Simon Claassen

Luis Miguel Rojas-Berscia (1st reader)

Helen de Hoop (2nd reader)

A typologically-oriented description of main and subordinate clauses in Shiwilu

Contents

Abstract

This study provides an overview of the various types of both main and subordinate clauses found in the Shiwilu language, spoken by approximately twenty people in the town of Jeberos in northeastern Peru. In the first few chapters, an overview of the phonology and morphology of the language is sketched. Next, the syntax of main and subordinate clauses is discussed in that order. First of all, verbal predicates are discussed. The structure of impersonal, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive sentences in Shiwilu is analyzed. To this end, typological literature on these types of sentences is discussed and the strategies used in Shiwilu to form these types of sentences are compared to strategies used to form them in other languages. Next, nonverbal predicates are discussed. The structure and formation of nominal, adjectival and locational predicates in both Shiwilu and some languages around the world are considered and compared to each other. Finally, the structure of compound and complex clauses is examined. Strategies used in languages across South America in order to form subordinate clauses are considered and compared to the strategies used in Shiwilu to form various types of subordinate clauses. At the end of the chapter, a small comparison of Shawi and Shiwilu is done with respect to subordination. It is found that Shiwilu uses many strategies to form main and subordinate clauses also used in other languages across the world. Some of these strategies are very common, whereas others are rarer.

Introduction

The Shiwilu language, also known as Jebero, is an indigenous language spoken in the province of Alto Amazonas, in the region of Loreto in northeastern Peru, more specifically in the town of Jeberos, the town where it is mainly spoken, and Varadero, situated on the Paranapura river approximately 50 kilometers to the south of Jeberos. Estimates as to its total number of speakers vary, but experts argue that the language has only about thirty speakers left (Valenzuela, 2011:92). Shiwilu is a Kawapanan language, along with its sister language Shawi (Valenzuela & Butler, 2009:1). As opposed to Shiwilu, Shawi is still a vital language with approximately 25,000 speakers (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:43).

The Shiwilu language is known under a variety of names, such as Xihuila, Jebero, Xebero and Chebero, all of which are synonyms. The language's native name, Shiwilu, is derived from the native name of the town of Jeberos, which is in turn derived, most likely, from the stem *Shiwi-*, which is a cognate of the name Shawi, and the suffix *-lu'*, which is a classifier for soil-like substances and geographical places (Valenzuela, Careajano Chota, Guerra Acho, Inuma Inuma, & Lachuma Laulate, 2013:171). Although the etymology of the name Shawi is uncertain, it could possibly be derived from the Shawi word *sha'wi-* 'talk' (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:48).

Shiwilu is a mainly agglutinative language, mostly employing suffixes added to word stems in order to encode grammatical properties. The language has a very flexible word order, but subjects are generally placed before verbs and objects, causing the preferred word order to be SOV or SVO. The language displays split ergativity. Whereas its verb conjugation displays nominative-accusative alignment, as does its preference to place both intransitive and transitive subjects in a sentence-initial position, its optional ergative case marker is an example of ergative-absolutive alignment (Valenzuela, 2011:104).

A variety of studies on Shiwilu have been published over time. The oldest known publications on the language date back to a time near the end of the seventeenth century and are often attributed to Samuel Fritz, a German Jesuit who lived in the Amazon from 1686 until 1723 and compiled a Shiwilu wordlist and grammar (Alexander-Bakkerus, 2013:5). The earliest work on Shiwilu in more recent times was done by Tessmann (1930) and is based on fieldwork done in the twenties. A thorough and detailed description of the language is still lacking, but certain studies have

successfully analyzed some of the language's complex features. Bendor-Samuel (1958) provides a thorough analysis of verbs in Shiwilu, Valenzuela (2011) discusses numerous findings on Shiwilu morphology and Madalengoitia Barúa (2013) gives an overview of Shiwilu phonology, as do Valenzuela and Gussenhoven (2013).

The syntax of Shiwilu, however, remains largely unexplored. A preliminary look into the different types of sentences and syntactic structures in Shiwilu provided by elicitation sessions with native speakers shows that Shiwilu employs various strategies to form a variety of both main and subordinate clauses. It would be interesting to see how exactly both main and subordinate clauses are formed in Shiwilu, if these two types of sentences are formed similarly to or differently from one another and how the various subtypes of sentences of these two types are formed. It would also be useful to place these strategies in a typological perspective and see if the language employs similar strategies to, for instance, its sister language Shawi and other languages both in South America and worldwide.

In the next two chapters, the phonology and morphology of Shiwilu will be discussed in that order. Next, the syntax will be discussed in great detail, along with relevant typological literature on the formation of both main and subordinate clauses in languages around the world. The syntactic strategies employed in Shiwilu will be compared to the different strategies that languages around the world are known to use. The results of these comparisons and their implications will be discussed afterwards.

The analysis proposed here is based mostly upon language data directly from elicitation sessions performed with native speakers of Shiwilu, occasionally providing additional examples from previous literature on the language. If no reference is provided with an example of a Shiwilu sentence, it is taken directly from an elicitation session. Some of these elicitation sessions were held physically in Jeberos in May 2017 with various speakers, while others were held online during June and July 2020 with Diómer López Chota, who was willing to assist with this study on Shiwilu from a great distance and under circumstances that were far from ideal for him, as the 2020 coronavirus pandemic, which is still ongoing at the moment of writing this thesis, greatly impairs traveling and simultaneously threatens indigenous communities.

In both the physical elicitation sessions held in 2017 and the online sessions held in 2020, language data were collected by offering Spanish sentences to the speakers and asking them to

translate these sentences into Shiwilu, by offering Shiwilu sentences to the speakers and asking them to judge whether these sentences are grammatically correct or by having the speakers tell a story or engage in a conversation. All elicitation sessions were recorded and the language data that they produced were transcribed using the orthography that will be discussed in the following, resulting in a rich corpus of over fifty transcribed elicitation sessions. All speakers that participated in the elicitation sessions were given a compensation based on the Peruvian minimum wage.

Phonology

Shiwilu has a total of fifteen phonemes, of which ten consonants and five vowels. These consonants and vowels are shown in Tables 1 and 2 below, respectively. This phonological analysis of Shiwilu is in line with the phonological analysis provided by Rojas-Berscia (2019:175). If a different symbol is used to represent a certain phoneme in this paper other than this phoneme's symbol in the International Phonetic Alphabet (Ladefoged, 1990:551), this symbol is given in brackets behind the respective phoneme that it represents.

Table 1: consonants of the Shiwilu language

	bilabial	**alveolar**	**palatal**	**velar**
plosive	p	t		k
fricative		s		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		l		
semivowel	w	ð ⟨d⟩	j ⟨y⟩	

Table 2: vowels of the Shiwilu language

	front	**central**	**back**
close	i		
mid	ɚ ⟨er⟩	ə ⟨e⟩	u
open		a	

The phoneme /ð/ is usually realized as a lowered [ð̞]. The word *dawer* /ˈða.wɚ/ 'peach palm' is thus pronounced as [ˈð̞a.wɚ]. The voiced plosives [b], [d] and [g] also occur in the language as

allophones of the corresponding voiceless plosives. The voiced allophones only occur when the plosive is preceded by a nasal. For instance, in the words *pada* /ˈpa.ða/ 'San Pedro palm', *tandula* /tanˈðu.la/ 'star' and *kadu'* /ˈka.ðuk/ 'egg', the plosives, here in initial position, are realized voicelessly and they are thus pronounced as [ˈpa.ð̥a], [tanˈð̥u.la] and [ˈka.ð̥uʔ], respectively, but the words *enpu* /ˈɘm.pu/ 'jungle frog', *lante'* /ˈlan.tɘk/ 'foot' and *kankan* /ˈkan.kan/ 'liver', on the contrary, are pronounced with the voiced plosives, as [ˈɘm.bu], [ˈlan.dɘk] and [ˈkaŋ.gaŋ], respectively (Madalengoitia Barúa, 2013:29).

Some studies analyze [ʔ] as a separate phoneme (Valenzuela & Gussenhoven, 2013:98), whereas others advocate for this phone not to be analyzed as such (Madalengoitia Barúa, 2013:71). Still, the occurrence of near-minimal pairs such as *lala* [ˈla.la] 'hole' and *la'la'* [ˈlaʔ.laʔ] 'language' needs to be explained. In this paper, in line with the historical phonology of Proto-Kawapanan (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:177), [ʔ] is analyzed as an allophone of /k/ in coda position, which occurs after all vowels except for /ɘ/, after which the [k] remains. Compare the word *kadu'* above to the word *pide'* /ˈpi.ðɘk/ 'house', which becomes [ˈpi.ð̥ɘk]. In this paper, the grapheme ⟨'⟩ is used in order to represent /k/ in coda position.

In Shiwilu, all alveolar consonants, with the exception of the alveolar approximant, palatalize when followed by /i/ or, in the case of the nasal, a palatal consonant. The palatal nasal [ɲ] and lateral approximant [ʎ] thus occur as allophones of /n/ and /l/, respectively, while the pronunciation of the palatalized /t/ and /s/ is closer to that of the voiceless postalveolar affricate [t͡ʃ] and fricative [ʃ], respectively. Compare for instance the pronunciations of *tandula* and *lante'* above to the pronunciation of the word *chinchi* /ˈtin.ti/ 'crab', which is [ˈt͡ʃiɲ.d͡ʒi]. Compare also the pronunciations of *samer* /ˈsa.mɚ/ 'fish' and *shilin* /ˈsi.lin/ 'long', [ˈsa.mɚ] and [ˈʃi.ʎiŋ], those of *nala* /ˈna.la/ 'tree' and *nine'la* /niˈnɘk.la/ 'language', [ˈna.la] and [ɲiˈnɘk.la], and those of *lada* /ˈla.ða/ 'eye' and *lilin* /ˈli.lin/ 'name', [ˈla.ð̥a] and [ˈʎi.ʎiŋ] (Madalengoitia Barúa, 2013:44).

