Ne- ã -xo -ĩta.
 FALS do.TR -BEN -PST3
 [I] um, did [it] for [him].

(299) ... masato nefo -xo -ta
 ... masato add.water -BEN -AP
 ... after I added water to the masato for [him],

ě mini -ita.
 1SG.NOM give -PST3
I gave [it] [to him].

4.3.3 Subjunctive mode

In irrealis contexts the adverbial suffixes **-keran/-kerã** “almost” mark the independent verb in order to convey the meaning “would have”. If the marked verb is negated, then the meaning is “would not have”. The whole construction expresses: “If x were the case, the subject would have/would not have done y.” Preceding the past tense marker **-a**, **-keran** is employed. Preceding all other tense markers **-kerã** is used. Sometimes in conjunction with the past tense **-ni** a speaker will reverse the usual order, forming the sequence **-nikerana**. Also to express “would not have x happen to you” for a future time, **-xa** precedes **-kerana** to form **-xakerana**. Examples:

(300) Xaxo -kě nō okiri poke **-keran** -a.
 canoe -PRF.SO 1PL.NOM other.side cross -almost -PRF
If a canoe had been [there] we would have crossed to the other side.

(301) Mōte mēra nane -xō e pachia nane -xō
 boat in put.in -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM banana.ABS put.in -PRF.SS.GVT

 e xea **-kēran** -a -ma.
 1SG.NOM swallow -almost -PRF -NEG
If I had put [them] in his boat, if I had put the bananas in [his boat] I wouldn't have gotten to eat them.

(302) Na i mia yoi -a nika -ax
 DEM.VIS 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC tell -PRF hear -PRF.SS.GVI

 mĩ na -xa **-keran** -a -ma.
 2SG.NOM die -IVL -almost -PRF -NEG
If you would have heard what I just told you, you would not have been doomed to die.

This type of construction can be used without an expressed reason, to give the meaning “he/she was going to do x” with the implication that something happened that changed the

plan. To express this, the verb root is followed by: **-xi** “future”, **-keran** “almost”, and perfective marker **-a**.

(303) No- -no ii -xi **-keran** -a.
 DEM.VIS- -LOC do.ITR -BFUT -almost -PRF
[He] would have lived here in the future.

4.3.4 Purpose mode

Dependent clauses marked for purpose have up to four kinds of criteria that determine how they are marked. The types of criteria are: 1) whether the purposed subsequent action will occur the same day as the event of the governing clause, or a day subsequent to the event of the governing clause; 2) whether the purposed subsequent action will occur a few days later or beyond a few days later, 3) whether the subject of the dependent clause is the same or different from the governing clause’s subject, and 4) whether the verb root has an even or odd number of syllables. Here is a chart summarizing the way the above criteria are expressed by the different purpose suffixes:

Chart 9. Future time-lapse markers

Time lapse	Purpose clause and governing clause share same subject	Purpose clause and governing clause have different subjects
Subsequent action is same day	-xikĩ/-xikakĩ	-nõ/-nõfo
Subsequent action is next day or in a few days	-faixakĩ/(-faixakakĩ)	-faixanõ/-faixanõfo
		-faiyaxanõ/-faiyaxanõfo
Subsequent action is beyond a few days later	-yaxakĩ/-yaxakakĩ	-xinõ/-xinõfo -nõpokonõ/-nõpokonõfo
The amount of time lapse is not the main component of meaning. The subsequent action is to continue in a habitual manner. Whether there is a time lapse can be deduced from the context.	-paxakĩ/-paxakakĩ	-paxanõ/-paxanõfo
	-pakexakĩ/-pakexakakĩ	-pakexanõ/-pakexanõfo

4.3.4.1 Time of purposed subsequent action is the same day as the event of the governing verb

When the time of a purposed subsequent action is the same day as the event of the governing verb, the dependent clause is marked with either **-xikī** (analyzed as being a composite of a modified form of future suffix **-xifi** and the same-subject imperfective aspect marker **-kī**) or with **-nō**. The former marks purpose clauses having coreferentiality of subject with the governing clause. The latter marks purpose clauses having no coreferentiality of subject with the governing clause.

The plural version of **-xikī** is formed by inserting plural suffix **-ka** between **-xi** and **-kī**, resulting in the form **-xikakī**. Usually only verbs having third-person plural subjects and imperative verbs are marked for plural, but example 306 shows that purpose clauses having a second-plural subject can also be marked for plural. The plural version of **-nō** is formed by adding the plural suffix **-fo** to it, resulting in the form **-nōfo**, but only if the subject is third-person plural.

The suffix **-xikī** is the same suffix that expresses the “later” imperative mood in an independent verb. The suffix **-nō** is the same suffix that expresses the exhortative mood in an independent verb. Clauses that express the purpose of an action are irrealis in mode, because the purposed event/state is not yet a reality at the time of the causative action. It should not be surprising, then, that such clauses in Yora are marked with the same suffixes used for imperatives and exhortatives, which are used with verbs referring to events that are not reality (at the time of the utterance). As can be expected, if the governing verb is irrealis, such as an imperative or a potential construction, or expresses an action that is in progress, then it is a moot point whether the event in the purpose clause is carried out or not. However, if the governing verb is realis, such as a statement marked with past tense, then the event of the verb marked for purpose can be assumed to have eventually taken place, unless context indicates otherwise.

Note that **-xikī** is only used when its governing verb is some verb other than locomotion verbs **ka** (go), and **o** (come). The latter as governing verbs require a different purpose construction (see section 7.3.1).

In the following examples the clauses marked with **-xikī** express the purpose for the event in the governing clauses:

(304) Ia paa a -xi -ki ia ene
 1SG.ACC hotpacks.of.leaves do.TR -BFUT -IMPF 1SG.ACC water.ABS

xana -fã -xõ -fě.

hot -MK -BEN -IMP

Heat water for me in order to later do hot packs of leaves on me.

(305) Nõ xea -ma -pai -xi -kĩ
 1PL.NOM swallow -CAUS -DES -BFUT -IMPF

nõ xate -yo -i ka -i mai -ki.

1PL.NOM cut -ATT -IMPF go -IMPF land -ABLOC

In order to try to catch fish later, we are going to go cut up [some bait] first, downriver.

An example of the plural form **-xikakĩ** when the subject is second-person plural follow.

(306) Mono -xi -ka -kĩ i -ta -kã -fě.
 dance -BFUT -PL -IMPF do.ITR -TRANS1 -PL -IMP

In order to dance, do it (get dressed up?) and come back.

Below are two examples in which the subject of the purpose clause is different from the subject of the governing clause, so the purpose clause is marked with **-nõ**:

(307) Sábado ãẽ pe xe a- -no fo -yaxa -ka -kĩ
 Saturday 1SG.POSS house DEM.MENT- -LOC go.3PL -IVL -PL -IMPF

ẽ mato pi -ma -nõ.
 1SG.NOM 2PL.ACC eat -CAUS -EXH

Saturday go to my house, for me to feed you.

(308) Sepahua a- -no exto nĩchi -ta -fě
 Sepahua DEM.MENT- -LOC younger.brother.ABS drop.off -TRANS1 -IMP

a- -no *estudia* -fã -nõ.
 DEM.MENT- -LOC study -MK -EXH

Go drop (your) younger brother off in Sepahua so that [he] can study there.

The following example demonstrates use of the plural form **-nõfo**.

- (309) ... efẽ koka ranã ã ato xiki
 ... 1SG.POSS maternal.uncle few.ABS 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC corn.ABS
- inã -a ea mini -xo -ta **-nõ** **-fo**.
 give -PRF 1SG.ACC give -BEN -TRANS1 -EXH -PL
 ... *I gave a few of my uncles corn for them to go sell for me.*

The following example shows the two ways to negate **-nõ**. The clauses were spoken consecutively. The speaker had been asked why a person tied something onto their wrist. The subject of the implied clause “he ties it onto his wrist” is different from the subject of the clauses that comprise the answer.

- (310) A -ki afa i -yamã **-nõ**.
 3SG -ABLOC something do.ITR -NEG -EXH
 So that nothing happens to him.
- A -ki afa i **-nõ** -ma.
 3SG -ABLOC something do.ITR -EXH -NEG
 So that nothing happens to him.

The suffixes **-xikĩ** and **-nõ** can also be used if the purposed action is a day other than the day the event of the governing verb takes place, but in such a case the time has to be specified periphrastically.

- (311) ãfẽ yami fã -fẽran -a fenãmãri
 3SG.POSS axe.ABS put.away -MTS.TR -PRF morning
- a -õ yono -i kaa **-xi** **-kĩ**.
 3SG.ABS -INSTR.GVI work -IMPF go -BFUT -IMPF
 [He] left his axe [there] and came, in order to go use it in the morning.

- (312) Oxe rafe a -ta o **-nõ** ã yoi -a.
 moon two.ABS do.TR -AP come -EXH 1SG.NOM tell -PRF
 I told him to come in two months.

Depending on the context, sometimes the component of subsequentity is being expressed rather than purpose. In the next example, the interpretation of subsequentity seems more plausible than purpose. The context was that the subjects had already made one stop on their way home from the city. The subject of the dependent verb is the same as the subject of the governing verb, so **-xikĩ** is used.

- (313) Afianã nō o -ita anã foto **-xi -ki -ma.**
 again 1PL.NOM come -PST3 again descend -BFUT -IMPF -NEG
We again came this way and would not be getting out [of the car] again.

For the above sentence an interpretation expressing purpose would not make sense: people do not travel in order to not get out of the vehicle.

The following is another example of when subsequentity rather than purpose is being expressed. The subject of the dependent verb is different from the subject of the governing clause, so the suffix **-nō** is used.

- (314) Afa noko -yama -fi **-nō** ã
 something arrive -NEG -MIR -EXH 1SG.NOM
 ka -yo -tan -a.
 go -ATT -TRANS1 -PRF
Though nothing was to come across my path, I went out first thing this morning and came back.

4.3.4.2 Time of purposed subsequent action is the day after or within a few days of the event of the governing verb

When the time of a purposed action is the day after or within a few days of the event of the governing verb, the dependent clause is marked with either **-faixakĩ**,¹⁵ **-faixanō**, or **-faiyaxanō**. The construction **-faixakĩ** is analyzed as being a composite of the near-past/near-future marker **-fai**, the interval marker **-xa** and the same-subject imperfective aspect suffix **-kĩ**. The plural version **-faixakakĩ** is formed by inserting plural suffix **-ka** immediately after the interval

¹⁵ At least one speaker did not acknowledge **-faixakĩ**, and wanted to use **-xikĩ** with a time adverb instead. It could have been because of influence of Yaminahua speech in his background.

marker.¹⁶ The construction **-faixanõ** is analyzed as being a composite of the near-past/near-future marker **-fai**¹⁷, the interval marker **-xa** and the exhortative suffix **-nõ**. The plural version **-faixanõfo** is formed by adding the plural suffix **-fo** to the end of the marker.¹⁸ These forms are used when the subjects of the two clauses are different and when the verb root has an even number of syllables. The construction **-faiyaxanõ** (or the plural version **-faiyaxanõfo**) is used when the subjects of the two clauses are different and when the verb root has an odd number of syllables.¹⁹ The suffix **-faiyaxanõ** is analyzed as being a combination of the near-past/near-future marker **-fai**, the interval suffix **-yaxa**, and the exhortative suffix **-nõ**.

In the following example, the subject of the dependent purpose clause is the same as the governing clause's subject, and the verb root of the dependent clause has an odd number of syllables (**ka**), so **-faixakĩ** is the suffix used.

