

# Morphosyntactic comparison in Purus

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Handout with data,  
references, and  
abbreviations

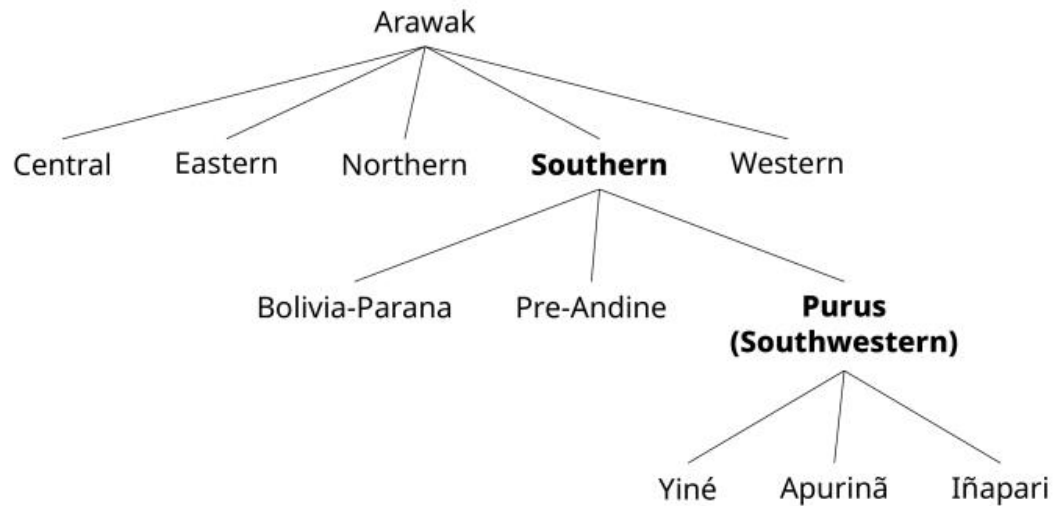


# Iñapari (ongoing work)



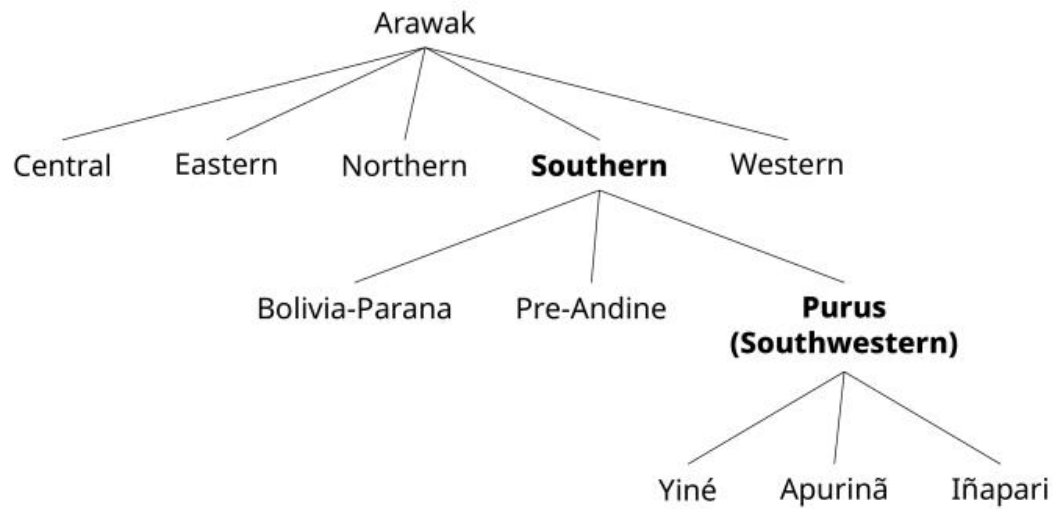
|    | Topic                       | Data Type                 | Media Type   |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 1  | Adpositions                 | Elicitation               | Audio, Video |
| 2  | Animals                     | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 3  | Body parts                  | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 4  | Comparatives                | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 5  | Environment                 | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 6  | Example Sentences           | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 7  | Ideophones and Onomatopoeia | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 8  | Vocabulary                  | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 9  | Noun Phrases and Possession | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 10 | Questions                   | Elicitation               | Audio, Video |
| 11 | Numbers                     | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 12 | Verbal tense                | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 13 | Conjunctions                | Elicitation               | Audio        |
| 14 | Nature Hike                 | Simulus                   | Audio, Video |
| 15 | Working                     | Naturalistic Storytelling | Audio, Video |
| 16 | Life before                 | Naturalistic Storytelling | Audio, Video |
| 17 | Hirimatiri                  | Naturalistic Storytelling | Audio, Video |