Palatalization also occurs when the rhotic vowel /ɚ/ precedes an alveolar consonant. The vowel subsequently loses its rhoticity, yielding [ə]. This process can be seen in the future tense verb forms, such as *te'ka'erte'* /tɘkˈkak.ɚ.tɘk/ 'I will run', which becomes [tɘkˈkaʔ.ə.t͡ʃɘk]. The occurrence of palatal consonants before vowels other than /i/, such as in *chuchu* [ˈt͡ʃu.t͡ʃu] 'meat', can be explained by analyzing these words as having an underlying /i/, so that /ˈtiu.tiu/ would be

the underlying phonemic representation. Note that, in the orthography used here, [ɲ] and [ʎ] are not represented distinctly, whereas [t͡ʃ] and [ʃ] are represented using ⟨ch⟩ and ⟨sh⟩, respectively.

In the pronunciations of *enpu*, *lante'*, *chinchi* and *kankan*, one can see that nasals in coda position are not distinguished phonemically, but only phonetically. Before all alveolars except for /n/, /n/ occurs, whereas before all bilabials except for /m/, /m/ occurs, although this latter /m/ is probably and underlying /n/ which assimilated to the following consonant. As explained above, coda /n/ palatalizes to [ɲ] before all palatals. When followed by [ɲ] or [ʎ], assimilation and degemination take place, resulting simply in [ɲ]. Before all velars, as well as word-finally or before /m/ or /n/, the allophone [ŋ] occurs.

Finally, Shiwilu has a fixed stress pattern rather than having variable stress. This means that stress cannot be used in Shiwilu to distinguish two otherwise identical words from each other. In Shiwilu, the stress in a word is placed on the first syllable if the word has two syllables, whereas it is placed on the second syllable if a word has more than two syllables (Madalengoitia Barúa, 2013:61).

Morphology

As was stated before, Shiwilu is an agglutinative language, which means that grammatical features are expressed through affixes attached to noun and verb stems, where one morpheme usually corresponds to one grammatical feature. With the exception of a handful of valency-changing markers, which are prefixes, Shiwilu mainly uses suffixes in order to express grammatical features. In the following sections, the morphology of Shiwilu nouns and verbs, in that order, will be discussed.

Nouns

In Shiwilu, nouns can be marked for a variety of grammatical categories, namely number, size, case and possession. First of all, the language distinguishes between two numbers, namely singular and plural number. Singular nouns are unmarked, whereas the suffix *-lusa'* is used to mark plural nouns. For instance, the noun *nini'* 'dog', when pluralized, becomes *nini'lusa'* 'dogs'.

Plural and diminutive

Aside from the plural, marked with *-lusa'*, the language also has a diminutive. Diminutives of nouns can be formed using the suffix *-sha*, which is borrowed from Quechua, which has a diminutive suffix *-cha* (Rios, 2015:30). It can be used on both animate and inanimate referents. For instance, the diminutive of *wila* 'child' would be *wilasha* 'little child' and the diminutive of *chuchu* 'meat' would be *chuchusha* 'little bit of meat'. Another diminutive, *-wa*, is used exclusively for small animals. When used on *nini'* 'dog', for instance, it yields the form *nini'wa* 'little dog'.

Cases

Shiwilu uses a variety of grammatical cases in order to express the grammatical relations of both core arguments and oblique arguments to the verb of the sentence. The suffixes used to express these grammatical cases used on the noun *pide'* can be found in Table 3 below. The suffixes can be used on both nouns and pronouns, which are discussed later. Examples of these suffixes used in sentences are given in (1-15).

Table 3: grammatical cases of the Shiwilu language

absolutive	*pide'*
ergative	*pide'ler*
genitive	*pide'kin*
locative	*pide'e'*
ablative	*pide'lan*
allative	*pide'lupa'*
terminative	*pide'wale'*
inessive	*pide'da'*
apudessive	*pide'te'*
intrative	*pide'tuchin*
comitative	*pide'le'*
causative	*pide'male'*

As was stated before, Shiwilu is an ergative-absolutive language. This means that the language marks intransitive subjects the same way as transitive objects, while marking transitive subjects

differently using an ergative case (Nichols, 1993:39). In Shiwilu, like in many languages, the absolute case, used to mark intransitive subjects and transitive objects, is always unmarked. This can be seen in (1-2), which both show an example of an intransitive sentence with an unmarked subject, and (3), which shows an example of a transitive sentence with an unmarked object. As one can see here, as well as in (4), vocatives are also unmarked in Shiwilu, as are nominal predicates, shown in (5-6).

(1) *Pideru idun-l-i*

    Peter   swim-NFUT-3

    'Peter swam.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:101)

(2) *wila   wichi'-l-i*

    child sleep-NFUT-3

    'The child slept.'

(3) *Kusi   se'mane'-k-er' nana akipi   uker'-ert-un*

    Joseph turn-IMP-2   3   patarashca burn-FUT-3

    'Joseph, turn the patarashca or it will burn!' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:254)

(4) *Antuniu nana-lupa' pa'-k-er'*

    Anthony 3-ALL   go-IMP-2

    'Anthony, go there!'

(5) *yuyu'-wa   Kuliu' saka'-tu-te'   nuka'-a*

    brother-DIM Cruz   work-VAL-NMLZ be-3

    'Little brother Cruz is a worker.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:146)

(6) *kenma ku'aper nuka'-ma*

    2   woman be-2

    'You are a woman.'

As was stated before, Shiwilu uses the ergative case marker *-ler* to mark transitive subjects. However, Shiwilu displays a feature called optional ergativity (Valenzuela, 2011:105). This is a subtype of the feature known as differential subject marking (de Hoop & de Swart, 2009:1). Optional ergativity means that, in a given language, transitive subjects are not obligatorily marked with the ergative case and, quite often, it even means that ergative case marking is obligatory in some contexts and impossible in others (McGregor, 2010:1616).

More specifically, Shiwilu displays optional ergativity based on animacy, which means that ergativity is obligatory, optional or impossible based on the animacy of the arguments (Song, 2014:148). More accurately, it is based on a combination of various factors, such as animacy, person, referentiality, number and definiteness (Claassen, 2019:17). These factors place referents on a scale known as the animacy hierarchy. This hierarchy can be seen in Figure 1 below.

first person pronouns > second person pronouns > third person pronouns > proper nouns > common nouns (human) > common nouns (animate) > common nouns (inanimate)

Figure 1: animacy hierarchy

In Shiwilu, ergative marking is impossible when the object is a first or second person (Valenzuela, 2011:109). In these situations, the subject and object marking on the verb, which will be discussed later on, suffice in order to discriminate who is the subject and who is the object. Ergative marking is quite common in sentences with third person subjects and objects, especially when they are equal in animacy.

For instance, (7-8) show sentences with a human and a non-human animate object where the subject is unmarked, while (9-10) show sentences with ergative marking and objects of varying animacy. In (9-10), the suffix is optional and could have been left out, but in sentences with non-standard word orders where an animate subject follows an animate object, such as OSV or OVS, ergativity is obligatory, as the first referent in the sentence is by default interpreted as the subject.

(7) *Kwansitu Miker   panwala pe'chinka-pa-l-i*
     John   Michael tapir   cut.up-PROG-NFUT-3
     'John Michael is cutting up the tapir.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:221)

(8) *Kwansitu Eluku   lipu'-tu-l-i*
     John   Eleuterio hit-VAL-NFUT-3
     'John hit Eleuterio.'

(9) *Kwansitu-ler Kusi   se'wa'-l-i*
     John-ERG   Joseph scratch-NFUT-3
     'John scratched Joseph.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:255)

(10) *Kwansitu-ler amana' de'-tu-l-i*

     John-ERG   tiger   kill-VAL-NFUT-3

     'John killed the tiger.'

Several of the Shiwilu case suffixes are used to express location. The language has a locative case *-e'*, which expresses an action happening in a stationary location and can be seen in (11), an ablative case *-lan*, which expresses a motion away from a location and is seen in (12), an allative case *-lupa'*, which expresses a motion towards a location and is shown in (13), and a terminative case *-wale'*, which expresses the goal or end of a motion and is shown in (14). The allative and terminative case have similar uses and, as can be seen in (13-14), can sometimes be used interchangeably while barely affecting the meaning of the sentence.

(11) *Kwansitu pide'-e'   nanpe'-l-i*

     John   house-LOC climb-NFUT-3

     'John climbed onto the house.'

(12) *Kwansitu pide'-lan   nu'wan-l-i*

     John   house-ABL descend-NFUT-3

     'John climbed from the house.'

(13) *kwa de'kun-t-ert-e' mutupi-lupa'*

     1   path-VAL-FUT-1 mountain-ALL

     'I will walk to the mountain.'

(14) *kwa de'kun-t-ert-e' mutupi-wale'*

     1   path-VAL-FUT-1 mountain-TERM

     'I will walk until the mountain.'

Aside from the general locative case, the language also has several more specific cases referring to stationary locations. These are the inessive case, shown in (15-16), which specifies a location of something inside something else, the apudessive case, shown in (17-18), which specifies a location of something next to something else, and the intrative case, shown in (19-20), which specifies a location of something between or amongst some things.

(15) *Malalina   mi-tu-l-i-un   takun menmi-da'*

     Magdalene seize-VAL-NFUT-3-1 sapote field-INE

     'Magdalene seized me sapote from the field.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:68)

(16) *Kwansitu pide'-da' ni-apa-l-i*

John   house-INE exist-PROG-NFUT-3

'John is inside the house.'

(17) *enmu'pinen du'-apa-l-i   pen-te'*

man   sit-PROG-NFUT-3 fire-APUD

'The man is sitting next to the fire.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:282)

(18) *Kwansitu pide'-te'   ni-apa-l-i*

John   house-APUD exist-PROG-NFUT-3

'John is next to the house.'

(19) *nana wila-lusa' nawa'-tuchin ni-apa-l-i-na'*

3   child-PL   3PL-ITRT   exist-PROG-NFUT-3-PL

'The children are among themselves.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:199)

(20) *Kwansitu enmu'pinen-lusa'-tuchin ni-apa-l-i*

John   man-PL-ITRT   exist-PROG-NFUT-3

'John is among the men.'

Finally, the language has three other cases, namely the genitive *-kin*, which can be seen in (21-22), the comitative *-le'*, which is shown in (23-24), and the causal *-male'*, shown in (25-26). The genitive can be used to express possession, the comitative is used to express accompaniment or togetherness and the causal expresses the cause or reason for something. Like the ergative case marker, the genitive is also optional, as it can be omitted when the relationship between the possessor and the possessed noun is clear from, for instance, possessive person marking, which will be discussed below. In (21-22) below, one can see that the possessed noun lacks possessive person marking.