(315) Fenãmãri ka **-fai** **-xa** **-ki**
morning go -NPNF -IVL -IMPF

mã piloto -pa gasolina fi -a.
now pilot -ERG gasoline obtain -PRF

In order to leave tomorrow morning, the pilot has obtained gasoline.

Below is an example showing the plural form **-faixakakĩ**.

(316) Fenãmãri fe **-fai** **-xa** **-ka** **-ki** fo -a -fo.
morning come.3PL -NPNF -IVL -PL -IMPF go.PL -PRF -PL

In order to come tomorrow morning, they left today.

In the following two examples the subjects of the dependent clause and the governing clause are different, and the verb roots of the dependent purpose clauses have an even number of syllables (**iyõ-** and **yono-**, respectively), so **-faixanõ** is employed in each case. The second example has the plural form of the suffix.

¹⁶ See the second paragraph in 4.3.4.1 about the marking of verbs for plural.

¹⁷ See the second footnote in 4.1.1.1.4 about this suffix.

¹⁸ See the second paragraph in 4.3.4.1 about the marking of verbs for plural.

¹⁹ The suffix **-faixikĩ** is the suffix that expresses the “tomorrow” imperative mood in an independent verb. The suffix **-faixanõ** is the same suffix that expresses the exhortative mood in an independent verb.

(317) Nō *piloto* yōkā -ã
 1PL.NOM pilot.ABS ask -PRF

noko iyo **-fai** **-xã** **-nõ.**
 1PL.ACC TRANSPORT.MAS.HUM -NPNF -IVL -EXH

We asked the pilot to transport us tomorrow.

(318) Ī ato yoi -nõ ea
 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC tell -EXH 1SG.ACC

yono -xo **-fai** **-xã** **-nõ** **-fo.**
 work -BEN -NPNF -IVL -EXH -PL

I am going to tell them in order that they work for me tomorrow.

In the next two examples the subject of the dependent clause and the governing clause are different, and the verb roots of the dependent purpose clauses have an odd number of syllables (**fi-** and **fe-**, respectively), so **-faiyaxanõ** is employed in each case. The second example has the plural form of the suffix.

(319) Pei inã -a afe safeti
 money.ABS give -PRF 3SG.POSS clothing.ABS

fi -xo **-fai** **-yaxã** **-nõ.**
 obtain -BEN -NPNF -IVL -EXH

[He] gave [him] money in order that the other person get his clothes for him the next day.

(320) Niaifãfẽ ato kena -a
 chief.ERG 3PL.ACC call -PRF

fe **-fai** **-yaxã** **-nõ** -fo.
 come.3PL -NPNF -IVL -EXH -PL

The chief called them so that they will come [tomorrow or in a few days].

4.3.4.3 Time of purposed subsequent action is an unspecified amount of time after the event of the governing verb

When a purposed subsequent action is to take place sometime beyond a few days after the event of the governing verb, up to many days after the event of the governing verb, the dependent clause is marked with either **-yaxakĩ**, **-xinõ** or **-nõpokonõ**. The suffix **-yaxakĩ** (or the plural version **-yaxakakĩ**²⁰) is used when the marked clause's subject is the same as the governing clause's subject. The suffix constructions **-xinõ** (or the plural version **-xinõfo**²¹) and **-nõpokonõ** (or the plural version **-nõpokonõfo**) are interchangeable, and are used when the subjects of the two clauses are different.

In the next two examples the subjects of the dependent clause and the governing clause are the same, so **-yaxakĩ** is employed in each case. The second example has the plural form of the suffix.

(321) *Ãpã* efe -yo -a iyo **-yaxã -kĩ.**
 his.father.ERG bring.HUM -ATT -PRF transport.MAS.HUM -IVL -IMPF
His father brought [him] in order to take [him] [somewhere] in a few days.

(322) Fe **-yaxa -ka -kĩ** fo -a -fo.
 come.3PL -IVL -PL -IMPF go.PL -PRF -PL
In order to come back some other day, they left today.

These suffixes can mark a verb whose event is planned for the day following the event of the governing verb, but an adverb meaning “tomorrow” must be included in the sentence also, or the time must be evident from a wider context.

(323) *Motorista* -pa ato iyo -a **fenãmãri**
 motor.boat.pilot -ERG 3PL.ACC transport.MAS.HUM -PRF morning

 o **-yaxa -kĩ.**
 come -IVL -IMPF
The motor boat pilot transported them in order to return tomorrow morning.

²⁰ See the second paragraph in 4.3.4.1 about the marking of verbs for plural.

²¹ The suffix **-faixikĩ** expresses the “tomorrow” imperative mood in an independent verb. The suffix **-faixanõ** is the same suffix that expresses the exhortative mood in an independent verb.

In the following example the subjects of the dependent clause and the governing clause are different, so **-xinō** is used.

(324) *Dotori* -nĩ *sani* *yoi* -tiro *ato*
 doctor -ERG health.worker.ABS tell -PO 3PL.ACC

chachi -**xi** -**nō**.

inject -BFUT -EXH

The doctor tells the health worker to give them injections in the future.

An example showing the plural form **-xinōfo**:

(325) *Pii* -**xii** -**nō** -**fo** *ẽ* *fana* -**nō**.
 eat -BFUT -EXH -PL 1SG.NOM plant -EXH

I will plant in order for them to eat in the future.

Following are examples of use of the purpose construction **-nōpokonō**. The first sentence shows its singular form, and the second sentence shows its plural form.

(326) “*Yoã* *ya* *i* -**nōpoko** -**nō** *ãõ* *ficha*
 speech have be -BFUT -EXH his amniotic.fluid

fi -**nō**” *fa* -tiro.

obtain -EXH say -PO.

[She] can say, “[I] will get his amniotic fluid (out of his mouth) so that [he] will be able to talk in the future.”

(327) *Ë* *fake* *fõto* *fi* -**ma** -**nō**
 1SG.POSS child.ABS photo obtain -CAUS -EXH

õi -**nōpoko** -**nō** -**fo**.

see -BFUT -EXH -PL

I will have [him] take a photo of my child so that [others] will see [his photo] in the future.

4.3.4.4 A purpose construction marked for future habitual time

The purpose markers **-pãxakĩ/-pakexakĩ**, **-pãxanõ/-pakexanõ** have habitual aspect, because they can be used to express “so that down through the years”. They are formed by combining

one of the “down” suffixes, **-pã** or **-pake**, followed by the interval marker **-xa** and either the same-subject imperfective aspect suffix **-kĩ** or the exhortative suffix **-nõ**. With verbs whose root has an odd number of syllables, **-pãxakĩ** or **-pãxanõ** is used. With verbs whose root has an even number of syllables, **-pakexakĩ** or **-pakexanõ** is used. The forms **-pãxakĩ/-pakexakĩ** are employed when the subject of the marked clause is the same as the subject of the governing clause. They are made plural by inserting plural marker **-ka** after the interval marker, to form **-pãxakakĩ/-pakexakakĩ**.²² The forms **-pãxanõ/-pakexanõ** are employed when the subject of the marked clause is different than the subject of the governing clause. They are made plural by suffixing them with the plural marker **-fo**, to form **-pãxanõfo/-pakexanõfo**.

In the example below, the implied subject of the marked clause, **nõ** “we”, is the same as the subject of the governing verb, and the marked verb is composed of a one-syllable root, so **-pãxakĩ** is used to mark it for purpose that will be future and habitual.

(328) *Dios* -fe i -pa -xa -kĩ
 God -AAC.GVI do.ITR -DWN -IVL -IMPF

nõ ãko -i -ra fa -tiro.
 1PL speaks.truth -IMPF -REP say -PO

We believe in order to be with God forever.

In the next example, the subject of the marked clause, **nafafafẽ**, “outsiders”, is the same as the implied subject of the governing verb. The marked verb has a one-syllable root, and its subject is third-person plural, so **-pãxakakĩ** is used to mark it for purpose that will be future and habitual:

(329) *Nafa* -fãfẽ ifi fana -kan -i fimi
 outsider -PL.ERG tree plant -PL -IMPF fruit.ABS

fi -pa -xa -ka -ki.
 obtain -DWN -IVL -PL -IMPF

Outsiders planted a tree in order to harvest its fruit in the years to come.

²² See the second paragraph in 4.3.4.1 about the marking of verbs for plural.

In the following two examples the subject of the dependent clause and the governing clause are the same, and the verb roots of the dependent purpose clauses have an even number of syllables (**fana-** “sing” and **yono-** “work”, respectively). Since the subject of the dependent clause in 330 is singular, **-pakexakĩ** is used. The subject of the dependent clause in 331 is third-person plural, so the plural form **-pakexakakĩ** is used.

(330) Fana tãpi -ni fana **-pake** **-xa** **-kĩ**.
 song.ABS learn -PST1 sing -DWN -IVL -IMPF
[He] learned a song in order to sing [it] down through the years.

(331) Ato yono **-pake** **-xa** **-ka** **-kĩ** ato
 3PL.ACC employ -DWN -IVL -PL -IMPF 3PL.ACC

 pota -ni -fo -ma.
 throw.out -PST1 -PL -NEG
They didn't dismiss them, in order to employ them year after year in the future.

In 332, the subject of the marked clause, **apa** “his father”, is different from the implied subject of the governing verb, “his child”. The marked verb has a one-syllable root, and has a singular subject, so the form **-paxanõ** is used:

(332) Apa ãẽ fake mai inã -ni nã- -no
 his.father.ERG 3SG.POSS child.ABS land.ABS give -PST1 DEM.NVIS -LOC

 i **-pa** **-xa** **-nõ**.
 do.ITER -DWN -IVL -EXH
The father gave his child land, for him to live there in the years to come.

In the example below, the subject of the marked clause, **ẽ** “I” is different from the subject of the governing verb, “they”, the marked verb is composed of a one-syllable root, and has a third-plural subject, so the form **-paxanõfo** is used:

(333) Ë nēnāfa fana -a ao fimi
 1SG.NOM peach.palm.ABS plant -PRF 3SG.POSS fruit.ABS

a -pa -xã -nõ -fo.
 do.TR -DWN -IVL -EXH -PL

I planted a peach palm tree so that they do (eat) its fruit in years to come.

In 334, the implied subject of the marked clause, “he”, is different from the subject of the governing verb, **afē fake** “his child”, and is singular. The marked verb is composed of a two-syllable root, **rera** “cut down” so the form **-pakexanõ** is used.

(334) Afē fake yami mini -i nã -tõ
 3SG.POSS child.ABS axe.ABS give -IMPF DEM.NVIS -ERG

rera -pake -xa -nõ.
 cut.down -DWN -IVL -EXH

[He] will give his son an axe so that [he] will cut down trees in the years to come.

In the next example, again the subject of the marked clause, ã “I”, is different from the subject of the governing verb, “they”. The marked verb has a plural subject and has a two-syllable root, so the form **-pakexanõfo** is used.

(335) Ë libro kene -xifi oĩ -pake -xa -nõ -fo.
 1SG.NOM book write -BFUT see -DWN -IVL -EXH -PL

I will write a book so that others will see it down through the years.

5. MIRATIVITY

Languages have different ways of signalling to the hearer that what immediately follows is something the speaker believes that the hearer is not expecting. This qualification of information is called “mirativity.” In Yora there is a way to mark independent clauses for unexpected content, and also dependent clauses, for unexpected (or surprising) content in their governing clause.