# Purus overview



- Subgroup established in Matteson (1963) and Valenzuela (1991)
- Internal makeup of the subgroup is unsettled
  - No clustering (Payne 1991; Aikhenvald 1999; Danielson 2011; de Carvalho 2021)
  - Apurinã and Iñapari cluster (Silva Facundes 2000; 2002)
  - Apurinã and Yiné cluster (Brandão and Facundes (2007))

# Purus overview



- Limited information on Iñapari

Some Arawak Cognates showing [k]-[ʔ] correspondence word-initially in Iñapari

| <b>Chamicuro</b> | <b>Parecis</b> | <b>Ignaciano</b> | <b>Apurinã</b>    | <b>Piro</b>  | <b>Iñapari</b> | <b>Gloss</b> |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>koti</i>      | <i>kot</i>     | <i>katʃi</i>     | <i>katʃi/katĩ</i> | <i>katʃi</i> | <i>ʔatitʃi</i> | ant          |
| <i>kahpiʃi</i>   | <i>káhi</i>    | <i>kapehi</i>    | <i>kapiʃi</i>     | <i>kapʃi</i> | <i>ʔapii</i>   | coati        |

- Limited systematic comparison of morphosyntactic correspondences

# Compared morphosyntactic patterns

## Constenla Umaña (1991)

- 81 typological patterns
- Used as the basis for later questionnaires in Danielson (2011)

## • Aikhenvald (1999)

- ~22-30 typological patterns

# Compared morphosyntactic patterns

| <b>Corresponding Morphosyntactic patterns</b>   | <b>Diagnostic properties</b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>Word classes</b>   | possession, gender, gender marking, reference, predication, subject marking, modifier<br>TAM               |
| <b>Nominal Gender</b>   | # of genders, classification of gender, subclass marking   |
| <b>Possession</b>   | # of classes, marking strategy, non-possessed marking, optionality, information status marking, allomorphy |
| <b>Verbal Subclasses</b>  | possible affixed arguments, position of affixes, alignment   |
| <b>Valency changes (passive, causative, applicative, reciprocal, reflexive, noun incorporation)</b> | presence or not, word order changes, basic functions   |
| <b>TAM</b>  | distinctions   |
| <b>Clausal patterns</b>   | Word order possibilities, information status   |

1. For each pattern we listed the general properties for each language and compared them across the subgroup
2. Preliminary Proto-Purus reconstruction (shared innovations)

# DATA SOURCES

Facundes, Sidney da Silva. 2000. *The Language of the Apurinã People of Brazil (Maipure/Arawak)*. University of New York, Buffalo Ph.D. Dissertation.

Hanson, Rebecca. 2010. *A grammar of Yiné (Piro)*. Melbourne: LaTrobe University PhD Thesis.

Parker, Stephen G. 1995. *Datos de la lengua iñapari* (Documento de Trabajo). (Ed.) Stephen G. Parker. 1st edn. Vol. 27. Yarinacocha: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Rogers, Chris. 2021. Salient morphosyntactic patterns of Iñapari. *Language Documentation and Description* 20. 86–122.

*Ongoing Fieldwork*, 2019-present by the authors (some materials available at [languageconservation.org](http://languageconservation.org) and AILLA soon).



# Word classes

**Table 1. Iñapari word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Adjective      | Nouns         | Verb               |
|------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | No             | Yes           | No                 |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes, Agreement | Yes, Inherent | No                 |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -tî/-tu        | -ri/-ru       | N/A                |
| <i>Referent</i>        | ?              | Yes           | No                 |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes            | Yes           | Yes                |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | Stative IV     | None          | Depending on class |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes            | No            | No                 |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No             | No            | Yes                |

**Table 2. Apurinã word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Nouns   | Verb    |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -ro/-ru | N/A     |
| <i>Referent</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes     | Yes     |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | None    | Affixes |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No      | Yes     |

**Table 3. Yiné word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Nouns   | Verb    |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -ri/-ro | N/A     |
| <i>Referent</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes     | Yes     |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | None    | Affixes |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No      | Yes     |