(21) *asu' widunan Werkinia-kin*

DEM broom   Virginia-GEN

'This broom is Virginia's.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:140)

(22) *nana nini' Iliku-kin   nuka'-a*

3   dog Elias-GEN be-3

'It is Elias's dog.'

13

(23) *Manier Idu-le'   idenma-l-i*

    Manuel Edward-COM fight-NFUT-3

    'Manuel fought with Edward.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:101)

(24) *kwa sada-we'-le' deliu'te'-lu'-lupa' pa'-l-e'*

    1   wife-1-COM   sand-CL.SOIL-ALL   go-NFUT-1

    'I went to the beach with my wife.'

(25) *kwa sake'-l-e'   Pulu-male'*

    1   be.happy-NFUT-1 Paul-CAUS

    'I am happy because of Paul.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:182)

(26) *nana anu'-l-i   tanluwa-male'*

    3   fall-NFUT-3 wind-CAUS

    'He fell because of the wind.'

Possessives

Aside from dependent marking, Shiwilu also displays head marking in possessive constructions. This means that the possessed noun receives a person marker to indicate whom it is possessed by (Krasnoukhova, 2011:88). The suffixes used to mark the possessed noun in Shiwilu are shown in Table 4. As can be seen here, Shiwilu has a four-way person distinction. This means that, aside from a first, second and third person, the language also has a first person inclusive, which also includes the hearer (Greenberg, 1988:1). The first person singular inclusive, which refers to both the speaker and the hearer but not to any other people, is arguably rather a dual form when looking at its semantics, but it is syntactically singular. As one can see as well and as will also be seen later on, Shiwilu uses the person-specific pluralizing morphemes *-de'*, *-wa'*, *-ma'* and *-na'*.

Table 4: possessive suffixes of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pide'we'*	*pide'wide'*
1 inclusive	*pide'mapu'*	*pide'mapu'wa'*
2	*pide'pen*	*pide'penma'*
3	*pide'nen*	*pide'nenna'*

14

As becomes evident from the above, Shiwilu has the ability to mark either the possessor or the possessed noun in possessive constructions. It is also possible to mark them both, but as this is somewhat redundant, it is not very common, although this is a feature of many Andean languages, including Quechua. This results in three ways to mark possessive constructions in Shiwilu, namely one where only the possessed noun is marked, shown in (27), one where only the possessor is marked, shown in (28), and one where both are marked, shown in (29).

(27) *kwa suda-we'*

    1   husband-1

    'my husband' (Valenzuela, 2015:27)

(28) *kwa-kin suda*

    1-GEN   husband

    'my husband' (Valenzuela, 2015:27)

(29) *kwa-kin suda-we'*

    1-GEN   husband-1

    'my husband' (Valenzuela, 2015:27)

The first of these three constructions is the most commonly used way to form possessives. It is possible that the third way was borrowed from Quechua, as Quechuan languages, being Andean languages, are known to display both head and dependent marking in possessive constructions (Valenzuela, 2015:29). This can be seen in the examples from various Quechuan varieties shown in (30-32) below. The example in (30) is from San Martín Quechua, (31) is from Huallaga Quechua and (32) is from Southern Quechua.

(30) *Juan-pa wallpa-n*

    John-GEN hen-3

    'John's hen' (Coombs, Coombs, & Weber, 1976:92)

(31) *Juan-pa wasi-n*

    John-GEN house-3

    'John's house' (Weber, 1989:254)

(32) *Luis-pa wasi-n*

    Louis-GEN house-3

    'Louis's house' (Cerrón-Palomino, 1994:90)

It should be noted that only the first and third constructions were attested in the corpus used here. The first construction as found in the corpus is shown in (33) and the third construction is shown in (34). When asked about the corresponding second construction, *Kishukin pide'*, one informant said that this construction was unclear and that it would translate simply as 'Jesus house', which might indicate that Shiwilu possessive constructions need to have head marking for the constructions as a whole to be interpreted as a possessive construction and that the construction shown in (28) is invalid.

(33) *Kishu pide'-nen*
     Jesus house-3
     'Jesus's house'

(34) *Kishu-kin pide'-nen*
     Jesus-GEN house-3
     'Jesus's house'

Pronouns

The same person distinction seen in possessive markers is also seen in personal pronouns. Table 5 shows the pronouns of Shiwilu. Again, the person-specific pluralizing suffixes can be seen, but only in the first person inclusive and the second person. The third person pronoun *nana* is also used as a distal demonstrative, whereas *asu'* is the proximal demonstrative. It is quite common for third person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns to be similar or identical, as the latter are diachronically the most common source for the former to grammaticalize from (Heine & Song, 2011:595). Although languages can coalesce third person pronouns with proximal, medial or distal demonstratives, they most commonly do so with the distal forms (Claassen, 2018:13). Shiwilu also has two interrogative pronouns, *den* for animate and *ma'* for inanimate referents.

Table 5: personal pronouns of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*kwa*	*kuda*
1 inclusive	*kenmu'*	*kenmu'wa'*
2	*kenma*	*kenmama'*
3	*nana*	*nawa'*

Verbs

Once more, the same person distinction seen in possessives and pronouns can also be seen in verb conjugations, which encode both the subject and the object of a sentence on the verb. Other than person and number, verbs in Shiwilu are also conjugated for tense, mood, aspect and voice. In the following, all of these grammatical categories and their respective morphological forms will be discussed.

Tenses

Shiwilu has a future/nonfuture tense system. The nonfuture tense is marked with the suffix *-l* and is interpreted as past tense by default, unless one can deduce from context that it should be interpreted as present tense. If one wants to explicitly convey a present meaning, the progressive suffix *-apa* can be used. The non-future tense is variably analyzed as a tense or as a factual mood. Semantically, it has the characteristics of a tense, but morphologically, it behaves in a manner similar to the various moods of Shiwilu. Table 6 shows the intransitive nonfuture/factual verb forms of the language used on the verb *pa'-* 'go', whereas Table 7 shows the transitive nonfuture verb forms used on the verb *ma'-* 'grab'. Note that verb forms with a third person object are not included in this table, as third person objects are not marked in Shiwilu.

Table 6: intransitive nonfuture verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'le'*	*pa'lide'*
1 inclusive	*pa'le'*	*pa'le'wa'*
2	*pa'la*	*pa'lama'*
3	*pa'li*	*pa'lina'*

Table 7: transitive nonfuture verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'len*	*ma'liden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'lun*	*ma'lamau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'liun*	*ma'linerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'linmu'*	*ma'linerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'lin*	*ma'linerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'lenma'*	*ma'lidenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'lunde'*	*ma'lamau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'liunde'*	*ma'linerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'linmu'wa'*	*ma'linerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'linma'*	*ma'linerkenma'*

The future tense in Shiwilu is marked with the suffix *-ert* in all persons except for the first person inclusive, where it is marked with the suffix *-at*. The person markers of the future tense are slightly comparable to the person markers of the nonfuture tense but also different in certain ways. Similarly to the nonfuture tense, the future tense can also be analyzed as a predictive mood based on its morphological properties. Again, the intransitive future/predictive verb forms are shown in Table 8 and the transitive verb forms are shown in Table 9.

Table 8: intransitive future verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'erte'*	*pa'ertide'*
1 inclusive	*pa'ater*	*pa'aterwa'*
2	*pa'ertu*	*pa'ertuma'*
3	*pa'ertun*	*pa'ertuna'*

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'erken*	*ma'ertiden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ertunku*	*ma'ertumau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ertunku*	*ma'ertunerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'ertunmu'*	*ma'ertunerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'erten*	*ma'ertunerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'erkenma'*	*ma'ertidenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ertunkude'*	*ma'ertumau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ertunkude'*	*ma'ertunerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'ertunmu'wa'*	*ma'ertunerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'ertenma'*	*ma'ertunerkenma'*

Moods and participle

The future/nonfuture tense distinction found in Shiwilu, if analyzed as a tense distinction rather than a mood distinction, only occurs in the indicative mood. The language also has a handful of irrealis moods with separate conjugations, which will be discussed in the following, namely the conditional, subjunctive, optative, hypothetical, obligative, simultaneous, sequential and imperative moods, as well as a participle (McShane, Nirenburg, & Zacharski, 2004:17). While the language has a separate prohibitive mood to express negative imperatives, it does not have a separate negative mood to negate indicative sentences, as will be seen later. These various moods can all be found in the corpus used here, as well as in previous literature (Bendor-Samuel, 1958:112).

First of all, the language has a conditional mood. According to Bendor-Samuel (1958:112), this mood is marked with the suffix *-nans* for all persons except for the third person singular, where it is marked with the suffix *-s*. Alternatively, one could analyze the *-nan* as a separate morpheme and analyze the *-s* after it and the following vowel, analyzed here as part of the person marker, as one single morpheme. This could explain why the *-nan* is missing in the third person singular and the *-s* is missing in the third person plural. This analysis is based on the fact that this *-s* is very

19

similar to the simultaneous marker -*se* in Shawi, which can additionally change its vowel based on the person marker that it is followed by (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:85).

The conditional is used to describe a situation or event that has not happened yet and could only happen if a certain condition has been fulfilled. This condition will appear in the subjunctive mood. An example of a sentence with the subjunctive and conditional moods can be seen in (35) below. More examples will be shown in the chapter on syntax. The intransitive conditional verb forms are shown in Table 10 and the transitive forms in Table 11.

(35) *kwa te'ka'-at-eku anu'-nans-eku*

  1   run-SBJV-1   fall-COND-1

  'If I ran, I would fall.'

Table 10: intransitive conditional verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'nanseku*	*pa'nansekude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'nansu'*	*pa'nansu'wa'*
2	*pa'nansin*	*pa'nansinma'*
3	*pa'su'*	*pa'nanta'ser*

Table 11: transitive conditional verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'nansekun*	*ma'nansekuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'nansinku*	*ma'nansinmau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'nansinku*	*ma'nanta'serku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'nansinmu'*	*ma'nanta'serkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'nansikin*	*ma'nanta'serken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'nansekunma'*	*ma'nansekudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'nansinkude'*	*ma'nansinmau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'nansinkude'*	*ma'nanta'serkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'nansinmu'wa'*	*ma'nanta'serkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'nansikinma'*	*ma'nanta'serkenma'*

As was stated before, the Shiwilu language has a subjunctive mood as well. The subjunctive mood is sometimes considered to be a vaguely defined mood. Cross-linguistically, it is known for its use in clauses, mainly subordinate ones, that express a general state of unreality, such as possibilities, judgments, opinions, emotions or situations that have not yet taken place (Givón, 1994:277).