5.1. Marking for mirative on declarative independent clauses

Mirativity is marked morphologically on independent clauses that are positive assertions by placing **-roko** on a constituent near the beginning of the sentence. See other uses of **-roko** in the Appendix.

- (336) Ē **-roko** ě mia pa- -yexka -i -ki.
 1SG.NOM -MIR 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC ear- -twist -IMPF -PER
Contrary to what you expect, I am going to twist your ear, so do what I imply.

- (337) Nā **-roko** kāfāshara.
 DEM.NVIS -MIR small
Contrary to what you expect, that [person] is small.

When **-kēroko** is on the matrix verb of the sentence it emphatically negates the sentence, and the speaker is communicating that he feels the listener is not expecting the information in the negated assertion. The marker is analyzed as being a combination of switch-reference **-kē** and mirative **-roko**. Optionally mirative endscope marker **-fi** follows it. Since in at least one other Panoan language, specifically Shipibo, “**-ke**” functions as a completive suffix on matrix verbs (Faust 1973:11), perhaps this construction gives proof that historically in Yora **-kē** used to function as some kind of matrix verb suffix also.

In the following example, the immediately preceding context and the immediately following context to the sentence containing **-kēroko** are both given, to show that the verb marked with **-kēroko** in this construction is not governed by an independent verb, but is itself functioning as an independent verb. The example consists of part of an imaginary dialogue between a woman and a man. Sentences 338 and 339 are what the woman can say, and sentences 340 and 341 (what is in quotation marks) are what the man can say.

- (338) “Mī āfī ya -mē.”
 2SG.NOM wife.ABS have -INT
“Do you have a wife?”

- (339) “Mēfē āfī -kai aka” fa -tiro.
 2SG.POSS wife.ABS -but but say -PO
[She] can say, “What about your wife?”

(340) “Ē -kaĩ ãfi ya -ke -roko.”
 1SG.NOM -but wife.ABS have -PRF.SO -MIR
“Contrary to what you expect, I don’t have a wife.”

(341) “Aka mĩ fene ya -mē” fa -tiro nokofenē -rifi.
 but 2SG.NOM husband.ABS have -INT say -PO man.ERG -ADD
The man, also, can say, “And what about you, do you have a husband?”

The marker **-keroko** can follow predicate adjectives also. The context of the next example was that a boy drank from a basin of laundry rinse water. His mother reprimanded him for it, to which he replied, “It’s good”. His mother then said the following:

(342) Shara -ke -roko.
 good -PRF.SO -MIR
Contrary to what you think, it’s not good.

Independent clauses have been found negated just with **-roko**. I tentatively interpret these as communicating that the information is regarded as unexpected to the hearer, but not emphasized. The next three sentences were spoken in succession. Example 343 is given for context. Examples 344 and 345 show that the mirative endscope marker **-fi** is optional in this type of construction.

(343) Ē ka -mis -ma.
 1SG.NOM go -HAB -NEG
I don’t go [there].

(344) Ē ka -pai -i -roko -fi.
 1SG.NOM go -DES -IMPF -MIR -ES
Contrary to what you expect, I don’t want to go [there].

(345) Ē ka -pai -i -roko.
 1SG.NOM go -DES -IMPF -MIR
Contrary to what you expect, I don’t want to go [there].

Mirativity can also be marked morphologically on independent clauses using **-tsifi** or variant **-tsi**. However I have not heard it used to contradict anyone’s explicit assertion, so it may be a

gentler mirative marker than **-roko**. It negates the clause, unless the clause is already negated with **-ma** (see example 338 for the latter).

(346) Ĕ -**tsi** faki ka -mis.
 1SG.NOM -MIR somewhere go -HAB
 Contrary to what you expect, I don't go anywhere.

If the clause is already negated, then it is not negating the negation. In this case the speaker is just expressing that he thinks the hearer does not expect the negated information.

(347) "... Ĕ -**tsĩ** ni- -ri o -mis -**mã** -ki"
 ... 1SG.NOM -MIR DEM.VIS- -GNLOC come -HAB -NEG -PER

 Ĕ fa -yamea.
 1SG.NOM say -PST2
 "*... contrary to what you expect, I have never come this direction before, so do what I imply,*" *I said.*

5.2. Marking for mirative on a two-clause construction

One of the ways mirative mode is marked morphologically on two-clause constructions is by marking a subordinate clause with mirative **-roko**, and its governing clause with mirative endscope suffix **-fi**. In this type of construction, even though the negation suffix **-ma** does not appear in either of the clauses, both clauses are negated, and the whole sentence is regarded by the speaker as unexpected to the hearer.

Example 339 illustrates this kind of construction. Here, perfective **-kē** has its usual switch reference/reason marking function, rather than the function it has in **-keroko**. Sentence 349 immediately followed 348 in the discourse. Sentence 349 shows that even though there is no negation **-ma** in the second clause of 348, the latter is to be understood as being negated.

(348) Aka a- -no -kai -**roko** sao -ke
 but DEM.MENT- -LOC -but -MIR salt -PRF.SO

 tsõã sao ya pi -a -**fi**.
 someone.ERG salt.ABS have eat -PRF -ES
 But in that place, contrary to what you expect, there was no salt, so believe it or not, no one had used salt on their food.

(349) Nō sao ya pi -pao -ni -ma.
 1PL.NOM salt have eat -HAB -PST1 -NEG
We didn't use salt on our food back then.

The context of the next two examples is from the imaginary conversation that examples 338-341 were a part of. They were spoken in succession. Mirative suffix **-roko** marks the subordinate clauses of both sentences, negates them, and the mirative endscope **-fi** extends the influence of **-roko** to the end of each of the sentences, so that the governing clauses are also negated. The purpose markers **-xiki** and **-nō** together with the negation of **-roko** gives a subjunctive mode to both sentences.

(350) ... ē tsoa fi -xi -ki **-roko** ē
 ... 1SG.NOM someone.ABS obtain -BFUT -IMPF -MIR 1SG.NOM

 ãfi ya **-fi**.
 wife.ABS have -ES
... contrary to what you expect, I wouldn't take anyone for a wife if I had a wife.

(351) Ia tsõã fi -nõ **-roko** e afi ya **-fi**.
 1SG.ACC someone.ERG obtain -EXH -MIR 1SG.NOM wife.ABS have -ES
Contrary to what you expect, I wouldn't have anyone take me for a spouse if I had a wife.

In the following example, mirative **-roko** is placed earlier in the subordinate clause, and mirative endscope **-fi** is placed at the end of the subordinate clause, to show that the scope of negation is restricted to the subordinate clause. It is assumed it also limits the scope of mirativity to the subordinate clause.

(352) E -kai **-roko** a ti carro -pa e
 1SG.NOM -but -MIR DEM.MENT QTY car -INSTR 1SG.NOM

 ka -mi -xa -ki **-fi** e rate -yo -ita.
 go -HAB -IVL -IMPF -ES 1SG.NOM be.afraid -ATT -PST4
But I, contrary to what you think, not having gone in that many cars, not having gone, I was afraid at first.

Another way mirative mode is marked morphologically on two-clause constructions is by marking a subordinate clause with mirative **-tsifi**, and its governing clause with mirative endscope suffix **-fi**.

(353) Mǎ e -tsifi o -mi -xã -kĩ
 now 1SG.NOM -MIR come -HAB -IVL -IMPF

iriaoi -tsifi ĩ õ -a -fi.
 suddenly -MIR 1SG.NOM come -PRF -ES

Contrary to what you think, I didn't come on the spur of the moment, not having come before.

In the following example, the governing verb is not marked with **-fi** and is negated with **-ma**. The interpretation is that the information in the governing clause is not surprising, given the information in the subordinate clause.

(354) Nõ -tsifi rao ya -xõ nõ rao
 1PL.NOM -MIR medicine.ABS have -PRF.SS.GVT 1PL.NOM medicine.ABS

xea -paoni -ma.
 swallow -HAB -NEG

Contrary to what you think, not having medicine we didn't take medicine back then.

Mirative mode is also marked morphologically on two-clause constructions by suffixing **-fia** / **-fi** to the dependent verb, but these constructions communicate “even though event x occurred, unexpectedly event y occurred,” or “even though event x should occur, event y can/cannot occur.” Roots having an odd number of syllables are marked with **-fia**, and roots having an even number of syllables are marked with **-fi**. If the clause ends in switch-reference suffix **-kẽ**, **-fẽ** is used instead of **-fi** to create vowel harmony with **-kẽ**. Examples:

(355) ãã yometso -fia -xo
 randomly steal -MIR -PRF.SS.GVT

fetsa ranoma -tiro.
 other.ABS falsely.accuse -PO

Even though [he] stole it randomly, he can falsely accuse someone else.

The following example shows the insertion of mirative **-fi** into the middle of habitual past marker **-paoni**.

(356) Shinã -pao -**fi** -ni -xa -ki anã
 think -HAB -MIR -PST1 -IVL -IMPF again

shinã -shara -tiro -ma.
 think -WL -PO -NEG

Even though [he] used to think, [he] can't think well anymore.

When **-fi** marks a **-kẽ** clause, it changes to **-fe** to be in vowel harmony with **-kẽ**. An example of this follows.

(357) Fai -**fě** -kẽ ě ka -tiro -ma.
 field -MIR -PRF.SO 1SG.NOM go -PO -NEG

Even though [there's] a field of crops, I don't go.

6. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Yora has non-finite and finite complement clauses.

6.1. Non-finite complement clauses

The following types of non-finite complements are analyzed as such because they are dependent clauses that function similar to objects in relation to their governing verb, do not take adverbial suffixes like independent clauses and finite complements, and seem more tied to the governing clause than finite complements because they (with the exception of the perception constructions) always have the same subject as their governing verb. In addition, three out of the five kinds of non-finite complements (the phasal, ordinal and scope constructions) are even more tied to their governing verb in that nothing can intervene between them and their governing verb.

6.1.1 A non-finite object complement in a perception construction

A dependent clause suffixed with imperfective aspect marker **-kĩ** can serve as an object for the perception verb **mee-** “feel”. Note that in the first example the subject intervenes between the complement and the governing verb.

- (358) Ē fitsa -kĩ ě mee -ni -ma.
1SG.NOM laugh -IMPF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM sense -PST1 -NEG.
I wasn't aware that I was laughing.

- (359) Ē xaně -ně noko -kĩ mee -ni -ma.
1SG.NOM home -INSTR arrive -IMPF.SS.GVT sense -PST1 -NEG
I wasn't aware that I was arriving at home.

6.1.2 Non-finite object complements as specifying constructions

A clause suffixed with imperfective aspect **-i/-kĩ** can serve to make explicit the event referred to by **i-/a-** “do” or by **sharafa** “make good”. Marker **-i** is used when the governing verb is **i-**, for concordance in intransitivity. Marker **-kĩ** is used when the governing verb is **a-** or **sharafa-**, for concordance with their transitivity.

This type of complement follows rather than precedes the “do” verbs **i-/a-**, because the specified action is information that is expected from the context of what has been said earlier. Established or widely-known information is often put after the independent clause.

- (360) ... koshi i -tiro fake kãĩ -ĩ
... quickly do.ITR -PO child.ABS give.birth -IMPF
... [*she*] can quickly do it, give birth to the child.

In the example below the speaker says she can do something, then gives the specific action she is talking about, in the form of a non-finite complement. Previous to the utterance she had been telling about how to cook rice, and that she used to cook for someone. By being marked with **-kĩ** the complement has concordance in transitivity with its governing verb.