# Word classes

**Table 1. Iñapari word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Adjective      | Nouns         | Verb               |
|------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | No             | Yes           | No                 |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes, Agreement | Yes, Inherent | No                 |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -tî/-tu        | -ri/-ru       | N/A                |
| <i>Referent</i>        | ?              | Yes           | No                 |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes            | Yes           | Yes                |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | Stative IV     | None          | Depending on class |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes            | No            | No                 |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No             | No            | Yes                |

**Table 2. Apurinã word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Nouns   | Verb    |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -ro/-ru | N/A     |
| <i>Referent</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes     | Yes     |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | None    | Affixes |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No      | Yes     |

**Table 3. Yiné word class diagnostics**

| Property               | Nouns   | Verb    |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Possession</i>      | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender</i>          | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Gender Marking</i>  | -ri/-ro | N/A     |
| <i>Referent</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>Predicate</i>       | Yes     | Yes     |
| <i>Subject marking</i> | None    | Affixes |
| <i>Modifier</i>        | Yes     | No      |
| <i>TAM</i>             | No      | Yes     |

**Table 4. Proto-Purus word classes**

| Iñapari | Apurinã | Yiné    | Proto-Purus |
|---------|---------|---------|-------------|
| N+V/Adj | N+V     | N/Adj+V | *N+V        |

# Nominal Gender

**Table 5. Iñapari nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 3   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>Frozen on some kinship stem                  |
| <i>Forms</i>          | <i>-ri</i> : <i>-ru</i> : <i>-ra</i>                      |

(1) Examples of Iñapari gender marking

- a. *a-ri*                      *hirimatiri*  
DEM-3SG.M                tiger  
'that (male) tiger'
- b. *a-ru*                        *hirimatiri*  
DEM-3SG.F                tiger  
'that (female) tiger'
- c. *a-ra*                        *hirimatiri*  
DEM-3SG.NEUT            tiger  
'that (unknown sex) tiger'
- d. *a-ru/\*ari*                 *memu*  
DEM-SG.F                  snail  
'that snail'

(2) Gender for Iñapari inanimate nouns

- a. *a-ru/\*ari*  
DEM-3SG.F  
'that salt'
- b. *a-ri/\*aru*  
DEM-3SG.M  
'that house'
- c. *a-ri/\*aru*  
DEM-3SG.M  
'that cloud'

(3) Gender for Iñapari inanimate nouns

- a. *?apa-ru/\*ri*  
paternal.aunt-3SG.F  
'paternal aunt'
- b. *irina-ri/\*ru*  
paternal.uncle-3SG.M  
'paternal uncle'

# Nominal Gender

**Table 6. Apurinã nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 2   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>Head marked for some kinship and human stems |
| <i>Forms</i>          | -ru : -ro   |

(4) Examples of Apurinã gender marking

- a. *ata nhika-ro tata*  
 we eat-3.F.OBJ umari  
 ‘We eat umari’.
- b. *nota etama-ru yowata*  
 I see-3.M.OBJ knife  
 ‘I see the knife’

(5) Examples of Apurinã gender marking

- a. *u-muteka hātako-ru*  
 3.M-run youth-M  
 ‘The boy runs’
- b. *o-muteka hātako-ro*  
 3.F-run youth-F  
 ‘The girl runs’

# Nominal Gender

(6) Examples of Yiné gender marking

a. *n-eta-n-ro*                      *r-inro*  
1SG-see-COMPL-3SG.F      3-mother  
'I saw his mother'

b. *n-eta-n-ri*                        *t-iri*  
1SG-see-COMPL-3SG.M      3-father  
'I saw his father'

(7) Examples of Yiné gender marking

a. *ts-ri*  
big/old.M  
'A big old man'

b. *ts-ro*  
big/old.F  
'A big old woman'

**Table 7. Yiné nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 2   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>(Frozen) on some kinship stem                |
| <i>Forms</i>          | <i>-ri</i> : <i>-ro</i>                                   |

# Nominal Gender

**Table 5. Iñapari nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 3   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>Frozen on some kinship stem                  |
| <i>Forms</i>          | -ri : -ru : -ra   |

**Table 6. Apurinã nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 2   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>Head marked for some kinship and human stems |
| <i>Forms</i>          | -ru : -ro   |

**Table 7. Yiné nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 2   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>(Frozen) on some kinship stem                |
| <i>Forms</i>          | -ri : -ro   |