As can be seen above, the subjunctive in Shiwilu is used most prominently in conditional constructions to convey the meaning of the condition. In Shiwilu, the subjunctive is marked with the suffix -at, according to Bendor-Samuel (1958:112). Once again, one could alternatively analyze the suffix as consisting of the -t followed by the following vowel, analyzed previously as the first vowel of the person marker. Again, this analysis stems from the fact that this marker is very similar to the imperative marker -te found in Shawi, which also doubles as a subjunctive marker in some contexts and, once again, changes its vowel according to the person marker that follows it (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:79). The intransitive subjunctive verb forms can be seen in Table 12 and the transitive forms in Table 13.

Table 12: intransitive subjunctive verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'ateku*	*pa'atekude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'ate'*	*pa'ate'wa'*
2	*pa'achin*	*pa'achinma'*
3	*pa'achi*	*pa'achina'*

Table 13: transitive subjunctive verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'atekun*	*ma'atekuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'achunku*	*ma'achumau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'achunku*	*ma'achinerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'achunmu'*	*ma'achinerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'achin*	*ma'achinerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'atekunma'*	*ma'atekudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'achunkude'*	*ma'achumau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'achunkude'*	*ma'achinerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'achunmu'wa'*	*ma'achinerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'achinma'*	*ma'achinerkenma'*

Shiwilu also has an optative mood, which is used to express wishes and desires and can be translated to English using 'if only' or the verb 'may'. It is distinct from the desiderative, which will be discussed later on, in several ways. First of all, the desiderative indicates a wish by the referent of the subject of the sentence, whereas the optative always indicates a wish by the speaker uttering the sentence (Dobrushina, van der Auwera, & Goussev, 2005:300).

Additionally, the desiderative implies an intention to carry out the desired action in the near future, while the optative emphasizes the unreality of the desired situation (Meinunger, 2017:619). The optative is marked with the suffix *-ina'* in Shiwilu. An example of a sentence with an optative can be found in (36). The intransitive optative verb forms are shown in Table 14 and the transitive optative verb forms in Table 15.

(36) *enmu'pinen te'ka'-ina'-a*
man   run-OPT-3
'May the man run.'

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'ina'ka*	*pa'ina'kude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'ina'ka*	*pa'ina'kawa'*
2	*pa'ina'ma*	*pa'ina'mama'*
3	*pa'ina'a*	*pa'inerka*

Table 15: transitive optative verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'ina'n*	*ma'ina'kuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ina'mu*	*ma'ina'mamau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ina'ku*	*ma'inerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'ina'nmu'*	*ma'inerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'ina'n*	*ma'inerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'ina'nma'*	*ma'ina'kudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ina'mude'*	*ma'ina'mamau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ina'kude'*	*ma'inerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'ina'nmu'wa'*	*ma'inerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'ina'nma'*	*ma'inerkenma'*

Additionally, the language has a hypothetical mood. This mood is used to express situations that did not happen or have not happened yet, but could have easily happened or could possibly happen under similar circumstances in the future, or to express situations where somebody would have performed a certain action but ended up not doing so for some reason. Similar to the indicative mood, sentences in this mood, unless explicitly specified otherwise, appear to be interpreted as referring to past events. The hypothetical is marked with *-a'* in Shiwilu and, as can be seen, has the same person marking suffixes as the optative mood. A hypothetical sentence is shown in (37), the intransitive hypothetical verb forms can be seen in Table 16 and the transitive forms in Table 17.

(37) *enmu'pinen te'ka'-a'-a*

man   run-HYP-3

'The man could have run.'

Table 16: intransitive hypothetical verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'a'ka*	*pa'a'kude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'a'ka*	*pa'a'kawa'*
2	*pa'a'ma*	*pa'a'mama'*
3	*pa'a'a*	*pa'erka*

Table 17: transitive hypothetical verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'a'n*	*ma'a'kuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'mu*	*ma'a'mamau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'ku*	*ma'erku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'a'nmu'*	*ma'erkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'a'n*	*ma'erken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'a'nma'*	*ma'a'kudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'mude'*	*ma'a'mamau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'kude'*	*ma'erkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'a'nmu'wa'*	*ma'erkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'a'nma'*	*ma'erkenma'*

Next, the language also has an obligative mood. This mood is used to express situations that represent reality as it is supposed to be according to the speaker, referring to behavior that the speaker desires of people in the future in relation to their undesired behavior from the past. Like the indicative and hypothetical moods, this mood is also often interpreted as referring to hypothetical past situations. In Shiwilu, the suffix *-pi'na'* is used to mark the obligative. An example of an obligative is shown in (38), the intransitive obligative verb forms are shown in Table 18 and the transitive forms in Table 19. More examples of obligative sentences can be found below that, in (39-41).

(38) *enmu'pinen te'ka'-pi'na'*

     man   run-OBL

     'The man should have run.'

Table 18: intransitive obligative verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'pi'na'*	*pa'pi'na'kude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'pi'na'*	*pa'pi'na'wa'*
2	*pa'pi'na'ma*	*pa'pi'na'mama'*
3	*pa'pi'na'*	*pa'pi'nerke'*

Table 19: transitive obligative verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'pi'na'ken*	*ma'pi'na'kuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pi'na'ku*	*ma'pi'na'mamau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pi'na'ku*	*ma'pi'nerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'pi'na'kenmu'*	*ma'pi'nerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'pi'na'ken*	*ma'pi'nerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'pi'na'kenma'*	*ma'pi'na'kudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pi'na'kude'*	*ma'pi'na'mamau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pi'na'kude'*	*ma'pi'nerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'pi'na'kenmu'wa'*	*ma'pi'nerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'pi'na'kenma'*	*ma'pi'nerkenma'*

(39) *kenma nana-le' pa'-pi'na'-ma*

     2   3-COM   go-OBL-2

     'You should have gone with him.'

(40) *kuda   lawe'-pi'na'-ku-de-n*

     1PL.EXCL listen-OBL-1-PL-2

     'We should have listened to you.'

(41) *nawa' li'-pi'n-erke-n-ma'*

     3PL   see-OBL-3PL-2-PL

     'They should have seen you.'

The simultaneous and sequential in Shiwilu behave morphologically as moods, but are rather subordinating strategies. Their syntax will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter. The morphology of both forms looks similar to the conditional mood, which might mean that all three are etymologically related to each other and that each contains the -*s* also attested in Shawi. The simultaneous describes an event that occurs at the same time as some other event. The intransitive simultaneous verb forms can be seen in Table 20 and the transitive forms in Table 21. The sequential, on the contrary, describes an event that occurs before some other event. The intransitive simultaneous verb forms are shown in Table 22 and the transitive forms in Table 23.

Table 20: intransitive simultaneous verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'a'seku*	*pa'a'sekude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'a'si'*	*pa'a'si'wa'*
2	*pa'a'sin*	*pa'a'sinma'*
3	*pa'si'*	*pa'a'ser*

Table 21: transitive simultaneous verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'a'sekun*	*ma'a'sekuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'sinku*	*ma'a'sinmau'ku*
singular object	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'sinku*	*ma'a'serku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'a'sinmu'*	*ma'a'serkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'a'sikin*	*ma'a'serken*
	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'a'sekunma'*	*ma'a'sekudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'sinkude'*	*ma'a'sinmau'kude'*
plural object	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'a'sinkude'*	*ma'a'serkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'a'sinmu'wa'*	*ma'a'serkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'a'sikinma'*	*ma'a'serkenma'*

Table 22: intransitive sequential verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'seku*	*pa'sekude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'si'*	*pa'si'wa'*
2	*pa'sin*	*pa'sinma'*
3	*pa'su'*	*pa'a'ser*

Table 23: transitive sequential verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'sekun*	*ma'sekuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'sinku*	*ma'sinmau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'sinku*	*ma'a'serku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'sinmu'*	*ma'a'serkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'sikin*	*ma'a'serken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'sekunma'*	*ma'sekudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'sinkude'*	*ma'sinmau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'sinkude'*	*ma'a'serkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'sinmu'wa'*	*ma'a'serkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'sikinma'*	*ma'a'serkenma'*

Finally, the language has an imperative mood and a corresponding prohibitive mood, used when commanding or forbidding another person to do something, respectively. Cross-linguistically, imperatives cannot appear in the first person exclusive, which makes sense from a semantic perspective (Dobrushina & Goussev, 2005:181). This is also the case for the imperative in Shiwilu. Additionally, the prohibitive does not appear in the first person inclusive either.

Neither moods have a clear mood marker, although the *-k* in the second person imperative could be considered as such and the word *aner* 'not', although not a mood suffix, does signal the prohibitive mood. Below, (42) shows an example of a first person imperative, (43) a second person prohibitive and (44) a third person prohibitive. The intransitive imperative verb forms can be found in Table 24 and the transitive imperative verb forms in Table 25, while the intransitive prohibitive verb forms are shown in Table 26 and the transitive forms in Table 27. More

examples of imperatives and prohibitives with various person combinations are given below, in (45-51).

(42) *pa'-a   ilisha-e'*

go-IMP.1 church-LOC

'Let's go to church!' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:122)

(43) *aner te'ka'-ta*

PROH run-2

'Don't run!'

(44) *aner enmu'pinen te'ka'-pachi*

PROH man   run-3

'Don't let the man run!'

Table 24: intransitive imperative verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 inclusive	*pa'a*	*pa'awa'*
2	*pa'ker'*	*pa'ku'*
3	*pa'i*	*pa'ina'*

Table 25: transitive imperative verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'u*	*ma'uku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'inku*	*ma'inerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'inmu'*	*ma'inerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'in*	*ma'inerken*
plural object	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ude'*	*ma'ukude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'inkude'*	*ma'inerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'inmu'wa'*	*ma'inerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'inma'*	*ma'inerkenma'*

Table 26: intransitive prohibitive verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
2	*pa'ta*	*pa'tama'*
3	*pa'pachi*	*pa'pachina'*

Table 27: transitive prohibitive verb forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'tun*	*ma'tamu'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pachinku*	*ma'pachinerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'pachinmu'*	*ma'pachinerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'pachiken*	*ma'pachinerken*
plural object	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'tunde'*	*ma'tamu'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'pachinkude'*	*ma'pachinerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'pachinmu'wa'*	*ma'pachinerkenmu'de'*
	3 › 2	*ma'pachikenma'*	*ma'pachinerkenma'*

(45) *nanpi-k-u'*

wake.up-IMP-2PL

'Wake up!'