- (361) ... ě a -tiro pĩcha -kĩ.
... 1SG.NOM do.TR -PO cook -IMPF
... *I can do it; I can cook.*

In the following example the use of **sharafa-** by itself would be ambiguous as to how the speaker made the clay good before proceeding to the next step, but the verb preceding it, marked for transitive concordance with it, specifies what was done.

(362) E nafe **-ki** shara -fa -ta ã
 1SG.NOM trim -IMPF good -MK -AP 1SG.NOM

fari -fa -pao -ni.
 sun -MK -HAB -PST1

After I made it good by trimming it, I would dry it in the sun.

6.1.3 Phasal constructions

Phasal verbs take non-finite complement clauses as their object. Such phasal verbs include: **anaiti-** (“finish”), **ene-** (“stop”) and **tae-/taefa-** (“begin”).

These complement clauses differ from other dependent clauses in that they are marked for their own transitivity, not their governing verb’s. The complements are marked with either **-i** or **-kĩ**, depending on whether the marked verb is intransitive or transitive: **-i** if it is intransitive, **-kĩ** if it is transitive (see example 364). In the case of **tae-/taefa-**, the complement verb’s transitivity determines the governing verb’s form. If the complement verb is intransitive, **tae-** will be used. If the complement verb is transitive, **taefa-** will be used.

An example of use of the phasal verb **anaiti-** “finish” when its non-finite complement is intransitive:

(363) Toro **-i** **anaiti** -tã pena -xifi.
 get.round -IMPF finish -PRF light.up -BFUT

Right after [the moon] finishes getting round it will light things up.

An example of use of the phasal verb **anaiti-** “finish” when its non-finite complement is transitive:

(364) Fetsa yoi -ki **anaiti** -yama -aito
 other.ERG tell -IMPF finish -NEG -IMPF.SO

nõ xĩtĩ -ĩnĩ -fõfa -tiro -ma.
 1PL.NOM block -up -LAT.TR -PO -NEG

We can't interrupt someone before he is finished talking.

An example of use of the phasal verb **ene** “stop” when its non-finite complement is intransitive:

(365) Mã xãka ik -i **ene** -a.
 now empty.thing.INSTR do. ITR -IMPF stop -PRF

He has stopped breathing.

An example of use of the phasal verb **ene** “stop” when its non-finite complement is transitive:

(366) Ĕfě ãfĩ chaka -shta -roko
 1SG.POSS wife bad -FAV.ABS -MIR

ě õĩ -**ki** **ene** -i ka -i -mẽ.
 1SG.NOM see -IMPF.SS.TR stop -IMPF go -IMPF -INT

Am I really going to cease from seeing my dear rascally wife?

In the example below, the non-finite complement’s verb is intransitive, so the imperfective marker chosen to mark the complement is **-i**, and the phasal verb chosen to express “begin” is **tae-**, which is the intransitive form.

(367) Panĩ raka -ax sĩã -ĩk -i **tae** -tiro.
 hammock.ERG lie -PRF.SS.GVI cry do. ITR -IMPF begin -PO

After [he] lies down in a hammock [he] can start crying.

In the next example, the non-finite complement’s verb is transitive, so the imperfective marker chosen to mark the complement is **-kĩ**, and the phasal verb chosen to express “begin” is **taefa-**, which is the transitive form.

The context for the following example was a visit to the local zoo. Instead of communicating which person arrived first, it communicates which location was arrived at first.

(371) Fara -fo -ki nō noko -i **tae** -ita.
 otter -PL -ABLOC 1PL.NOM arrive -IMPF.SS.ITR begin.ITR -PST3
First we came to some otters.

6.1.5 Scope constructions

In Yora, scope verbs also take non-finite complements. Scope constructions express the extent of the effect of the action or state expressed by the complement.

The Yora scope verbs are **fetse-/fetsa-**, and **keyo-**. Either **fetse-** or **fetsa-** is chosen according to whether the verb of the non-finite complement is intransitive or transitive. If the non-finite complement's verb is intransitive, its governing scope verb will be **fetse-**. If it is transitive, its governing scope verb will be **fetsa-**. Scope verb **keyo-** can be used whether the verb of the non-finite complement is intransitive or transitive. See chart 10 to see different ways number of subject and transitivity influence kinds of scopes expressed by **fetse-/fetsa-**.

The scope verb **fetse-** is intransitive, so to be in concordance with it, its complement's verb bears the intransitive imperfective aspect marker **-i**. The scope verb **fetsa-** is transitive, so its complement's verbs bear the transitive concordance imperfective aspect marker **-kī**. The latter construction is more commonly used with a plural subject. If the subject is singular, then the adverbial suffix **-ketsa** is usually used. Only one use of **fetsa-** with a singular subject has been found to be acceptable. Whether **fetsa-** or **-ketsa** is used, in conjunction with a singular subject they indicate the action was done to multiple objects.

In the following example, the complement verb meaning “wrinkle” is intransitive, so the scope verb used is **fetse-**. The complement verb is marked with the intransitive imperfective marker **-i** for intransitive concordance with **fetse-**. The purpose of the sentence is to express that the state of wrinkledness on the subject can be extensive, or all over it.

(372) Yoshafo -koī aō fichi chopi -i fetse -tiro.
 elderly.woman -RL.ABS 3SG.POSS skin.ABS wrinkle -IMPF do.all.over -PO
A very elderly woman's skin can be wrinkled all over.

Chart 10. Scope verbs **fetse-/fetsa-**

If the non-finite complement's verb is:	Its governing verb will be:	If the subject is singular, and the verb describes a condition:	If the subject is plural, and the verb describes a condition:	If the subject is singular and the verb describes an action:	If the subject is plural and the verb describes an action:
intransitive	fetse-	The condition was experienced over an extensive area of the subject's body.	The condition was experienced by all the subjects.	(No example of this has been found or elicited. If one is found, the hypothesis is it would express: The subject did the action to an extensive area of his own body.)	All the subjects indicated by the context did the action.
transitive	fetsa-	[Not applicable, since transitive verbs do not describe a condition.]	[Not applicable, since transitive verbs do not describe a condition.]	The action was done to multiple objects.	All the subjects indicated by the context did the action.

In the following example the complement verb **tsao-** “sit” is intransitive, so the scope verb **fetse-** is used. The verb **tsao-** is an action rather than a condition, but it is used figuratively in connection with an outbreak of blisters, so a condition and its extent is being communicated.

(373) Toshpo fake tsao -i fetse -yamea.
 blister child.ABS sit -IMPF do.all.over -PST3
There were little blisters all over [my skin].

In the following example, the complement's subject is plural, its verb is intransitive, and a condition rather than an action is being described, so the purpose of the scope construction is to express that all the subjects experienced the condition.

(374) Fake -fo sharafo -ki mese -i
 child -PL.ABS jaguar -ABLOC be.afraid -IMPF

fetse -ita -fo.
 do.all.over -PST3 -PL
All the children were scared of the jaguar.

Here is an example of the scope verb **fetsa-** with a singular subject. Of several constructions with a singular subject tested, it was the only one accepted.

(375) Ē safe -ti -fo ekesh -ki fetsa -ita.
 1SG.NOM wear -NOMIN -PL.ABS sew -IMPF all -PST3
I sewed various clothes.

In the following example the complement verb is transitive, so the scope verb **fetsa-** is employed. For concordance of transitivity with their governing verb, the complement is marked with the imperfective marker **-kĩ**. Since the subject is plural, the construction conveys the meaning that all the subjects present at the scene did the action of the complement.

(376) Sepa -ki fetsa -a -fo.
 cut.weeds -IMPF all -PRF -PL
Each one cut weeds down.

Below is an example showing how the verb **keyo-** “use.up” is used in a scope construction in which the non-finite complement's verb is intransitive. The non-finite complement's verb stem **xate-** “cut” is intransitive, and completeness of an action is being expressed, so the scope verb **keyo-** is used for the governing verb. The complement is marked with intransitive imperfective marker **-i** for concordance of transitivity with its own verb.

(377) Mã fake -fo xate -i **keyo** -a.
 now child.ABS -PL.ABS cut -IMPF use.up -PRF
All the children have cut themselves.

Following is an example showing how the verb **keyo**- “use up” is used in a scope construction in which the non-finite complement’s verb is transitive. The non-finite complement’s verb stem **xexafa**- “cause to spread” is transitive, and an action is to be expressed as having been done completely, so the scope verb **keyo**- is used for the governing verb. The complement is marked with transitive imperfective marker **-kĩ** for concordance of transitivity with its own verb.

(378) Ãfẽ ina xexa -fa -kĩ **keyo** -a.
 3SG.POSS tail.ABS spread -MK -IMPF use.up -PRF
[It] spread out its tail completely.

6.2. Finite complements

There are a variety of kinds of finite complements in Yora. In each case the complement precedes its governing verb. This is in conformity with the typical pattern of OV languages (Payne 1997:314).

6.2.1 Finite complement -mãiki constructions

One kind of finite complement is when a complement has an interrogative pronoun, and is postposed with the complementizer **-mãiki**, as in examples 379 and 380. The other kind is not preposed with an interrogative pronoun, and expresses a quest for verification, as in example 381.

(379) Fanĩ -ax iki -i -mãikĩ ĩ
 where -GVI enter -IMPF -CMPL 1SG.NOM

õĩ -nõ yatapake.

see -EXH late.afternoon

I am going to see where it will enter from, in the late afternoon.

(380) Arroz afe -ska -fã -xo picha -tiro -mãiki
 rice something -COMP -MK -PRF.SS.GVT cook -PO -CMPL

yoi -po.

tell -IMP

Tell [us] how to cook rice.

(381) Nã ěfẽ chichi -shta na -a -mãiki
 DEM.NVIS 1SG.POSS maternal.grandmother -FAV.ABS die -PRF -CMPL

ia **yoi** -fe.

1SG.ACC tell -IMP

Tell me if my dear maternal grandmother has died.

6.2.2 Finite complements in perception and cognition constructions

A complement marked for potential or deontic mode can serve as a P for the perception verb **me-** “sense” or cognition verb **shinã-** “think” or as an S for “do”/“be” **i-**.

In the following example the verb meaning “feel” has as its P a finite complement marked for potentiality mode.

(382) Faki ka -yo -yama -tã ï afa
 where go -ATT -NEG -AP 1SG.NOM something.ABS

fa -tiro mee -i -ma -ki.

make -PO sense -IMPF - NEG -PER

I don't feel that I can go anywhere yet or cook anything, so do what I imply.

In the next two examples the verb meaning “think” (in the sense of “give an opinion”) has as its P a finite complement marked for potentiality mode. No examples of this opinion construction have been offered in which the form **-tiro** is used instead of **-ti**.

(383) Chii ya ka -ax i -ti shinã -i
 “fire.ABS have go -PRF.SS.GVI do.ITR -PO think -IMPF

fa -pao -ni
 say -HAB -PST1

[We] used to say, “[I] think [one] should do it having taken fire along.”

(384) Pi -ax ka -ti shinã -i.
 eat -PRF.SS.GVI go -PO think -IMPF

[I] think [you] should go after [you] have eaten.

In the next example “do”/“be” *i* is to be understood in the sense of “be in a state/condition”. It has as its P a finite complement marked for potential mode.

(385) E xaki -mã pi -tiro
 1SG.NOM stomach -INSTR eat -PO

i -yo -kākain -a -ma.
 do.ITR -ATT -IT.ITR -PRF -NEG

At first because of my stomach I wasn’t often in a state that I could eat.

6.2.3 Finite complements in imperative constructions

Yora imperatives are not discussed in detail in this paper, but for the purpose of showing the different ways finite complements are used in Yora, I am including the following data.