**Table 8. Proto-Purus nominal gender**

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i># of Genders</i>   | 2   |
| <i>Classification</i> | Animacy: biological sex<br>Inanimate: lexical stipulation |
| <i>Marking</i>        | Agreement<br>Head marked for some kinship and human stems |
| <i>Forms</i>          | *-rI vs. *-rU   |

# Possession

**Table 9. Iñapari possession**

| Properties         | Obligatory    | Non-Obligatory            |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes      | Prefixes                  |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | -ti suffix    | --                        |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP       | Full NP                   |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | No            | -te, -ne & -re (emphasis) |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition | C/V condition             |

(8) Iñapari obligatory possession

- |    |                   |          |                   |                     |
|----|-------------------|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>nama-tí</i>    | ‘mouth’  | <i>no-nama</i>    | ‘my mouth’          |
| b. | <i>hitʃipi-tí</i> | ‘foot’   | <i>pi-hitʃipi</i> | ‘your foot’         |
| c. | <i>tini-ti</i>    | ‘urine’  | <i>i-tini</i>     | ‘his urine’         |
| d. | <i>tutã-ti</i>    | ‘drool’  | <i>ru-tutã</i>    | ‘her drool’         |
| e. | <i>tata-ti</i>    | ‘father’ | <i>a-tata</i>     | ‘our father’        |
| f. | <i>natu-ti</i>    | ‘mother’ | <i>i-natu</i>     | ‘your (pl.) mother’ |
| g. | <i>pana-ti</i>    | ‘house’  | <i>i-pana</i>     | ‘their house’       |

(10) Inherent possession with coreferential noun phrase present

- |    |                |             |
|----|----------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>nohá</i>    | (no-)nama   |
|    | I              | (1SG-)mouth |
|    |                | ‘My mouth’  |
| b. | <i>no-nama</i> |             |
|    | 1SG-mouth      |             |
|    |                | ‘My mouth’  |

(9) Iñapari non-obligatory possession

- |    |                 |                    |                    |                              |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | <i>avé</i>      | ‘dog’              | <i>n-avé</i>       | ‘my dog’                     |
| b. | <i>yutapi</i>   | ‘owl’              | <i>pi-yutapi</i>   | ‘your owl’                   |
| c. | <i>atiuru</i>   | ‘salt’             | <i>r-atiuru</i>    | ‘his salt’                   |
| d. | <i>hapitipa</i> | ‘stone ax’         | <i>ru-hapitipa</i> | ‘her stone ax’               |
| e. | <i>tapopí</i>   | ‘nail’             | <i>a-tapopí</i>    | ‘our nail’                   |
| f. | <i>hamome</i>   | ‘spring of water’  | <i>i-hamome</i>    | ‘your (pl.) spring of water’ |
| g. | <i>surumaĩ</i>  | ‘medium-sized bag’ | <i>i-surumaĩ</i>   | ‘their medium-sized bag’     |

(11) Non-inherent possession with coreferential noun phrase present

- |    |               |           |
|----|---------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>ehé</i>    | (av-)ave  |
|    | We            | (1PL-)dog |
|    |               | ‘Our dog’ |
| b. | <i>av-ave</i> |           |
|    | 1PL-dog       |           |
|    |               | ‘Our dog’ |

# Possession

**Table 9. Iñapari possession**

| Properties         | Obligatory         | Non-Obligatory                                     |
|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes           | Prefixes   |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | - <i>ti</i> suffix | --   |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP            | Full NP  |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | No                 | - <i>te</i> , - <i>ne</i> & - <i>re</i> (emphasis) |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition      | C/V condition                                      |

(12) Evidence for the meaning of non-inherent possession suffixes

- a. *aria*                    (*r-*)*utfiruhi*  
he                         3SG.M-knife  
'His knife' (< Spanish. 'su cuchillo')
- b. *aria*                    (*r-*)*utfiruhi-te*  
he                         3SG.M-knife-POSS  
'His knife' (< Spanish 'su cuchillo de él')
- c. *nohá*                    (*no-*)*honi*  
I                            1SG-water  
'My water' (< Spanish 'mi agua')
- d. *nohá*                    (*no-*)*honi-ne*  
I                            1SG-water-POSS  
'My water' (< Spanish 'mi agua de mi')