(46) *menmi-lupa' de'kun-t-i-na'*

field-ALL   path-VAL-IMP.3-PL

'Let them walk to the field!'

(47) *musha'-i-n*

kiss-IMP.3-2

'Let him kiss you!'

(48) *katu'pa'-u-k-u-de'*

help-2PL-IMP-1-PL

'Help us!'

(49) *aner anu'-ta-ma'*

PROH fall-2-PL

'Don't fall!'

(50) *aner musha'-t-un*

PROH kiss-2-1

'Don't kiss me!'

(51) *aner   tu'ten-pachi-ken-ma'*

   PROH kick-3-2-PL

   'Don't let him kick you!'

Aside from all of these tenses and moods, Shiwilu also has a participle. This is a distinct verb form with some nominal properties. In Shiwilu, participles are used adverbially or attributively and essentially function as a subordinating strategy. As such, their syntax will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapter. The intransitive participle forms are shown in Table 28 and the transitive forms in Table 29.

Table 28: intransitive participle forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*pa'amu*	*pa'amude'*
1 inclusive	*pa'a'*	*pa'a'wa'*
2	*pa'an*	*pa'anma'*
3	*pa'an*	*pa'anna'*

Table 29: transitive participle forms of the Shiwilu language

number	person	singular subject	plural subject
singular object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'amun*	*ma'amuden*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'anku*	*ma'anmau'ku*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'aminku*	*ma'aminerku*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'aminmu'*	*ma'aminerkenmu'*
	3 › 2	*ma'amin*	*ma'aminerken*
plural object	1 exclusive › 2	*ma'amunma'*	*ma'amudenma'*
	2 › 1 exclusive	*ma'ankude'*	*ma'anmau'kude'*
	3 › 1 exclusive	*ma'aminkude'*	*ma'aminerkude'*
	3 › 1 inclusive	*ma'aminmu'wa'*	*ma'aminerkenmu'wa'*
	3 › 2	*ma'aminma'*	*ma'aminerkenma'*

Negative and copula

Sentences in all moods except for the imperative can be negated in Shiwilu using the suffix *-i'n*. When the verb is marked with this suffix, the sentence will be immediately interpreted as negative and the language does not have a word for 'not', like in the prohibitive mood. Whenever a negative pronoun or adverb is used, negation on the verb is still obligatory, resulting in double negation, as can be seen in (52) below.

(52) *nana enpi'pu' te'ka'-p-i'n-l-i*

　　　3　　　never　　run-PROG-NEG-NFUT-3

　　　'He never runs.'

Finally, the language has one irregular verb, namely *nuka'-*, the copula. As will be seen later, the copula can appear both in the form of a verb and as a morpheme attached to the nonverbal predicate. The conjugation of the copular verb, which is very similar to those of the optative and hypothetical moods, can be seen in Table 30, whereas the copular suffixes, which are very similar to the elements encoding the object of the verb found in person markers on transitive verbs, can be found in Table 31, used on the noun *muda'* 'person'.

Table 30: copular verb forms of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*nuka'ka*	*nuka'kude'*
1 inclusive	*nuka'ka*	*nuka'kawa'*
2	*nuka'ma*	*nuka'mama'*
3	*nuka'a*	*nukerka*

Table 31: copular suffixes of the Shiwilu language

person	singular	plural
1 exclusive	*muda'ku*	*muda'kude'*
1 inclusive	*muda'kenmu'*	*muda'kenmu'wa'*
2	*muda'ken*	*muda'kenma'*
3	*muda'*	*muda'lusa'*

Aspects

Shiwilu has three different aspects that are expressed on the verb, namely a progressive, iterative and frustrative aspect. The progressive suffix *-apa* indicates that an action is going on during a prolonged period of time. It is also used to explicitly mark an utterance as present tense. This can be seen in (53-54), where the actions expressed by the verbs *welie'-* and *wichi'-* happen across a certain period of time.

(53) *sada-we' welie'-apa-l-i*

wife-1   cry-PROG-NFUT-3

'My wife is crying.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:64)

(54) *nini' wichi'-apa-l-i*

dog sleep-PROG-NFUT-3

'The dog is sleeping.'

The iterative suffix *-pile* indicates that an action is carried out several times within a certain time period. This can mean that an action is performed multiple times in a row or within a distinct period of time. This can be seen in (55) below, where the iterative marker indicates the occurrence of several instances of the action expressed by the verb *tuluner'-* within a certain time.

(55) *kenma tuluner'-pile-ert-u*

2   sing-ITER-FUT-2

'You will be singing repeatedly.'

Finally, the frustrative suffix *-win* indicates that the action that was carried out did not succeed, was not effective or did not have the desired or expected outcome. This can be seen in (56), where an attempt was made at the action expressed by the verb *ka'-*, but this attempt did not have the desired result, and in (57), where it seemed as if the action expressed by the verb *anu'-* was about to happen, but it did not happen in the end.

(56) *matutada-ler   Kuliu ka'-win-l-i*

black.caiman-ERG Julius eat-FRUST-NFUT-3

'The black caiman almost ate Julius.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:184)

(57) *nana anu'-win-l-i*

    3   fall-FRUST-NFUT-3

    'He almost fell.'

Voices

While Shiwilu almost exclusively uses suffixes to encode grammatical properties, the language also contains a handful of prefixes. These are used to mark several grammatical voices, which change the valency of the verb and the relation of its arguments to it. The reflexive *in-* removes the object of the sentence and instead causes the subject to simultaneously be the object. For instance, in (58), the subject is performing the action onto another person, whereas in (59-60), the subject is performing the action onto themselves.

(58) *Ipulita wili-nen lienpi-tu-l-i*

    Hipólita child-3   dry.off-VAL-NFUT-3

    'Hipólita dried off her child.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:166)

(59) *kwa in-lienpi-l-e'*

    1   REFL-dry.off-NFUT-1

    'I dried myself off.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:106)

(60) *enmu'pinen in-pamu'-l-i*

    man   REFL-wash-NFUT-3

    'The man washed himself.'

Shiwilu has two different voices where an agent is added (Valenzuela, 2016:520). The causative *a'-* adds an agent that performs an action and turns the original subject into the object of this action. This action brings about the action expressed by the verb, with the original subject as its agent. Compare, for instance, the sentence in (61) to the one in (62). The sociative *e'-* works very similarly to the causative, with the difference that here, the introduced agent performs both the causative action and the action expressed by the verb. Compare (63) to (64-65), for instance.

(61) *nana nerpi'pu' te'ka'-l-i*

    3   sometimes run-NFUT-3

    'He sometimes runs.'

(62) *kenmu'-wa' a'-te'ka'-l-e'-wa' nawa'*

    1.INCL-PL   CAUS-run-NFUT-1-PL 3PL

    'We made them run.'

(63) *kenma lansa'-pa-l-a*

    2   dance-PROG-NFUT-2

    'You are dancing.'

(64) *Kishu-ler e'-lansa'-pa-l-i Pulu*

    Jesus-ERG SOC-dance-PROG-NFUT-3 Paul

    'Jesus is asking Paul to dance.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:156)

(65) *Kwansitu Miker e'-te'ka'-l-i*

    John   Michael SOC-run-NFUT-3

    'John made Michael run with him.'

Desiderative and cognoscitive

The desiderative and cognoscitive of Shiwilu are also expressed by prefixes. Unlike the elements discussed above, they are not voices and might originate from a type of serial verb construction where *ya-* and *ninchi-* have stopped being productive lexical verbs, which has also been hypothesized for the desiderative *ya-* and the cognoscitive *nitu-* found in Shawi (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:89).

To be more precise, these serial verb constructions are a type of verbal compound where the two verbal elements are joined together, form a single predicate and display one set of person and tense markers. These constructions are often considered a distinct type of serial verb construction (Aikhenvald, 2006:319). The desiderative *ya-* describes an action that the subject wants to perform and is shown in (66). The cognoscitive *ninchi-* describes an action that the subject is able to or knows how to perform and can be seen in (67).

(66) *kwa ya-ka'-l-e'*

    1   DESID-eat-NFUT-1

    'I want to eat.'

(67) *nana ker'-nala ninchi-tera-tu-l-i*

    3   cassava-tree COGNOSC-plant-VAL-NFUT-3

    'He knows how to plant cassava plants.'

Syntax

The previous chapters have given some first insights into the syntax of the Shiwilu language. This chapter discusses the syntax of the language more elaborately and in greater detail and focuses specifically on the various types of main and subordinate clauses found in the language. The strategies used to form these different types of sentences will be considered from a typological perspective by discussing cross-linguistic studies on the formation of main and subordinate clauses and comparing the strategies used in Shiwilu to those used in languages around the world.

Simple sentences

In language in general, four types of lexical parts of speech are traditionally distinguished, namely verbs, nouns, adjectives and adpositions, although there have been discussions throughout the years whether adpositions are a lexical or a functional part of speech (Zwarts, 1997:1). Of these four, adjectives and adpositions do not occur universally in languages, some languages favoring stative verbs over the former (Dixon, 2004:1) and others favoring case affixes over the latter (Radkevich, 2010:1), whereas nouns and verbs are generally agreed to be universal, despite some alleged languages that might not distinguish between the two (Jelinek, 1995:177). In most languages, all four of these parts of speech can be used predicatively, which results in verbal, nominal, adjectival and locational predicates (Dryer, 2007:1).

Verbal predicates

In Shiwilu, all four of these word classes and, therefore, all four of these types of predicates occur, which will be discussed one by one in the following. Like in most languages, verbal predicates are the most common type of predicate in Shiwilu. The valency of verbal predicates in the language can range from a minimum of zero core arguments to a maximum of four core arguments, although sentences with four core arguments only occur when a ditransitive sentence is causativized, like in (68).