There is a type of imperative construction in which a finite complement is marked for habitual aspect and followed by intransitive pro-verb *i*- “do”/“be” to express the admonitions, “Be such-and-such a way” or “Don’t be such-and-such a way.” Examples:

(386) Yono -shara -tiro ï -fē.
 work -WL -PO do.ITR -IMP

Be a person who works well.

(387) A- -ska -tiro i -yamã -fē.
 DEM.MENT- -COMP -PO do.ITR -NEG -IMP

Don’t be someone who does that.

6.2.4 Switch-reference clauses as finite complements

Switch-reference clauses marked with suffixes **-aitō/-aifafē** can serve as the P of their governing clause when the latter's verb is one of perception. (See section 4.2.3.1.2.) Therefore they can be considered a type of finite complement in that context. For example:

(388) Carro mono mono i -fe -aito
 car dance dance do.ITR -MTS -IMPF.SO

mã e mee -a.
 now 1SG.NOM sense -PRF

I have now felt a car repeatedly dancing as it comes along.

(389) Peiya -fo rāfi -nōnā -yaifāfe nō ōī -ā.
 bird -PL pass -RCP -IMPF.SO.PL 1SG.NOM see -PRF

We saw birds passing each other.

In the following example, the underlined switch-reference clause appears to be a predicate that is right-dislocated from its subject, “spider monkeys”, and placed after its governing verb. In the original recording there was a substantial pause after the governing verb. The information in the dislocated predicate is information that one might expect. In Yora, common knowledge (including circumstances expected in a given context because of the shared cultural knowledge bank) or previously-mentioned information can be placed after the governing verb.

(390) ... iso nō fichi -ita
 ... spider.monkey.ABS 1PL.NOM encounter -PST3

me- -pa me- -pa -yaifāfē nefe.
 hand- -DWN hand- -DWN -IMPF.SO.PL guava.tree.ERG

... we spotted spider monkeys, going from branch to branch by their hands in a guava tree.

6.2.5 Reported speech and thoughts as finite complements

Reported speech and thoughts are a kind of finite complement.

Direct quotes are sometimes preposed by **yoi-** “tell”. They are almost always end-bracketed by **fa-** “say” or “do”/“be” **i-/ik-** to express “say” or “think”.

(391) Ia epa -shta **yoi** -yamea. “Mariana
 1SG.ACC father -FAV.ERG tell -PST2 Mary Ann

isi -nĩ ik -i” ia **fa** -yamea.
 illness -INSTR do.ITR -IMPF 1SG.ACC say -PST2
Daddy told me [something]. He said to me, “Mary Ann is ill.”

(392) Ea chiko -shta **yoi** -ita.
 1SG.ACC younger.sister -FAV.ERG tell -PST3

“Ranexemẽã controla -fa -mis -fo” ia **fa** -ita.
 soldier.ERG check -MK -HAB -PL 1SG.ACC say -PST3
Younger sister told me [something]. She said to me, “A soldier, they always check us.”

Quotes can optionally be post-posed by the reportative suffix **-ra**. For example:

(393) “Paxa pi -ti pinĩ -ra” **fa** -mis -fo.
 “raw eat -can easily -REP” say -HAB -PL
They say that those can easily be eaten when they are raw.

Quotes post-posed by “do”/“be” **i-** and which are not imperative constructions can optionally be end-bracketed by **-ra**.

(394) Chiko -shta “Ë a -fe
 younger.sister -FAV.ABS “1SG.NOM 3SG -AAC.GVI

tsao -kasper -i -ra” **ik** -ita chiko -shta.
 sit -NDES -IMPF -REP do.ITR -PST3 younger.sister -FAV.ABS
 ... *younger sister: “I don’t want to sit with him,” younger sister said.*

The following example illustrates embedding of a quote within a quote, which is in turn within a quote.

(395) “... “Ia para -fãĩn -a -ra” ã
 ... 1SG.ACC deceive -MAS.TR -PRF -REP 1SG.NOM

mia fa -a’ aifãfẽ fa -tiro -ra” ã
 2SG.ACC say -PRF woman.ERG say -PO -REP 1SG.NOM

fa -ita.

say -PST3

I said a number of days ago, “A woman can say, ‘Yes. I thought that you deceived me and then left.’”

7. ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Most of the adverbial constructions described in this grammar are composed of clauses. The following list of adverbial constructions is not exhaustive.

In Yora, the unmarked order of adverbial clauses in respect to their governing verb is that they precede the verb, which is in conformity with Greenberg’s universal about the adverbial position in SOV languages (Greenberg 1963:88).

7.1. Time adverbial constructions

In this section a few clausal and morphological adverbial constructions used to refer to the time of an event are described.

7.1.1 Switch-reference constructions that specify time of event

Clauses with switch-reference markers that sequence the action of the marked clause relative to the event of the governing clause can be used to specify when an event took place or when an event will take place. (See section 4.2.3 about switch-reference suffixes in relation to aspect.)

In the examples below, the verb in the underlined dependent clause of the first sentence is marked with the switch-reference suffix **aino**. The verb in the underlined dependent clause of the second sentence is marked with the switch-reference suffix **ano**.

(396) Mã fari i- -ska -pake -aino
 now sun.ABS VIS- -COMP -DWN -IMPF.DS

kāfã -ĩta.

go.by -PST3

When the sun was going down like it is right now, he went by.

(397) Nõ oxa -ano nõ -nãmã -ri kãfan -i.
 1PL.NOM sleep -PRF.DS 1PL -underneath -GNLOC go.by -IMPF

After we go to sleep, [the sun] will go by underneath us.

7.1.2 Directional suffixes as sequencers

Yora has many adverbial suffixes, and several of them express the direction of travel or trajectory of the subject. However, two sets of these suffixes, when they are used with non-locomotion verbs and other verbs that do not express a motion involving trajectory, also serve to sequence two events: the event of the verb root and the event alluded to in the suffix itself, whether it be motion towards the speaker of the utterance or motion away from the speaker of the utterance. These suffixes are **-kaĩ/-kaĩn**, **-faĩ/-faĩn**, **-kerã/-keran** and **-ferã/-ferãn**. The meaning of the **-kaĩ/-faĩ** suffixes and their variations when attached to non-locomotion verbs is “before going” or “went”. The meaning of the **-kerã/-ferã** suffixes and their variations in the same context is “before coming” or “came”. Thus these adverbial suffixes can be said to serve a temporal adverbial function. They are used in conjunction with past tenses, with imperfective aspect, with potential or deontic modals and in imperative constructions. In English, a past tense construction using one of these adverbial suffixes would be expressed as, “subject did x action before leaving/coming.”

The forms **-kaĩ**, **-faĩ**, **-kerã** and **-ferã** are used preceding a suffix beginning with a consonant. An exception is that they can precede past tense suffix **-ita**. Otherwise the forms **-kaĩn**, **-faĩn**, **-keran** and **-ferãn** are used preceding a suffix beginning with a vowel. The forms **-kaĩ/-kaĩn**, **-kerã/-keran** are used on intransitive verbs having a singular subject. The forms **-faĩ/-faĩn**, **-ferã/-ferãn** are used on transitive verbs and on intransitive verbs that have a plural subject.

(398) Ēfẽ exto xokenã -ax raka -kaĩ -yamea.
 my younger.brother.ABS tired -PRF.SS.GVI recline -MAS.ITR -PST2

My younger brother, because he was tired, lay down before he left.

(399) Fo- -ske -**kāin** -i ka -i -ra
head- -break.off -MAS.ITR -IMPF go -IMPF -REP

ik -ax nō rate -yamea.
do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM be.afraid -PST2

We were frightened because we thought [it] was going to break off at the top.

(400) Noshti -**kerā** -tā mī fini -**keran** -i.
on.hands&feet -MTS.ITR -AP 2SG.NOM get.up -MTS.ITR -IMPF

Just now you got down on your hands and feet and got up before you came [towards me].

(401) Afa chīfā -yaito
his.mother.ABS follows -IMPF.SO

pe- fe -**fāi** -tiro.
shoulder put.along(?) -MAS.TR -PO

If he follows his mother she can put him on her shoulders before she goes on her way.

(402) Mā pi -**fain** -a -mē.
now eat -MAS.TR -PRF -INT

Did he eat before he left?

(403) Isi -nī ik -aifāfē ato
illness -INSTR DO.ITR -IMPF.SO.PL 3PL.ACC

ōi -**fera** -yame -xakī ī ato shinā -i.
see -MTS.TR -PST2 -IVL 1SG.NOM 3PL.ACC think -IMPF

Before I left to come [here], I saw that they were ill, so I am missing them.

(404) Pi -aifāfē ōi -**fēran** -i.
eat -IMPF.SO.PL see -MTS.TR -IMPF

Before he came, he saw them eating.

7.1.3 An adverbial construction that uses an adverbializer

A type of adverbial construction that specifies a time for an irrealis event can be expressed by a clause that is preposed with a demonstrative pronoun and postposed with an aspect or tense marker and time specifier **-tiã**.

The first example below shows this type of time adverbial marked for imperfective aspect.

- (405) **Nã** **mĩ** **shinã** **-i** **-tiã** **mĩ** **o** **-yo** **-tiro**.
DEM.NVIS 2SG.NOM think -IMPF -TS 2SG.NOM come -ATT -PO
You can come the moment you are missing [me].

The next two examples show this type of time adverbial marked for today-past and past-tense 3, respectively.

- (406) ... **nã** **mĩ** **o** **-a** **-tiã** **o** **-tiro**.
... DEM.NVIS 2SG.NOM come -PRF -TS come -PO
... you can come the same time you came today.

- (407) DEM.NVIS 1SG.NOM come -PST3 -TS 1SG.NOM come -IMPF go -IMPF -PER
[I] am going to come the same time I came the other day, so do what I said.

7.2. Manner constructions

In this section two clausal constructions used to refer to the manner an action is/was done are described.

7.2.1 A clause construction that refers to the manner a specific event was done

To refer to the manner a specific event was done, a dependent clause consisting of a pro-verb (either **i-** or **a-** depending on whether the action referred to is intransitive or transitive) is marked for tense or aspect, depending on when the event occurred, and the verb **keska-** or **keskafa-** “doing in same manner as” follows it, the form chosen depending on whether the action referred to is intransitive or transitive. If it is intransitive, **keska-** is employed. If it is transitive, **keskafa-** is employed.

Below are two examples showing how a clause is marked to refer to the manner a specific event was done. In the first one, the event of the past whose manner is being referred to is intransitive, so **keska-** is used. In this sentence the latter is an independent clause.

(408) Na xafa -tã nõ ik -ita keska -shi -nõ
 DEM.VIS light -PRF 1PL.NOM do. ITR -PST3 do.like -NOCT -EXH

fana -ti -nĩ.

song -NOMIN -INSTR

Tomorrow let's do it in the night by means of the song thing, the way we did it the [other] day.

In the next example, the event of the past whose manner is being referred to is transitive, so **keskafa-** is used; it is a dependent clause. The independent clause specifies that the action the manner clause's pro-verb **ak-** "do" refers to is the giving of food.

(409) Mēfe fake ak -a keskã -fã -kĩ
 2SG.POSS child.ABS do.TR -PRF do.like -MK -IMPF

nã -fãfẽ texe mini -mis -fo.

DEM.NVIS -PL.ERG food give -HAB -PL

They give food in the same way that [someone] did to your child.