# Possession

Table 10. Apurinã possession

| Properties         | Obligatory     | Non-obligatory                 | Double Marked |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes       | Prefixes                       | Prefixes+ re  |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | - <i>tʃi</i>   | --                             | - <i>ru</i>   |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP        | Full NP                        | Full NP       |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | --             | - <i>te, ne, -re</i> (lexical) | - <i>re</i>   |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition  | C/V condition                  | C/V condition |
| <i>Diachrony</i>   | 23 classifiers | --                             | --            |

(13) Evidence for the meaning of non-inherent possession suffixes

a. *pite aiko-te iri-pe*  
 you house-POSS fall-PERF  
 ‘Your house has fallen down.’

b. *aiko iri-pe*  
 house fall-PERF  
 ‘The house has fallen down.’

c. *nota nuta-ro n-ããta-ne*  
 I look.for-3SG.FEM 1SG-canoe-POSS  
 ‘I look for my (traditional) canoe’

d. *nota nuta-ro ããta*  
 I look.for-3SG.FEM canoe  
 ‘I look for the (traditional) canoe’

e. *nota kuku-re apo-pe*  
 I man-POSS arrive-PERF  
 ‘My husband has arrived.’

f. *kuku apo-pe*  
 man arrive-PERF  
 ‘The man has arrived.’

# Possession

Table 10. Apurinã possession

| Properties         | Obligatory     | Non-obligatory                | Double Marked |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes       | Prefixes                      | Prefixes+ re  |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | <i>-tʃi</i>    | --                            | <i>-ru</i>    |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP        | Full NP                       | Full NP       |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | --             | <i>-te, ne, -re</i> (lexical) | <i>-re</i>    |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition  | C/V condition                 | C/V condition |
| <i>Diachrony</i>   | 23 classifiers | --                            | --            |

(14) Evidence for the meaning of non-inherent possession suffixes

- a. *mipa atamata-ru o-kota-re*  
 Mipa see-3SG.MASC 3SG.FEM-basket-POSS  
 ‘Mipa sees her basket’
- b. *mipa atamata-ru o-kota-ru*  
 Mipa see-3SG.MASC 3SG.FEM-basket-POSS  
 ‘Mipa sees the basket’

# Possession

**Table 9. Iñapari possession**

| Properties         | Obligatory         | Non-Obligatory                                     |
|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes           | Prefixes   |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | - <i>ti</i> suffix | --   |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP            | Full NP  |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | No                 | - <i>te</i> , - <i>ne</i> & - <i>re</i> (emphasis) |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition      | C/V condition                                      |

**Table 10. Apurinã possession**

| Properties         | Obligatory     | Non-obligatory                                  | Double Marked       |
|--------------------|----------------|---|---------------------|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes       | Prefixes  | Prefixes+ <i>re</i> |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | - <i>tʃi</i>   | --  | - <i>ru</i>         |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP        | Full NP   | Full NP             |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | --             | - <i>te</i> , <i>ne</i> , - <i>re</i> (lexical) | - <i>re</i>         |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | C/V condition  | C/V condition                                   | C/V condition       |
| <i>Diachrony</i>   | 23 classifiers | --  | --                  |

**Table 11. Yiné possession**

| Properties         | Inalienable (Oblig)            | Alienable (non-oblig)   |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>Marking</i>     | Prefixes                       | Prefixes  |
| <i>Unpossessed</i> | - <i>tʃi</i>                   | --  |
| <i>Optionality</i> | Full NP                        | Full NP   |
| <i>Suffixes</i>    | --                             | - <i>re</i> , - <i>ne</i> , - <i>te</i> , - <i>le</i> , - <i>e</i> (lexical/semantic) |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>  | Semantics and presence of /hV/ | Semantics and presence of /hV/  |
| <i>Diachrony</i>   | 1 genitive classifier          | --  |

**Table 12. Proto-Purus possession**

| Properties                | (Oblig)      | (non-oblig)                                 |
|---------------------------|--------------|---|
| <i>Marking</i>            | Prefixes     | Prefixes+ <i>-re, ne, te, le, e</i>         |
| <i>Unpossessed</i>        | - <i>tʃi</i> | bare  |
| <i>Optionality</i>        | Full NP      | Full NP                                     |
| <i>Information Status</i> | ?            | - (the suffixes are about semantic classes) |
| <i>Allomorphy</i>         | C/V          | C/V   |