(68) *Kwansitu Pideru a'-enka'-l-i chuchu-sha Malia'*
  John Peter CAUS-give-NFUT-3 meat-DIM Mary
  'John made Peter give the meat to Mary.'

The valency of a verbal predicate stands in relation to the transitivity of the verb of the predicate. Languages appear to universally distinguish between at least two degrees of transitivity, namely intransitive and transitive verbs, which correspond to predicates with a valency of one and two, respectively (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:2). Both can naturally also be found in Shiwilu. The most basic type of intransitive sentence can be seen in (69-70) and the most basic type of transitive sentence in (71-72).

(69) *Danier chi'ye'-l-i*
    Daniel escape-NFUT-3
    'Daniel escaped.' (Valenzuela, 2011:95)

(70) *Kwansitu te'ka'-l-i*
    John   run-NFUT-3
    'John ran.'

(71) *Ipulitu de'-tu-l-i   Pulu*
    Hipólito kill-VAL-NFUT-3 Paul
    'Hipólito killed Paul.' (Valenzuela, 2011:106)

(72) *Pideru Malia' lipu'-tu-l-i*
    Peter   Mary   hit-VAL-NFUT-3
    'Peter hit Mary.'

Most languages also feature verbal predicates with a valency of zero that do not have any arguments from a semantic perspective, also known as impersonal verbs, which are most prominently used to describe weather conditions. In many languages, however, all verbs, including impersonal verbs, are required to have at least one syntactic argument, resulting in the use of dummy subjects, whereas in many other languages, it is instead impossible for impersonal verbs to have an overt syntactic argument (Bauer, 2000:103). An example of an impersonal sentence in Shiwilu is shown in (73) below. As it would be ungrammatical to add an overt argument, such as *nana*, to this sentence, one can conclude that Shiwilu belongs to the latter category mentioned above.

(73) *u'lan-l-i*
    rain-NFUT-3
    'It rained.'

Aside from basic intransitive and transitive verbs, most languages distinguish additional subtypes of verbs (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:3). One additional type of verb that a great number of languages distinguish are ditransitive verbs, which are transitive verbs with a valency of three arguments where a recipient is added. The verb 'give' is the most prototypical ditransitive verb. In a few languages, it is also possible to add this recipient to intransitive sentences (Dixon, 1994:123). An example of such a language is Trumai (Guirardello, 1992:135). In Shiwilu, however, this is not possible.

Languages can have several strategies to mark this third argument. They can have a separate dative case for it or coalesce it with the marking of the direct object, oblique arguments or both. In Shiwilu, the indirect object is coalesced with the direct object, as both receive absolute zero marking, while oblique arguments are marked with oblique cases or postpositions. An example of a ditransitive sentence is shown in (74) below.

(74) *Pideru chuchu-sha enka'-l-i   Malia'*
     Peter   meat-DIM   give-NFUT-3 Mary
     'Peter gave the meat to Mary.'

Languages can have various subtypes of both intransitive and transitive sentences that they mark in a different way morphosyntactically. As for intransitive sentences, languages can use different cases for the arguments of different verbs or for arguments in different semantic roles (Dixon, 1994:70). In Shiwilu, this is not possible, as it has been proven to be impossible to mark intransitive subjects with the ergative marker *-ler* (Valenzuela, 2011:109).

Aside from sentences that are distinctly intransitive or transitive, many languages have verbs that can be used both intransitively and transitively, also known as ambitransitive verbs (Fordyce-Ruff, 2015:54). Languages can have agentive, patientive and reflexive ambitransitive verbs (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:5). Agentive ambitransitive verbs are verbs like 'eat' and 'see', where the subject of the intransitive variant has the same semantic role as the subject of the transitive variant. Patientive ambitransitive verbs are verbs like 'break' and 'boil', where the subject of the intransitive variant has the same semantic role as the object of the transitive variant. Finally, reflexive ambitransitive verbs are verbs like 'shave', where the role of both the transitive subject and object is incorporated in the intransitive sentence, which receives a reflexive reading.

Agentive ambitransitive verbs, first of all, can be found in Shiwilu. In some languages with ambitransitive verbs, a suffix is used to indicate the transitivity of the verb. Fijian, for instance, uses the suffixes *-ta* and *-ca* to indicate that the transitive variant of the verb is meant (Dixon, 1988:45). Shiwilu also has a suffix like this, namely *-tu*, but it varies per verb whether the suffix transitivizes or detransitivizes the verb.

A similar system can be found in a handful of other languages. Among these are Shiwilu's sister language, Shawi, which has the suffix *-te*, a cognate of the suffix found in Shiwilu that is used in the same way (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:105), and some Salishan languages such as Bella Coola, which uses *-m* to transitivize or detransitivize verbs (Beck, 2000:218). As can be seen in (75-76), the verb *de'-* 'kill' is intransitive by default in Shiwilu. In (77), the verb has been transitivized. On the contrary, in (78-79), one can see that the verbs *li'-* 'see' and *tu'ten-* 'kick' are transitive when unmarked. In (80-81), the verbs have been intransitivized.

(75) *Ipulitu   Pulu-le'   de'-i'n-l-i*
     Hipólito Paul-COM kill-NEG-NFUT-3
     'Hipólito and Paul didn't kill.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:82)

(76) *kenma nerpi'pu'   de'-l-a*
     2   sometimes kill-NFUT-2
     'You sometimes kill.'

(77) *Pideru de'-tu-l-i-n*
     Peter   kill-VAL-NFUT-3-2
     'Peter killed you.'

(78) *Lianshi-ler   li'-l-i   Eriki*
     Frances-ERG see-NFUT-3 Henry
     'Frances saw Henry.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:163)

(79) *Kulia tu'ten-l-i-un*
     Julia   kick-NFUT-3-1
     'Julia kicked me.'

(80) *Winianchu dapinante' a'pinta' li'-t-ap-i'n-l-i*
     Fernando   blind   more   see-VAL-PROG-NEG-NFUT-3
     'Fernando is blind and doesn't see anymore.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:76)

(81) *Kulia enpi'pu' tu'ten-t-i'n-l-i*

    Julia   never   kick-VAL-NEG-NFUT-3

    'Julia never kicks.'

Shiwilu does not appear to have patientive ambitransitive verbs. For what would be verbs of this type in other languages, Shiwilu only has an intransitive variant, which can be causativized by means of the suffix *a'-* in order to make them transitive. Two intransitive verbs of this type can be seen in (82-83) below. In (84-85), these verbs have been causativized. Note that one instance of a patientive ambitransitive verb does seem to occur in Shiwilu, as the verb *li'-*, when intransitivized, can also be taken to mean 'appear', as can be seen in (86-87) below.

(82) *chiter late'-lusa' u'luka'-pa-l-i*

    corn   kernel-PL   boil-PROG-NFUT-3

    'The corn kernels are boiling.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:158)

(83) *shunpula-lusa' weran-pa-l-i-na'*

    bird-PL   feed-PROG-NFUT-3-PL

    'The birds are feeding.'

(84) *a'-u'luka'-l-i-de'   ker'   u'ta-e'*

    CAUS-boil-NFUT-1-PL cassava pot-LOC

    'We boiled the cassava in the pot.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:207)

(85) *awa   wili-nen a'-weran-l-i*

    mother child-3   CAUS-feed-NFUT-3

    'The mother fed her child.'

(86) *tandula-lusa' de'pili' li'-tu-l-i-na'*

    star-PL   at.night see-VAL-NFUT-3-PL

    'The stars appear at night.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:277)

(87) *wa'dan li'-tu-l-i*

    spirit   see-VAL-NFUT-3

    'The spirit appeared.'

Shiwilu also does not have reflexive ambitransitive clauses. Verbs that would be reflexive ambitransitive verbs in other languages do not have an intransitive variant with a reflexive interpretation in Shiwilu. Instead, only the transitive variant of the verb occurs in the language,

which can be made into a reflexive construction in order to give it a reflexive interpretation. This can be seen in (88), which features the transitive verb *de'tunamuute'-* 'shave', and (89), where this transitive verb has been made into a reflexive construction.

(88) *nana yuyu' wili-nen de'tun-amuute'-l-i*

    3   man   child-3 scissors-beard-NFUT-3

    'The man shaved his child.'

(89) *nana yuyu' in-de'tun-amuute'-l-i*

    3   man   REFL-scissors-beard-NFUT-3

    'The man shaved.'

Nominal predicates

As was stated before, sentences with nonverbal predicates also occur in Shiwilu. These can be divided into nominal predicates, with a noun phrase as the predicate, adjectival predicates, with an adjective phrase as the predicate, and locational predicates, with an adpositional phrase or oblique argument as the predicate. Cross-linguistically, various strategies can be used to form sentences with nonverbal predicates. Additionally, within a language, different strategies can be used in different contexts or for different types of nonverbal predicates (Dryer, 2007:1).

The numerous strategies used in languages to form sentences with nonverbal predicates can be grouped together into a few categories. Many languages use a copula to form nonverbal predicates, but there are also languages that have a zero copula, which means that they do not use any type of copula whatsoever and simply juxtapose the argument and the nonverbal predicate, such as Murinypata (Walsh, 1976:274). There are many different types of copulas. Copulas can either occur as separate words or as affixes. If they occur as separate words, they can behave like verbs and display the same conjugation patterns or they can be nonverbal.

If a language uses a verb as a copula, this can be a distinct verb, such as the verb *ka-* used in Huallaga Quechua (Weber, 1989:18), or it can be identical in form to another verb in the language, such as the verb *mirra* used in Wambaya, which also means 'sit' (Nordlinger, 1998:177). In languages with a nonverbal copula, this copula is quite often a pronoun or a grammaticalized form of a pronoun of some sorts, but this is by far not always the case. Compare the copula *ε* in Nuer, which is derived from the third person pronominal clitic of the language, to

the copula *ni* in Swahili, which is not related at all to the pronouns of the language (Dryer, 2007:2).

If a language has copular suffixes, it can simply be one single suffix used as a copula in all contexts, like *-ʔè* in Eastern Pomo (McLendon, 1975:176). The copula can also be a verbalizer, which then prompts verbal inflection, like *-me* in Ngalakan (Merlan, 1983:33), or a language can simply add verbal inflection directly to the predicate as if it were a verb, like in Lango (Noonan, 1992:145), either using the exact same declension as verbs or using a special set of suffixes specifically for nonverbal predicates. Languages can also use various combinations of these possibilities, such as Muruwari, which can use either a copular verb or a copular suffix (Oates, 1988:193).