7.2.2 A clause construction that refers to the manner a habitual event is done

If the comparison of manner refers to a habit rather than to a specific event, the dependent clause's verb (pro-verb **i-** or **a-** "do", depending on if the action is intransitive or transitive) is marked with potential or habitual suffixes **-tiro** or **-mis**. The verb **keska-** or **keskafa-** "doing in same manner as" follows it, the form chosen depending on whether the action referred to is intransitive or transitive. If it is intransitive, **keska-** is employed; if it is transitive, **keskafa-** is employed.

Two examples showing how manner clauses are constructed to refer to habitual events:

(410) Paxta i -tiro keska -i yoinã raka -tiro.
 dog.ABS do.ITR -can do.like -IMPF wild.animal lie.down -PO
A wild animal can lie down like a dog does.

(411) Nãfã a -mis keska -fã -ki *chancho*
 mestizo.ERG do.TR -HAB do.like -MK -IMPF pig

noi -tiro -ma.

want -PO -NEG

[He] doesn't long for pork the way a mestizo does.

7.3. Purpose adverbial constructions

In this section two kinds of adverbial constructions are described: a construction for expressing the purpose of events represented by the verbs **ka** (go) and **o** (come), and constructions for expressing the purpose of events represented by other verbs.

7.3.1 Purpose clauses subordinate to verbs ka “go” and o “come”

Purpose clauses that are subordinate to the verbs **ka** (“go”) and **o** (“come”) consist of a verb root suffixed by the imperfective aspect marker **-i**. Unlike clauses marked with purpose suffixes **-xikĩ** and **-nõ** which can follow their governing verb, purpose clauses subordinate to **ka** and **o** must always immediately precede their governing verb. Examples:

(412) “Mariane -shta ã õi -fisti -i ka -nõ”
 Mariana -FAV 1SG.NOM see -one -IMPF go -EXH”
I'm going to go see dear Mary Ann one more time.

(413) Ë mia õĩ -i o -i.
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC see -IMPF come -IMPF
I am coming to see you.

7.3.2 Purpose clauses subordinate to most verbs

We saw in section 4.3.4 that dependent clauses marked with **-xikĩ** or **-nõ** express the purpose for the event of their governing verb. As such they serve as adverbial clauses. As has been noted above, **-xikĩ** cannot be used to mark a dependent clause whose governing verb is either

(416) Afě fake fii -fis i -pao -ni
 3SG.POSS child.ABS scream.IT scream do.ITR -HAB -PST1

“Ia ěfě efa rete -i -ra” ik -ax -kĩã.
 1SG.ACC 1SG.POSS mother.ABS kill -IMPF -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI -NSUR

Her child used to scream and scream back then. Having thought, “To my detriment he’s killing my mother,” of course.

The next example shows a use of the same-subject reason construction when the governing verb is transitive. The transitive verb **nikakatasa**- “listen for” is the governing verb, and ě “I” is both the subject of that verb and of the “thought” clause.

(417) O -i -ma -ra i -xõ ě mia
 come -IMPF -NEG -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC

nika -katasa -a -ma.
 listen -IT.TR -PRF -NEG

Having thought, “He isn’t coming.” I didn’t keep listening for you.

The next two examples show a same-subject reason construction where the governing verb is marked with a negated potentiality suffix **-tiro** “can”, rather than with a tense marker. When this kind of construction is marked with non-negated -tiro, a pre-condition is being expressed in the “thought” (see section 7.5.1 below), but when **-tiro** is negated, the assertion in the “thought” comes across as a reason, not a pre-condition.

(418) “E nã -xõ ě tsoa
 “1SG.NOM die -PRF.SS.GVT 1SG.NOM someone.ABS

õĩ -tiro -ma” -ra ik -ax
 see -PO -NEG -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI

ẽ na -pai -tiro -ma.
 1SG.NOM die -DES -PO -NEG

Because I think to myself that after I die I won’t see anyone again, I can’t want to die.

(419) “Ēfē chipi -ma” -ra ik -ax nō
 “1SG.POSS elder.sister -NEG.ABS -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI 1PL.NOM

a -fe rafe -tiro -ma.

3SG -AAC.GVI companion -PO -NEG

Having thought, “[She’s] not my elder sister,” we don’t companion with her.

7.4.2 Switch-reference reason constructions

It was mentioned in the switch-reference section 4.2.3.1.2 that dependent clauses marked with switch-reference markers **-aitō** or **-kē** express the reason for the event of their governing verb when the latter is in realis mode. If the governing verb is transitive, its object does not have to be the same as the dependent verb’s subject. The governing clause’s verb can even be intransitive, with the result that the subject of the marked clause cannot also be an object of the governing verb. The suffix **-aitō** is used to express imperfective aspect for the marked verb’s event. The suffix **-kē** is used to express perfective aspect for the marked verb’s event.

In the first two examples below, **-aitō** rather than the “thought” construction described in section 7.4.1 is used to mark the clause containing the reason for the action of the governing verb, because in each case the subject of the marked clause is different from the subject of the governing clause. It is used instead of the switch-reference suffix **-aino** because the speaker’s primary objective is to mark the reason for the governing clause’s event, not to sequence the two events.

(420) Afē feso keskara feso -kera -kākain -aitō
 3SG.POSS face like.ABS face -MTS.ITR -IT.ITR -IMPF.SO

e sīā i -pao -ni.

1SG.NOM cry do.ITR -HAB -PST1

I used to cry back then because the memory of his face would repeatedly come (to mind).

(421) “Nō oi -i” ka -nō”
 1PL.NOM see -IMPF go -EXH

ea fã -fain -aitō ã a -fe
 1SG.ACC say -MAS.TR -IMPF.SO 1SG.NOM 3SG -AAC.GVI
 ka -yamea.
 go -PST2

... I went with her. “Let’s go see (it)”, she said to me before she left, so I went with her.

An example showing use of the switch-reference **-kě** in a reason construction.

(422) Peiya -fãfẽ pi -kě nokofenẽ xoo fa -ni.
 bird -PL.ERG eat -PRF.SO man.ERG blind.ABS make -PST1
Because the birds had eaten [fruit there], a man made a hunting blind.

Switch-reference clauses marked with **-a** also give a reason for the intransitive governing verb’s event. This suffix is perfective in aspect, and is used instead of **-kě** when the object of the marked clause is the subject of the governing clause.

(423) Tsõa tana -a -ma na -ni.
 someone.ERG look.after -PRF.OS -NEG die -PST1
No one looked after [him] so [he] died.

7.5. Conditional adverbial constructions

The same kind of constructions used for expressing the reason for a certain action are also employed to express the pre-condition for a certain action, except that the governing verb is marked with the potential suffix **-tiro** in each case.

7.5.1 Same-subject conditional construction

In the marked clause the speaker asserts what the subject can think prior to doing the action. The thought is marked with the reportative **-ra**, and followed by **ikax** or **ixo**, depending on whether the governing verb is intransitive or transitive, respectively.

Example of a conditional construction where the governing verb is intransitive:

(424) Shinã -metsa -i sĩa i -tiro “Ēfě _____ efa
 think -FAV -IMPF cry do.ITR -PO 1SG.POSS mother.ABS

na -i” -ra ik -ax.

die -IMPF -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVI

Being sad about someone [she] cares about, [she] can cry, having thought, “My mother is dying.”

Example of a conditional construction where the governing verb is transitive:

(425) ... “Noko afa _____ mini -mis -ma” -ra i -xõ
 ... 1PL.ACC something.ABS give -HAB -NEG -REP do.ITR -PRF.SS.GVT

pota -pai -tiro.

throw.out -DES -PO

... having thought, “[he] never gives us anything,” we can want to abandon him.

7.5.2 Switch-reference conditional constructions

Switch-reference clauses marked with **-aitõ** or **-kě** can express the condition for the event of their governing verb, if the context is hypothetical and the governing verb is marked with potential **-tiro**. Here are some examples:

(426) Fake poyě _____ -aitõ nõ tsãõ -tiro.
 child.ABS stage.x.development -IMPF.SO 1PL.NOM sit.TR -PO
If the child is in the “poye” stage of his development, we can sit him up.

The example below comes close to being a switch-reference version of example 416 above.

(427) Ato afa _____ fĩ -xo -mis -ma -kě
 3PL.ACC something.ABS obtain -BEN -HAB -NEG -PRF.SO

pota -pai -tiro fo.

abandon -DES -PO -PL

If [he] never gets them anything, they can want to abandon him.

Another example of a conditional clause that uses **-kě**:

(428) Mĩ nĩ -kě ẽ mia
2SG.NOM stand -PRF.SO 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC

fichi -tiro.

encounter -PO

If you are standing up, I can spot you.

Two examples of conditional clauses marked with switch reference marker **-a**:

(429) Te- pa ak- -a kaya -tiro.
neck hotpack do.TR -PRF.OS get.well -PO

If [someone] does hotpacks on his neck, he can get well.

(430) Xoko -shta nõ fi -a õshi -tiro -ma.
immature -FAV.ABS 1PL.NOM obtain -PRF.OS ripe -PO -NEG

If we get it when it is small, it can't get ripe.

8. CLOSING COMMENTS

In closing, Yora shares many features with other Panoan languages, and has also, perhaps, some unique ones, if not in function, then certainly in form.

It is my hope that this description, though not exhaustive, will be of great help to those who would like to learn to communicate well in Yora, and to linguists looking for solutions to enigmas in other Panoan languages.

APPENDIX A

Yora Verb Affixes – Alphabetized list

Key:

- [C/V] the first form is used when followed by a consonant/the second form used when followed by a vowel
- [sg/pl] singular form/plural form
- [odd/even]..... the first form is used when the verb root has an odd number of syllables/the second form is used when the verb root has an even number of syllables
- [odd//even]..... the forms to the left of the double slash mark are on verb roots having an an odd number of syllables; the forms to the right of the slash mark are on verb roots having an even number of syllables
- [intransitive verbs]/[transitive verbs]..... the first form is used on intransitive verbs/the second form is used on transitive verbs (exceptions are noted in the write-up)
- bolded suffixes** to distinguish Yora suffixes and words from the English words in the explanations
- ... between two morphemes words may intervene between the two morphemes
- numbers the section number where the morpheme is first discussed, or if not discussed, the first example in which the morpheme appears; if it does not appear in an example, no number will be given; if there is an occurrence of one of two forms, the example number will be on the left or right side of a slash mark corresponding to which of the two forms appears in the example
-
- a-..... the action affects inside the mouth
- a-..... the adverbial, locative and verb prefix form of demonstrative adjective a; it is listed here because it can be used on comparative morpheme -ska,

which can function as a verb; when prefixed to verb -ska it refers to the governing verb of the previous sentence; 122

- a-/ak-..... pro-verb; substitutes for transitive verbs; expresses “do x transitive action”; 20/38 [C/V]
- a..... perfective aspect; a small set of verbs can also use it to express perfect aspect; has a discourse function in narratives; 4.1.1.1.6
- a..... a switch-reference marker; when it is not followed by some construction containing -no, -tõ or -fafẽ it indicates that the object of the marked verb will become the subject of an intransitive verb; 4.2.3.1.1; it is also used as a relativizer; 57
- ã..... “to detriment” in transitive verbs
- afoano..... switch-reference marker; variation of -afono; 4.2.3.2.1
- afono..... switch-reference marker; a plural form of -ano; 4.2.3.2.1
- ai discourse marker in narratives
- aino/-aifono..... a switch-reference marker with imperfective aspect; one of its functions is to indicate that the subject of the governing verb is different from the subject of the marked verb; 4.2.3.1.1; [sg/pl]
- aitõ/-aifafẽ..... a switch-reference marker; it must be used when the subject of the marked clause will become the object of the governing verb; used in some other switch-reference contexts also; 4.2.3.1.2; [sg/pl]
- ake..... “circularly”
- amano..... the negated form of switch-reference -ano; 4.2.3.2.1
- anãnã..... the reciprocal action suffix that can mark transitive verb roots having an odd number of syllables
- ano..... a switch-reference marker with perfective aspect; one of its functions is to indicate that the subject of the marked verb will be different from the subject of the governing verb; 4.2.3.2.1