# Verbal Subclasses

Table 13. Iñapari verb subclasses

| Properties                         | TV            | IV_act | IV_aff             | IV_stat |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------|--------------------|---------|
| <i>#possible affixal arguments</i> | 2             | 1      | 1                  | 1       |
| <i>position of affixes</i>         | Prefix+Suffix | Prefix | Prefix+ <i>-ʔa</i> | Suffix  |

Table 14. Apurinã verb subclasses

| Properties                 | TV            | IV     | IV?      | IV     |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------|----------|--------|
| <i>#affixal arguments</i>  | 2             | 1      | 1        | 1      |
| <i>position of affixes</i> | Prefix+Suffix | Prefix | Prefix+? | Suffix |

Table 15. Yiné verb subclasses

| Properties                 | TV            | IV     | Non-Verbal-Predicate |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------|----------------------|
| <i>#affixal arguments</i>  | 2             | 1      | 1                    |
| <i>position of affixes</i> | Prefix+Suffix | Prefix | Suffix               |

Table 16. Overview of Purus alignment

|                  | Iñapari                | Apurinã            | Yiné               | Proto-Purus         |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>A</i>         | Prefix                 | Prefix             | Prefix             | *Prefix             |
| <i>O</i>         | Suffix                 | Suffix             | Suffix             | *Suffix             |
| <i>Sa</i>        | Prefix                 | Prefix             | Prefix             | *Prefix             |
| <i>So</i>        | Suffix                 | Suffix             | Suffix             | *Suffix             |
| <i>Alignment</i> | Split-Intransitive + 1 | Split-Intransitive | Split-Intransitive | *Split-Intransitive |

# Passivization

**Table 17. Passivization in Purus**

|                          | Iñapari  | Apurinã        | Yiné                                       | Proto-Purus |
|--------------------------|----------|----------------|--|-------------|
| <i>passive</i>           | Yes      | Yes            | Yes (2)                                    | *yes (1)    |
| <i>marking</i>           | -ʔa      | -ka            | -ka realis passive<br>-ko irrealis passive | *-ka        |
| <i>constituent order</i> | S-V-PASS | (S E) S-V-PASS | S-V-PASS                                   | *S V- PASS  |

(15) Iñapari passive with -ʔa

a. *i-niʔa-ma-ri*      *ahiri*      A-V-P P  
 3SG.M-eat-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M      fruit  
 ‘He ate fruit’

b. *i-niʔa-ʔa-ma*      *ahiri*      S-V-PASS S  
 3SG.M-eat-IV-NFUT.DEF      fruit  
 ‘The fruit was eaten’

(16) Apurinã passive with -ka

a. *o-oka-pẽ-ka*      S-V-PASS  
 3-kill-PERF-PASS  
 ‘He was killed’

b. *uwa-nhi*      *ākiti*      *o-oka-pẽ-ka*      (S) (E) S-V-PASS  
 man-AFF      jaguar      3-kill-PERF-PASS  
 ‘The man was killed by the jaguar’

(17) Yiné passives

a. *n-iyat-li*      A-V-P  
 1-kill-3.M  
 ‘I killed him’

b. *r-iyat-ka*      S-V-PASS  
 3-kill-PASS.REAL  
 ‘He was killed’

c. *r-iyat-ko*      S-V-PASS  
 3-kill-PASS.IRR  
 ‘He will be killed’

# Causativation

Table 18. Causatives in Purus

|                  | Iñapari   | Apurinã   | Yiné   | Proto-Purus |
|------------------|---|---|--|-------------|
| <i>causative</i> | Yes (2)   | Yes (2)   | Yes (2)  | *yes (2)    |
| <i>marking</i>   | - <i>ʔa</i> nonvolitional<br>- <i>tahi</i> volitional | - <i>ka</i> causative<br>- <i>kutaka</i> transitive | - <i>kaka</i> causative<br>- <i>çica</i> mandative | *-kaka      |

(18) Iñapari causatives

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

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

(20) Yiné causative

*wale yonawa-kaka-na-no*  
3SG.M write-CAUS-COMP-1SG  
'He made me write'  
(e.g. by moving my hand for me)

(19) Apurinã causatives

a. *nh-nhika-kutaka-nanu-ta-pe*  
1SG-eat-TV.CAUS-PROG-VBLZ-PERF  
'I already made (her) eat (it).'

b. *nhi-nhipoko-ka-ka-ta-ru*  
1SG-eat-INTENS-CAUS-VBLZ-3M.OBJ  
'I made him do eating.'