As was seen already in the chapter on verbal morphology, Shiwilu also has multiple possibilities to form nonverbal predicates. In fact, Shiwilu has a very similar system to Muruwari and has both a copular verb and copular suffixes. A notable difference between the two languages is that the copular suffix in Muruwari functions as a verbalizer, which causes the nonverbal predicate to inflect like a verb, whereas the copular suffixes in Shiwilu are person-specific themselves.

The system found in Shiwilu is also very similar to the system found in Shawi, which can also use both a verb or suffixes to form copula constructions. In Shawi, there is an even tighter connection of the copular suffixes and object markers, to the point where they are identical and can be analyzed as being the same set of suffixes, which would mean that Shawi has a special type of active-stative alignment in its person markers (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:130). Although the forms of the copular suffixes in Shiwilu are not exactly the same as those of the object markers, which vary per mood and occasionally fuse with the subject markers in certain ways to form single suffixes, both sets of suffixes do display striking similarities, which hints at a similar active-stative alignment as the one found in Shawi.

In (90), the copular verb of Muruwari, *yi-*, can be seen, whereas (91) shows the use of its copular suffix *-ma*. The copular verb of Shiwilu, *nuka'-*, is shown in (92) and one of its copular suffixes in (93), both with a nominal predicate. As one can see in (94), it looks like Shiwilu uses juxtaposition, just like Murinypata, in the third person. It is probably more accurate, however, to analyze these nonverbal predicates as having a null morpheme.

(90) *marnta yi-n-ta-yu*

    cold   be-REAL-PST-1

    'I am cold.' (Oates, 1988:193)

(91) *marnta-ma-yu*

    cold-COP-1

    'I am cold.' (Oates, 1988:193)

(92) *kwa enmu'pinen nuka'-ka*

    1   man   be-1

    'I am a man.'

(93) *kwa enmu'pinen-ku*

    1   man-1

    'I am a man.'

(94) *Kwansitu enmu'pinen*

    John   man

    'John is a man.'

In some languages that alternate between using and not using a copular verb, this alternation is grammatically conditioned. For instance, in Sanuma, the copula *ku-* is only used in the past and future tenses and is omitted in the present tense (Borgman, 1990:20) and in Evenki, the copula *bi-* is only mandatory in the first and second persons and can be omitted in the third person (Nedjalkov, 1997:61). The alternation is not always necessarily conditioned, such as in Tamang, where both the copula *mú-* and the zero copula can occur in all contexts (Mazaudon, 1976:9).

Cross-linguistically, if the occurrence of the copula is conditioned by tense or person, it is usually the present tense or the third person that features a zero copula, respectively, and the attested alternation is usually between the occurrence and absence of a copula. Shiwilu does not alternate between an overt copula and a zero copula, instead alternating between a copular verb and copular suffixes, as was just seen above, and this split is not conditioned by any grammatical feature, just like in Tamang.

There are languages that grammatically distinguish equational constructions from nominal predicates (Adger & Ramchand, 2003:328). In these languages, the copula is usually only reserved for equational constructions, whereas actual nominal predicates receive a zero copula,

like in Kusaiean (Lee, 1975:302) or Mandarin (Rojas-Berscia, 2012:86), or a copular suffix, like in West Greenlandic (Fortescue, 1984:70). In Cebuano, the predicate in an equational construction receives marking specific to noun phrases, whereas actual nominal predicates only feature a bare noun, which makes them more similar to a verb phrase (Dryer, 2007:9). In all of the languages described above, equational constructions show more similarities to noun phrases and less to verb phrases, whereas actual nominal predicates instead show more verb-like features.

There are also languages that do not have distinct equational constructions, such as Kutenai, which uses the copula *ṅin-* for both (Dryer, 2007:9). Shiwilu is also a language that does not make this distinction. This can be seen in (95), which shows an equational construction with the copular verb, in (96), which shows an equational construction with a copular suffix, and (97), which shows a juxtaposed equational construction with a copular null morpheme.

(95) *kupiwan-i'na chiper-lu'   ashi-nen nuka'-a*

boa-FOC   swamp-CL.SOIL mother-3 be-3

'The boa is the mother of the swamp.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:66)

(96) *kwa tata-pen-ku*

1   father-2-1

'I am your father.'

(97) *tata-we' iyi-nen   aperta-we'*

father-1 brother-3 paternal.uncle-1

'My father's brother is my paternal uncle.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:56)

Adjectival predicates

The examples of Shiwilu nonverbal predicates presented so far have only featured nominal predicates. As for adjectival predicates, there are many languages that form these in the same way as they form nominal predicates, such as Gude, which puts both nominal and adjectival predicates in sentence-initial position without any marking (Hoskison, 1983:70), or Malayalam, which uses the copular verb *aaṇə* for both, with the additional rule for adjectives that they must be nominalized using a gender marker (Asher & Kumari, 1997:96).

There are also languages where adjectival predicates are formed differently. First of all, languages can alternate between using and not using a copula for these different types of

predicates. In most of these languages, the copula is more frequently or obligatorily used with nominal predicates and less frequently or not at all used with adjectival predicates, but there are also languages with the opposite situation, such as Korowai (van Enk & de Vries, 1997:103). Additionally, there are languages that use different copulas for nominal and adjectival predicates.

In Shiwilu, just like in Gude and Malayalam, the same strategies that are used to form nominal predicates can also be used to form adjectival predicates. This can be seen in (98), in which a sentence with an adjectival predicate formed with the copular verb can be seen, and in (99), in which a sentence with an adjectival predicate formed with one of the copular suffixes can be seen. Just like with nominal predicates, the use of a copula is not optional.

(98) *kwa shi-pen   nuka'-ka*
    1   tall-CL.M be-1
    'I am tall.'

(99) *kwa shi-pen-ku*
    1   tall-CL.M-1
    'I am tall.'

The strategy to form nonverbal predicates by simply adding verbal inflection directly to the predicate is especially common with adjectival predicates. Many languages use this strategy to the point where all adjectives in a language, both when used attributively and predicatively, have clearly verbal features and thus cannot be really considered a word class of their own, but could rather be seen as a subclass of verbs, which are often called stative verbs.

Languages can also simultaneously employ both stative verbs and constructions with an adjective and a copula to form adjectival predicates. An example of such a language is Slave (Rice, 1989:390). Some of these languages have a switch-A system, which means that all adjectives can occur both as verbs and as adjectives with a copula, whereas other languages have a split-A system instead, which means that some adjectives in the language are verbs, whereas some are adjectives that need to be accompanied by a copula when used predicatively (Wetzer, 1995:303).

Besides constructions with the copular verb and copular suffixes found in the language, Shiwilu also employs stative verbs to express what would be expressed using adjectival predicates in other languages. Shiwilu has a split-A system, just like Slave. Compare, for instance, the

examples in (100), which shows an adjectival predicate with the copula in Slave, and (101), which shows an adjectival predicate with just a verb in Slave, to the ones in (102-103), which both show an adjectival predicate with just a verb in Shiwilu, and to the examples of adjectives in Shiwilu given above. Note that the verbs *er-* 'be sour' and *kaser'-* 'be sweet' in Shiwilu can only occur as a verb and not as an adjective with a copula. Also note that Slave and Shiwilu are not completely the same in that Slave does not have copular affixes.

(100) *Ɂeyá yá-kįlį̀*

      sick DISTR-be

      'They are sick.' (Rice, 1989:677)

(101) *yá-nechá*

      DISTR-big

      'They are big.' (Rice, 1989:687)

(102) *asu' kadu'lu'pi   er-l-i*

      DEM cocona.fruit be.sour-NFUT-3

      'This cocona fruit is sour.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:97)

(103) *lalansha' kaser'-l-i*

      orange   be.sweet-NFUT-3

      'The orange is sweet.'

Locational predicates

In order to express locational predicates, languages can use the same copula as they use for nominal and adjectival predicates, such as in Babungo (Schaub, 1985:117). Languages can also use copulas for locational predicates that differ in various ways from the copulas used for either nominal or adjectival predicates. For instance, languages can use the same copula for nominal and locational predicates but a different copula for adjectival predicates or the same copula for nominal and adjectival predicates but a different copula for locational predicates. If a language has a distinct copula that is used specifically for locational predicates, this copula is often a word meaning something like 'stand', 'sit' or 'there' (Dryer, 2007:14).

Some languages additionally distinguish existential clauses from ordinary locational predicates. Some languages, for instance, use a different verb than the ordinary copula found in the language in existential constructions, which is then often a verb meaning something like 'exist', while

other languages either use a nonverbal word instead of a copular verb in existential constructions or do not use any overt marker for existential constructions at all, like in Tolai, where existential constructions simply consist of a bare noun (Mosel, 1984:156).

Many other languages do not distinguish existential constructions from other locational predicates. This occurs in both languages that do not and languages that do use a different copula for locational predicates than for nominal and adjectival predicates. In languages of the latter type, this verb is also often a verb meaning 'exist', such as in Maanyan, where the verb *naqan* 'exist' is used specifically for both locational predicates and existential constructions (Gudai, 1988:166).

Shiwilu is similar to Maanyan in this respect, as it uses a different verb for locational predicates than the copular verb and suffixes reserved for nominal and adjectival predicates. Locational predicates in Shiwilu can occur simply in the form of a noun with an oblique case marker or in the form of a postpositional phrase, consisting of a noun followed by a postposition, of which the language has quite a few. The verb used for locational predicates is the verb *ni-* 'exist', as can be seen in (104), which shows a locational predicate consisting of a noun with an oblique case marker, and (105), which shows a locational predicate consisting of a postpositional phrase. The verb used for locational predicates is also used for existential constructions, as can be seen in (106-107) below.

(104) *Kwansitu pide'-e'   ni-apa-l-i*
     John   house-LOC exist-PROG-NFUT-3
     'John is in the house.'

(105) *Kwansitu pide'-e'   kawi ni-apa-l-i*
     John   house-LOC near exist-PROG-NFUT-3
     'John is near the house.'

(106) *pidate'   ni-apa-l-i   dudinpu'*
     arborescent.licania exist-PROG-NFUT-3 various
     'There are various arborescent licanias.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:234)

(107) *animer-lusa' ni-apa-l-i-na'*
     animal-PL   exist-PROG-NFUT-3-PL
     'There are animals.'