- ax..... indicates that the governing verb is intransitive and has the same subject as the marked clause; has perfective aspect; 4.2.2.2
- chaka an attitude of rejection is being shown towards the subject of the verb; 31
- che-..... the action affects the buttocks
- chi-..... the action affects the buttocks; in some contexts it can refer to the abdomen
- e-..... the action affects the penis
- fa/-fan..... “make”; 18; [C/V]
- fa last night-past tense; 4.1.1.1.5
- fã/-fãñ..... translocational suffix meaning “to come and do the action and leave”; /118; [C/V]
- fafaĩ/-fafaĩñ..... iterative marker when it precedes imperfective -i; 4.2.1.4; expresses recent past habitual aspect when precedes perfective aspect -a; 4.2.1.3.2; [C/V] except -fafaĩ is used preceding past tense -ita
- fafẽ..... see -kẽ; this form used when the subject is plural; 4.2.3.2.3
- fai a near-past/near-future suffix; when it combines with past-tense suffix -yamea to form -fayamea, it marks the verb for an event that took place the day before or a few days previous to the time of the utterance (4.1.1.1.4); when it precedes future tense marker -naka or an interval marker, it modifies these to specify a time frame of near-future (4.1.2.3); when it precedes something other than a future tense marker -naka or an interval marker it expresses that the action was/is/will be done all day; 146
- faĩ/-faĩñ a directional suffix in transitive verbs, and also in intransitive verbs having a plural subject; 7.1.2; [C/V] except -faĩ is used preceding past tense -ita
- faifaĩñ recent past habitual aspect when it precedes perfective aspect marker -a; 4.2.1.3.2; it is assumed

that this form is used for iterative aspect when it is suffixed to do/be i-, the subject is plural and the verb is suffixed with imperfective aspect marker -i; 4.2.1.4

- fainaka.....indicates the action will be done the next day or in the near-future; 4.1.2.3
- faixakĩ/-faixakakĩ.....used on dependent verbs to express that the purposed or subsequent action is to take place the next day or in a few days; the subject of the marked clause is the same as the governing verb's subject 4.3.4.2; [sg/pl]
- faiyaxanõ/-faixanõ.....used on dependent verbs to express that the purposed or subsequent action is to take place the next day or in a few days; the subject of the marked clause is different from the governing verb's subject; 4.3.4.2; [odd/even]
- fayameayesterday-past tense; 4.1.1.1.4
- fe-the action affects the forehead, upper face, or eyes
- fea directional suffix; the action is done as the subject moves towards the speaker; 251
- femirative; used in place of -fi for vowel harmony; 5.2
- fẽimperative for action to be done in that moment, unless an adverbial clause indicating some other time period accompanies the command; 3
- fena.....“to do x action for the first time” or “to do x anew”; 193
- ferã/-ferãna directional and sequencing suffix in transitive verbs and in intransitive verbs having a plural subject; 7.1.2; [C/V] except -ferã is used preceding past tense -ita
- fi-the action affects the forehead, upper face, or eyes; used instead of fe- for vowel harmony with next vowel

- fi a mirative scope marker; it marks the end of assertions judged by the speaker to be unexpected to the hearer; see-roko; 5.1
- fi ... -ki tentatively analyzed as making a positive assertion emphatic; -fi is attached to a word in the first part of the sentence, and -ki is suffixed to the independent clause's verb; 122
- fia/-fi mirative; 5.2; [odd/even]
- fisti “to do x action once”; 412
- fo- the action affects the hair, hair area of head; the top of something 3-dimensional; 127
- fo a directional suffix; action done as the subject goes away from the speaker; 198
- fo 3rd person plural suffix used in verbs marked for: perfective aspect (267), past tense (19), tomorrow-future tense 4.1.2.3, intermediate future tense, present habitual aspect (36), potential mode (427), and purpose (21)
- fofã/ -fofãn a directional suffix used in transitive verbs; expresses that the action was done laterally; when preceded by -ina/-ini or -pã/-pake it may have a directional meaning or a non-directional meaning, depending on whether the verb is expressing locomotion of some kind; 57; [C/V] except -fofã is used preceding tense -ita
- fofasa/-fofasafa directional marker that expresses that “x action is done “here and there, in various directions”; analyzed as a combination of lateral -fofã and iterative -sa/-safa; [odd/even]
- i- the adverbial and verb prefix analyzed as having been derived from the morpheme -is “see”; it is listed here because it can be used on comparative morpheme -ska, which can function as a verb; when prefixed to verb -ska it refers to what the hearer can see the subject of the verb doing at the moment of the utterance; 242

- i-/ ik- pro-verb; substitutes for intransitive verbs; depending on the context, can mean “do x intransitive action or be in x intransitive state” or “live” (which is an intransitive state); 8/25; [C/V]
- i same-subject marker having imperfective aspect; in certain types of constructions it also indicates that the governing verb is intransitive; 4.2.1.1; in other constructions it indicates that the verb it marks is intransitive; 6.1.3; it has a discourse function in narratives
- i a variant of persuadative -ki; the Yorbas who use a glottal stop instead of [k] between vowels within a word, in certain environments sometimes leave out the glottal stop; if that happens with -ki then just the i is left; 78
- ina/-ini “upwards”; when they precede -kafã/-kafan or -fofã/-fofã they may have a directional meaning or a non-directional meaning, depending on whether the verb is expressing locomotion of some kind; /57; [intransitive verbs/transitive verbs]
- inã the reciprocal action suffix used on ik- and ak- roots
- ita relative past tense for recent past; 4.1.1.1.3
- ka- the action affects the backbone
- ka/-kan plural marker for when the subject is 3rd person in declarative or interrogative sentences and the marker precedes an imperfective aspect marker (140/329) or same-subject perfective markers -ax and -xõ (77); -ka also pluralizes imperatives 306; [C/V]
- kafã/-kafan a directional suffix in intransitive verbs; when not preceded by -ina or -pake it expresses that the action was done laterally; 204/ ; [C/V] except -kafã is used preceding past tense -ita
- kaĩ/-kaĩn a directional suffix in intransitive verbs; 7.1.2; [C/V] except -kaĩ is used preceding past tense -ita

- kakaĩ/-kakaĩn..... an iterative marker when it precedes imperfective -i and past tense markers; it also indicates that the verb it marks is intransitive; 4.2.1.4; expresses recent past habitual aspect when it precedes perfective aspect -a; 4.2.1.3.1; [C/V] except -kakaĩ is used preceding past tense -ita
- kaikaĩn..... if it precedes imperfective aspect marker -i, it conveys iterative aspect; if it precedes perfective aspect marker -a, it conveys recent past habitual aspect; only on pro-verb i-; 4.2.1.3.2
- kame..... passive marker; has only been found on the verb nika- “hear”
- kaspa “doesn’t want to”; analyzed as a combination of proto-Panoan desiderative suffix “-kas” and negation suffix -ma; 51
- katasa tentatively analyzed as an iterative marker consisting of ka-“go”, translocative -ta and iterative -sa; so far has only been found on nika- “hear”; in command form on nika- it seems to have the meaning “Hark!”; 417
- katsi..... “wants to”; only found on pi- “eat”
- ke-..... the action affects the lips, area around the mouth, or the edge of something
- kě..... perfective aspect switch-reference marker; in certain contexts it also indicates that the subject of the marked clause will become the object of the governing verb; 4.2.3.2.3
- keme..... reflexive suffix; used instead of -me on verb stems having an even number of syllables; 149
- kerã/-keran..... a directional and sequencing suffix in intransitive verbs; 7.1.2; [C/V] except-kerã is used when preceding past tense -ita
- kerã/-kerãn..... “almost”; 4.3.3; [C/V] except-kerã is used when preceding past tense -ita
- ketsa a scope suffix; in transitive verbs having a singular subject and a singular object, expresses “all over x

	patient”; in transitive verbs having a singular subject and a plural object, expresses that the action was done to many different objects; 6.1.5
ki-	used in place of mouth body prefix ke- for vowel harmony with the next vowel; in some contexts it indicates the action was done to the thigh
-ki	when it is used on an independent verb in the aspect or tense marker slot, and the 2nd person pronoun is implied, it signifies a positive command; with a 2nd person pronoun it signifies “Do not do x action”; it can be doubled for more emphasis, and 2nd person pronoun may or may not be explicit; as an imperative it is not used with everyone; when tense or aspect precedes it somewhere in the verb, it is a persuadative: it marks the reason for an explicit or implicit command; 10 and footnote
-kĩ	same-subject marker having imperfective aspect; in certain types of constructions it also indicates that the governing verb is transitive; 4.2.1.1; in other constructions it indicates that the verb it marks is transitive; 6.1.3; has a discourse function in narratives
-kĩ/-kin.....	precedes an aspect, tense or imperative marker, and it means “to do x action close proximity with someone”; [C/V]
-kia.....	as an evidential: “it is said”; as a validational: “for pretend”; 104
-kiã.....	“of course”; marks the independent clause as conveying information that the speaker deems the hearer will not find surprising; 53
-kime.....	“negatively” in the sense of gossip; so far only found on the communication verbs yoi-, nika-, tapi-
ko-.....	the action affects the jaw
-koĩ	“very”; 1
ma-.....	the action affects the head; 57

- ma/-man..... “cause”; 10/123; [C/V];
- ma..... negates non-imperatives; 7
- mãiki..... complementizer; 6.2.1
- me-..... the action affects the hand, wrist, or forearm; 390
- me..... reflexive suffix; used instead of -keme on verb stems having an odd number of syllables
- metsa attitude of empathy shown toward subject of verb; 424
- mẽ..... interrogative (11); also can serve as a discourse marker
- mẽti used to ask oneself a question; 31
- mi- used in place of hand prefix me- for vowel harmony, except in at least one context it refers only to the finger/fingernail; 190
- mis..... in some contexts, conveys present habitual aspect; in this role, for some it has a pejorative connotation; in other contexts, it expresses relative past tense referring to an intermediate past time period, between the -ita period and the -ni period; 4.1.1.1.2
- na-..... the action affects the upper abdomen, or the middle of an elongated object; 149
- nã-..... the verb, adverbial and locative prefix form of demonstrative adjective nã; it is listed here because it can be used on comparative morpheme -ska, which can function as a verb; when prefixed to verb -ska it refers to the governing verb of the previous sentence
- nã..... the reciprocal suffix that is used on all intransitive roots except ik- roots; it is also used on transitive verb roots having an even number of syllables; 105
- nã..... “become”; found on adjectives that are functioning like verb roots; 279
- nã..... detrimental suffix; found on verb roots having an even number of syllables