(21) Yiné mandative

*wale yonawa-çica-na-no*  
3SG.M write-MAND-COMP-1SG  
'He ordered me to write.'

# Applicative

Table 19. Applicatives in Purus

|                                    | Iñapari                  | Apurinã | Yiné   | Proto-Purus             |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|--|-------------------------|
| <i>applicative marking</i>         | Yes                      | No      | Yes (2)  | *yes                    |
|                                    | <i>-jii</i>              |         | <i>him-</i> associative<br><i>-ja</i> multifunctional          | *-jV<br>multifunctional |
| <i>types of applicative object</i> | beneficiary, maleficiary |         | location, source, instrument, beneficiary, maleficiary, reason |                         |

(22) Iñapari applicative with benefactive function

- a. *no-hipa-ma* → b. *no-hipa-ji:-ma-ru*      *arua*  
 1SG-wash-NFUT      1SG-wash-APPL-NFUT-3SG.F    3SG.F  
 ‘I washed it.’      ‘I washed it for her’

(24) Yiné applicative with associative function

- n-hitsolhiwata-ni* → b. *n-him-hitsolhiwata-ni-lo*  
 1SG-laugh-ANTICP      1SG-ASSOC-laugh-ANTICP-3SG.F  
 ‘I will laugh.’      ‘She and I will laugh together.’

(23) Iñapari applicative with malefactive function

- a. *no-tijitja-ma-ri* → b. *no-tijitja-ji:-ma-ri/ru*      *abe*  
 1SG-steal-NFUT-3SG.M      1SG-steal-APPL-NFUT-3SG.M/F    dog  
 ‘I stole (it).’      ‘I stole his/her dog’

(25) Yiné applicative with locative function

- hawla*      *n-halika-ya-ka*  
 there      1SG-want-APPL-PASS  
 ‘I am wanted there.’

# Reciprocal

**Table 20. Reciprocal in Purus**

|                   | <b>Iñapari</b> | <b>Apurinã</b> | <b>Yiné</b>  | <b>Proto-Purus</b> |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>reciprocal</i> | Yes            | Yes            | Yes          | *yes               |
| <i>marking</i>    | <i>-hiri</i>   | <i>-kaka</i>   | <i>-kaka</i> | *-kaka             |

(26) Iñapari reciprocal

a. *ehé av-itu?ana-ma-ri*  
we 1PL-speak-NFUT.DEF-3SG  
'We speak to him.'

→ b. *ehé av-itu?ana-hiri-ma*  
we 1PL-speak-RECIP-NFUT.DEF  
'We speak to each other'

(27) Apurinã reciprocal

*ata atama-ta-kaka*  
1PL see-VBLZ-RECIP  
'We saw each other.'

(28) Yiné reciprocal

*r-hipcaka-kaka-na*  
3-help-RECIP-3PL  
'They're helping each other.'



# Reflexive

Table 21. Reflexive in Purus

|                  | Iñapari        | Apurinã    | Yiné               | Proto-Purus  |
|------------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>reflexive</i> | Yes            | Yes        | Yes                | *yes         |
| <i>marking</i>   | <i>-nanisi</i> | <i>-wa</i> | <i>-na ... -wa</i> | *-na ... -wa |

(29) Iñapari reflexive

a. *no-juna-ma-ri*  
1SG-paint-NFUT.DEF-3SG  
'I painted it.'

→ b. *no-juna-nanisi-ma*  
1SG-paint-REFL-NFUT.DEF  
'I painted myself'

c. *pi-juna-nanisi-ma*  
2SG-paint-REFL-NFUT.DEF  
'You painted yourself'

(30) Apurinã reflexive

*nhi-ydka-ta-wa*  
1SG-paint-VBLZ-REFL  
'I painted myself.'

(31) Yiné reflexive

*tu-hipatewata-na-tka-wa*  
3SG.F-be.embarrassed-REFL-PFV-REFL  
'She embarrassed herself.'