- naka.....relative future tense referring to an time period beyond tomorrow, but before the time period represented by -xifi and -nōpokoi; 4.1.2
- nāme.....attitude of acceptance shown towards subject of verb; if the verb it is on is an action that people normally do not approve of, then this suffix avoids that the speaker sounds condemnatory
- nānā.....a reciprocal suffix that can be used on transitive verb roots having an even number of syllables; occurs without a a -fe noun phrase
- nirelative past tense referring to the most distant time period relative to the other time periods; 4.1.1.1.1
- nĩpersuadative; tentatively analyzed as a contraction of exhortative marker -nōfi
- no-the action affects the upper abdomen
- noa locative suffix which on switch-reference constructions shows that sequence is the component of meaning that is most salient (as opposed reason or required condition); 4.2.3.1.1
- nōan exhortative suffix on independent verbs; the speaker requests a command to do the action stated; 12 and footnote
- nōa switch-reference purpose suffix on dependent verbs; it marks the purpose or subsequent action of the governing verb; 4.3.4.1
- nōfe/-nōkafea combination of suffixes -nō and imperative -fe whose function is to request permission [sg or dual/pl]
- nōfipersuadative marker that can be used on contradictions, assertions that give a correction after a contradiction, and certain prohibitions; analyzed as having originally been a combination of exhortative suffix -nō and persuadative -ki, over time the glottal stop in the latter dropped out; it can occur without the -fi

-nōpokoi/-nōpokokani	future tense marker; 4.1.2.5; [sg/pl];
-nōpokonō	a switch-reference purpose marker used to mark the purposed future result of the governing verb; the subject of the governing verb is different from the subject of the marked verb; 4.3.4.3
o-	the action affects the foot, ankle, calf; in some contexts refers to the testicles
-oko.....	“in the morning”; on verb roots having an even number of syllables
pa-.....	the action affects the ear; 336
-pa.....	self-exhortative; unlike -nō, it does not implicitly request permission or a command to do the action
-pā/-pake	“downwards”, “orderly manner” or “one after another”, depending on the context (19); when it precedes interval marker -xa it expresses habitual aspect; 4.3.4.4; [odd/even];
-pai.....	“wants to/tries to”; 7
-painō.....	optative marker that expresses “I wish that”; but the speaker does not think the event will happen; analyzed as a combination of the suffixes -pai and exhortative -nō
-panā.....	“frustrated from carrying out x action”
-pao.....	a habitual aspect suffix; analyzed as having historically been -pake; 4.2.1.3.1
-paoni.....	combination of the suffixes -pao and -ni to express remote past habitual aspect; 4.2.1.3.1
-pāxakī/-pāxakakī// -pakexakī/-pakexakakī.	a purpose marker that expresses “in order that the subject do x action habitually in the future”; shares the same subject as the governing verb 4.2.2.3.2; [sg/pl] [odd//even]
-pāxanō/-pakexanō	a switch-reference purpose marker that expresses “in order that the subject do x action habitually in the future”; the marked verb has a different subject than the governing verb; 4.3.4.4; [odd/even]
pe-.....	the action affects the back, shoulder blades; 401

-pe.....	imperative marker having a connotation of urgency; not used with everyone
pi-	used in place of back body prefix pe- for vowel harmony with the next vowel
-pishta.....	attitude of affection shown toward subject of verb; used instead of -shta on verbs whose root has an odd number of syllables
po-	the action affects the upper arm, underarm
-po	an imperative marker having the specific meaning “Look!”; usually only on perception and cognition verbs
ra-	the action affects the knee; in some contexts it refers to the shin; in at least one context it refers to the whole body; 77
-ra	reportative suffix; 6.2.5
-rafe	“to do x action twice”
-rakikia	validational marker expressing “perhaps”;
-raka	validational marker expressing “perhaps”; analyzed as being a contraction of -rakikia
re-	the action affects the nose, or the tip of an oblong object
-ria.....	an iterative suffix used on intransitive verbs; 4.2.1.4
-riafa/-rifa.....	iterative suffixes used on transitive verbs; [the preceding morpheme has an odd number of syllables/the preceding morpheme has an even number of syllables]; 4.2.1.4
-risa/-risafa	“immediately”; [odd/even]; 154/
-roko	in general, a mirative marker; 5.1; if on a truth-value question, -roko makes it rhetorical, in that the speaker is asking himself the question, and he is expressing surprise at the situation; (366); if on an information-seeking question, -roko expresses that the speaker feels he should know the answer, but is not coming up with it right away (I have not come across any of the latter where -roko was on a

verb instead of a question word, but one might be found later.)

- s “only does x action”
- sa an iterative suffix expressing “in multiple movements of short duration”
- shara “well” (254); when followed by -pai: “badly” in the sense of “urgently”; the latter combination might be restricted to certain verbs
- shĩ/-shin “in the night”; 4.1.2.2; [odd/even]
- shinaka tonight–future time marker; 4.1.2.2
- ¬-shta expresses attitude of affection toward the subject of the verb; when not co-occurring with benefactive-detrimental -xo, it is used instead of -pishta on verbs whose root has an even number of syllables; when occurring with benefactive/ detrimental -xo, on verbs whose root has an even number of syllables it precedes -xo, and on verbs whose root has an odd number of syllables it follows -xo 56
- ta- the action affects the cheek; in at least one context it refers to the area in front of the earlobe; in some contexts it refers to the feet or the bottom of something
- tã when verb final: perfective aspect marker with sequence as its principal function; 4.2.2.2
- ta/-tan translocational suffix meaning “to come and do x action and go back” (23), or that x motion or state was temporary (8); [C/V]; either -ta or -tan can be used preceding past tense -ita
- tanã reciprocal action; on stems ending in -fa
- tapai tentatively analyzed as inceptive aspect; a combination of translocational -ta and -pai
- tasa tentatively analyzed as an iterative marker; see -katasa; so far only found on xafa- and pena- (both having to do with “become daylight”) in connection with flower blossoms, the meaning given that “flowers shine”; both roots are

	intransitive, so perhaps this marker will only be found on intransitive verbs
te-	the action affects the neck; 429
ti-	the action affects the neck; used in place of te- for vowel harmony with the next vowel
-ti	one of the relative past tense markers referring to an intermediate past time period; 4.1.1.1.2
-tiã	marks certain time adverbial clauses; 7.1.3
-tifa	“negatively”; in this sense so far only found on yoi- ; together with the latter expresses “tell negative gossip”
-tifa	“not able to do x action” (variant of -tima)
-tikis.....	tentatively analyzed as meaning “often/habitually does x action”; has been found on verbs having a negative connotation, and on iska-, the latter being in a negative context; in both cases they were governed by pro-verb i-
-tima	“not able to do x action”; analyzed as being a combination of truncated -tiro and negation -ma
-tiro.....	multi-functional marker expressing present habitual aspect (4.2.1.3.3), “can” (4.3.1) or “should” (4.3.2), depending on the context
-tiropinĩ.....	“can do x action easily”
-tisho/-toshi	“action done upon arrival”; /230; [odd/even]
-tiya	a present habitual aspect marker; a variation of -tiyani; 4.2.1.3.3
-tiyani	a present habitual aspect marker; 4.2.1.3.3
-tsa.....	an evidential expressing “seems like”; restricted to perception verbs; 143
tsi-.....	the action affects the buttocks
-tsi.....	is a shortened variation of -tsifi
-tsifi	mirative marker; 5.1
xa-.....	the action affects (in both sexes) the lower abdomen; in certain contexts, refers to the female genital area
-xa.....	interval marker; 4.1.1.2.1

- xakĩ.....interval marker whose verb’s subject is the same as the subject of the governing clause; when it is preceded by a past tense marker it is marking the clause for an event that took place in the past (4.1.1.2); it can be preceded by habitual aspect markers to express “having habitually done x action” (4.2.2.3.1); in some contexts the construction -tiroxakĩ expresses “having been able” (or “not having been able”, if negated) to do x action”; (4.3.1); when it is preceded by -fai (4.3.4.2), -pa or -pake (4.3.4.4), it is marking the clause for an event that is future to the event of the governing verb
- xe-.....the action affects a tooth
- xifi/-xikani.....future tense marker referring to a time period beyond the tomorrow-future time frame; 4.1.2.5; [sg/pl]
- xiki/-xikaki.....a dual purpose marker; on independent verbs, it functions an imperative, for the action to be done later on the same day as the utterance; on dependent verbs, marks purpose or subsequent action, and has the same subject as the governing verb; the purpose or subsequent action is to be done the same day as the action of the governing verb; 4.3.4.1; [sg/pl];
- xinõ/-xinõfo.....switch-reference marker used to mark the purposed future result of the governing verb; 4.3.4.3; [sg/pl]
- xo-.....the action affects the chest/breast
- xõ.....in transitive verbs, a benefactive (23); in intransitive verbs, expresses “to x’s detriment”; 165
- xõ.....indicates that the governing verb is transitive and has the same subject as the marked clause; has perfective aspect; 4.2.2.2
- yai.....discourse marker found in legends; used instead of -ai when the verb stem ends in a

- yaino/-yaifono a switch-reference marker; has imperfective aspect; see -aino/-aifono; 4.2.3.1
- yaitō/-yaifafē a switch-reference marker; has imperfective aspect; see -aitō/-aifafē; 4.2.3.1
- yake “circularly”; used instead of -ake when preceded by morphemes ending in a
- yama..... negates imperatives that are not inherently negated, and verbs on dependent clauses; 216
- yamea..... one of the relative past tense markers referring to an intermediate past time period, beyond the -ita period and before the -ni period; 4.1.1.1.2
- yanã..... in dependent verbs that share the same subject with the governing verb, to express that the action of the marked verb is being done or was done simultaneously with the action of the the governing verb; 4.2.2.1
- yata..... the action is sustained, or not completed right away; analyzed as originating from the verb root yata- “detain with the hand”; 66
- yaxa interval suffix only used on future time constructions and imperatives; on the latter the speaker is asking that the action be done at some time in the future beyond today; 4.3.4.2
- yaxakĩ/-yaxakakĩ a dual purpose same-subject interval marker; when on an independent verb, is a beyond-today future imperative (307); when on an dependent verb, it marks beyond today-future purpose or subsequent action; 4.3.4.3; [sg/pl]
- yo..... on non-negated verbs, indicates the action is/will be done first, i.e. before doing something else (150); on negated verbs, has meaning “yet” or “at first” (83); it sometimes occurs in a future-in-past construction (147)
- yokoko “in the morning”; used instead of -oko in verbs whose roots have an odd number of syllables

-yospa “doesn’t want to”; so far only found on nika-
“hear/obey”

Examples of combinations allowed in independent verbs

Note: The nasalization marking here and in the next section is standard, since recordings of many of these in context are not available.

-a-fo-mẽ	-mis-koĩ
-ai-mẽ	-pai-rifa-yamã-fẽ
-ake-kafã-kakaĩn-i	-pake-kafã-mis
-fa-fo	-panã-ma
-faĩ-kakaĩn-i	-shta-xõ-ake-kafã-fẽ
-faĩ-ta-nõ	-ta-ita-koĩ-ki
-fa-yake-tiro	-tima-i
-ma-koĩ	-tipinĩ-ma
-ma-shta-xõ-a-koĩ-ki	-xa-kerãn-a-ma
-mẽ-ki	-xi-kerãn-a

Examples of combinations allowed in dependent verbs

-ake-kafã-tã	-nãnã-ake-fafaĩ
-faĩ-fafaĩ	-nõ-ma
-ferã-fafaĩ	-shta-ina-kafã
-fi-aifono	-tã-ma
-fi-ni-xakĩ	-tima-shi-kẽ
-fo-aino	-yama-fi-aitõ
-kame-ake-foafoaĩ	-yama-yamẽ-xakĩ
-ma-yo-a-ma-no	-yo-ake-foã

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