# Noun Incorporation

Table 22. Noun Incorporation in Purus

|                      | Iñapari                              | Apurinã                   | Yiné              | Proto-Purus               |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>incorporation</i> | Yes                                  | Yes                       | Yes               | *yes                      |
| <i>types</i>         | possessive,<br>lexical (unpossessed) | possessed,<br>unpossessed | possessed<br>only | possessed,<br>unpossessed |

(32) Lexical incorporation in Iñapari

- a. *no-hipa-ma-ri* → b. *no-hipa-matara-ma*  
 1SG-wash-NFUT.DEF-3SG 1SG-wash-clothes-NFUT.DEF  
 ‘I washed it’ ‘I washed (clothes)’
- c. *no-hipa-piru-ma*  
 1SG-wash-dish-NFUT.DEF  
 ‘I washed (dishes)’
- d. *no-hipa-mujuã-ma*  
 1SG-wash-hand-NFUT.DEF  
 ‘I washed (hands)’

(33) Possessive incorporation in Iñapari

- a. *n-et'a-ma-ri* hama → b. *n-et'a-affini-ma-ri* hama  
 1SG-see-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M tapir 1SG-see-footprint-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M tapir  
 ‘I saw a tapir’ ‘I saw a tapir’s footprint’
- c. *n-et'a-ma-ri* hama anfi  
 1SG-see-footprint-NFUT.DEF-3SG.M tapir meat  
 ‘I saw a tapir’s meat’

(34) Unpossessed noun incorporation in Apurina

- a. *owa pu-suka-ta-ru* kiyana → b. *owa pu-suka-kiyana-ta-ni*  
 3SG.F 2SG-give-VBLZ-3M.O food 3SG.F 2SG-give-food-VBLZ-3M.O  
 ‘You gave her food.’ ‘You gave her food.’

(35) Apurinã possessed noun incorporation

- a. *Ø-etu-ta-ru-na* kema yakunu → b. *Ø-eti-yakunu-ta-ni-na*  
 3M-see-VBLZ-3M.O-3PL tapir footprint.of 3M-see-footprint.of-VBLZ-3M.O  
 ‘They saw the tapir’s footprint.’ ‘They saw the tapir’s footprint.’  
 (‘They footprint-saw the tapir.’)

(36) Yiné possessed noun incorporation

- a. *r-histaka-na-no-na* → b. *r-histaka-ksiçe-ta-na-no-na*  
 3-cut-COMP-1SG-3PL 3-cut-leg.of-VCL-COMP-1SG-3PL  
 ‘They cut me.’ ‘They cut my leg.’ (‘They leg-cut me.’)

# TAM and Clausal Patterns

**Table 18. Purus TAM patterns**

|               | <b>Iñapari</b> | <b>Apurinã</b>          | <b>Yiné</b>                 | <b>Proto-Purus</b> |
|---------------|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Tense</i>  | Fut/nonfuture  | Remote future/nonfuture | ?fut/nfut                   | *Fut/nFut          |
| <i>Aspect</i> | ?              | Perfectivity            | Perfectivity (9 categories) | *perfectivity      |
| <i>Mood</i>   | ?              | ?                       | ?anticipatory               | --                 |

**Table 24. Purus Clausal Patterns**

|                                  | <b>Iñapari</b> | <b>Apurinã</b> | <b>Yiné</b> | <b>Proto-Purus</b> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| <i>Word order</i>                | SVO/SOV        | SVO/SOV/VOS    | all/SOV     | *SOV/all           |
| <i>Pragmatically conditioned</i> | Yes            | Yes            | Yes         | *Yes               |
| <i>Argument omission</i>         | Yes            | Yes            | Yes         | *Yes               |

# Problems

- Missing documentation on Iñapari
- More information on
  - information structure in all three languages is needed
  - internal phrasal orders (NP + VP)
  - valency changes in all three languages
  - verbal subclasses

# Conclusions

| <b>Corresponding Morphosyntactic patterns</b>   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Word classes</b>   | No shared innovations   |
| <b>Nominal Gender</b>   | No shared innovations   |
| <b>Possession</b>   | No shared innovations   |
| <b>Verbal Subclasses</b>  | Unlikely shared innovation between Iñapari and Apurinã                |
| <b>Valency changes (passive, causative, applicative, reciprocal, reflexive, noun incorporation)</b> | Possible shared innovation between Iñapari and Yiné in the causatives |
| <b>TAM</b>  | No shared innovations   |
| <b>Clausal patterns</b>   | No shared innovations   |

- The lack of shared innovations supports the phonological non-clustering hypothesis of Payne (1991), Aikhenvald (1999), Danielson (2011) and de Carvalho (2021)