Compound sentences

Aside from simple main clauses, Shiwilu also has compound sentences, consisting of two main clauses joined together, and complex sentences, in which a subordinate clause is in some way attached to the main clause. In Shiwilu, two main clauses can be simply joined together to form a compound sentence without the need of a conjunction, as can be seen in (108), but the language also has a handful of conjunctions that can be used to join two clauses together, as one can see in (109) below.

(108) *nana nerpi'pu'   te'ka'-l-i   nerpi'pu'   de'kun-tu-l-i*

      3   sometimes run-NFUT-3 sometimes path-VAL-NFUT-3

      'He sometimes runs and he sometimes walks.'

(109) *nana nerpi'pu'   te'ka'-l-i   da'ile' enpi'pu' de'kun-t-i'n-l-i*

      3   sometimes run-NFUT-3 but   never   path-VAL-NEG-NFUT-3

      'He sometimes runs, but he never walks.'

Complex sentences

Complex sentences in Shiwilu require some more elaboration, as there are multiple types of subordinate clauses, each with their own syntactic characteristics. These types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in the following. The different strategies used to form subordinate clauses in Shiwilu will be considered from a typological perspective and compared to subordinating strategies used in the languages of South America.

Subordinating strategies in South American languages can be subdivided into three main types, namely nominalization, conjunction and integration (van Gijn, Haude, & Muysken, 2011:10). First of all, many South American languages use nominalization in order to form subordinate clauses. Nominalization is a process found in most languages that turns words of various word classes, but most prominently verbs, into nouns (Comrie & Thompson, 1985:1). When a verb is nominalized in order to turn it into a subordinate clause, it loses some of its verbal characteristics. Cross-linguistically, nominalization is used in order to form relative clauses, complement clauses and participles.

Relative clauses

A considerable number of South American languages employ nominalization for the formation of relative clauses. Quite often, this relative clause can then stand on itself, but they can usually also accompany a noun. The nominalized verb that forms the relative clause is then thus interpreted as referring to a person, to be more specific one of the arguments of the verb. This argument can either be the subject or the object. In Tiriyó, for instance, the suffix *-ne* is used to form nominalized verbs referring to the transitive subject, the prefix *n-* is used to form nominalized verbs referring to the transitive object and the circumfix *i- -ketï* is used to form nominalized verbs referring to the intransitive subject (Meira, 1999:167).

In some languages, even when the verb is nominalized in order to function as a relative clause, it can still retain some of its verbal inflection. In Coastal Peruvian Quechua, for instance, the nominalizer *-sqa* is used to form nominalized verbs referring to the transitive subject, as can be seen in (110) below, which can then take verbal inflection in order to encode the subject of the subordinate clause (de Santo Tomás, 1560:44). Shiwilu forms relative clauses similarly. In Shiwilu, relative clauses are marked with the person markers of the hypothetical mood, followed by the nominalizer *-su'*, as shown in (111) below. As can be seen in (112-113), the nominalized verb can also form a relative clause on its own, without accompanying a noun.

(110) *qan-kuna-pa rura-sqa-yki-chik pirqa*

2-PL-GEN   make-NMLZ-2-PL wall

'the wall made by you' (de Santo Tomás, 1560:46)

(111) *enmu'pinen li'-a'-ka-su'   tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

man   see-HYP-1-NMLZ forest-ALL   go-NFUT-3

'The man that I saw went to the forest.'

(112) *kalu'-t-a'-ka-wa'-su'   ka'-a-wa'*

parboil-VAL-HYP-1-PL-NMLZ eat-IMP.1-PL

'Let's eat what we parboiled!' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:36)

(113) *win-t-a'-ka-su'   wale' nuka'-a*

say-VAL-HYP-1-NMLZ true   be-3

'What I say is true.'

As can be seen from the examples above, the nominalized verb is interpreted more often than not as referring to the object of the verb. This is always the case when the subject of the nominalized verb is a first or second person, such as in the examples above, but it also possible for the nominalized verb to refer to the subject of the verb. The nominalized verb always refers to the subject when the verb is intransitive, as can be seen in (114-115), and when the object of the verb is first or second person, such as in (116), but it is also possible when the verb is transitive and both the subject and the object are third person, like in (117) below. Sentences like this are ambiguous and one needs to deduce from context who is acting upon whom. As such, in the example below, the woman can also be interpreted as the one seeing and the man as the one being seen.

(114) *a'le'-t-a'-a-su'*   *Pulu luwan-l-i*

teach-VAL-HYP-3-NMLZ Paul miss-NFUT-3

'The one who taught missed Paul.' (Valenzuela et al., 2013:176)

(115) *te'ka'-a'-a-su'*   *kana'-ert-un*

run-HYP-3-NMLZ win-FUT-3

'The one who runs will win.'

(116) *enmu'pinen li'-a'-ku-su'*   *tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

man   see-HYP-1-NMLZ forest-ALL go-NFUT-3

'The man that saw me went to the forest.'

(117) *enmu'pinen ku'aper li'-a'-a-su'*   *tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

man   woman see-HYP-3-NMLZ forest-ALL go-NFUT-3

'The man that saw the woman went to the forest.'

Interestingly, the tense and mood of the nominalized verb can vary. For instance, the verb can be put in the future tense, as can be seen in (118), in the conditional mood, as shown in (119), or in the obligative mood, as shown in (120). As can be seen from these examples, the verb lacks the nominalizer in these cases, which means that the alleged subordinate clause is not a nominalized verb, like it usually is in Shiwilu.

(118) *enmu'pinen kwa li'-ert-e'*   *tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

man   1   see-FUT-1 forest-ALL go-NFUT-3

'The man that I will see went to the forest.'

(119) *enmu'pinen kwa li'-nans-eku tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

      man   1   see-COND-1 forest-ALL go-NFUT-3

      'The man that I would see went to the forest.'

(120) *enmu'pinen kwa li'-pi'na' tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

      man   1   see-OBL   forest-ALL go-NFUT-3

      'The man that I should have seen went to the forest.'

One could thus argue that these are not real examples of a main clause and a relative clause, but simply two main clauses joined together to form a compound sentence. Although the sentence does retain its original word order, it is possible that reverting the order of the subject and the object would also leave the meaning of the sentence unchanged, which would imply that these are compound sentences rather than complex sentences. This did not become completely clear from further elicitation. Work with more textual corpora will improve the understanding of this phenomenon.

Aside from these tense and mood alternations, it is also possible to have relative clauses with nonverbal predicates. In these cases, the verb *ni-*, which is usually reserved for locational predicates, is used instead of the usual copula. An example of a relative clause with a nominal predicate is shown in (121), whereas (122) shows an example of a relative clause with an adjectival predicate.

(121) *enmu'pinen wa'an ni-a'-a-su' tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

      man   chief exist-HYP-3-NMLZ forest-ALL   go-NFUT-3

      'The man that is a chief went to the forest.'

(122) *enmu'pinen shi-pen ni-a'-a-su' tanan-lupa' pa'-l-i*

      man   tall-CL.M exist-HYP-3-NMLZ forest-ALL   go-NFUT-3

      'The man that is tall went to the forest.'

Complement clauses

Various South American languages also use nominalization in order to form complement clauses. The nominalized verb is then interpreted as referring to the action described by the verb rather than to one of the arguments of the verb. Here as well, languages can differ with respect to the amount of verbal morphology that can still occur on the verb after it has been nominalized. In

Pilagá, for instance, the complement clause, after it has been nominalized using the suffix *-naʕak*, cannot receive any verbal inflection, but can instead receive nominal inflection, such as possessive marking (Vidal, 2001:356). In Mapuche, on the other hand, complement clauses can receive elaborate verbal morphology after they have been nominalized by the suffix *-m* (Smeets, 2007:207).

Shiwilu also employs nominalization in the formation of complement clauses. Like in Mapuche, the verb, even when nominalized, still retains verbal morphology. An example of an intransitive complement clause can be seen in (123), whereas (124) shows a transitive complement clause. As can be seen in in the examples below, complement clauses, just like relative clauses, also display the person markers of the hypothetical mood, followed by the nominalizer.

(123) *nana luwan-tu-l-i   kwa wencha'-a'-ka-su'*
      3   want-VAL-NFUT-3 1   come-HYP-1-NMLZ
      'He wanted me to come.'

(124) *nana luwan-tu-l-i   kwa lipu'-t-a'-n-su'*
      3   want-VAL-NFUT-3 1   hit-VAL-HYP-2-NMLZ
      'He wanted me to hit you.'

Unlike in relative clauses, the tense and mood of the nominalized verb cannot be alternated and the nominalizer cannot be omitted in complement clauses. In situations where a verb would normally be marked in a specific tense or mood, the added meaning of this tense or mood will have to be deduced from context. For instance, if a complement clause is followed by a subjunctive clause, the complement clause can be interpreted as being in the conditional mood, as can be seen in (125) below. As with relative clauses, complement clauses can also contain nonverbal predicates using *ni-* as a copula. An example of a nominal predicate in a complement clause is shown in (126), while an adjectival predicate in a complement clause is shown in (127).

(125) *nana luwan-tu-l-i   kwa weran-a'-ka-su' wencha'-at-eku*
      3   want-VAL-NFUT-3 1   feed-HYP-1-NMLZ come-SBJV-1
      'He wanted that I would eat if I came.'

(126) *nana luwan-tu-l-i   kwa enmu'pinen ni-a'-ka-su'*
      3   want-VAL-NFUT-3 1   man   exist-HYP-1-NMLZ
      'He wanted me to be a man.'

(127) *nana luwan-tu-l-i   kwa shi-pen   ni-a'-ka-su'*

 3   want-VAL-NFUT-3 1   tall-CL.M exist-HYP-1-NMLZ

'He wanted me to be tall.'

Adverbial clauses

Finally, some South American languages also have participles, which can also be seen as a form of nominalization, as participles often function as adjectives or adverbs, while also often still retaining some of their verbal features (Haspelmath, 1994:152). One verbal feature that participles often encode is tense. In Aymara, for instance, the infinitive nominalizer *-nʸa* also carries a future tense interpretation (Adelaar & Muysken, 2004:289). Cerrón-Palomino (2000:108) analyzes it as both an infinitive and a future participle, owing to its various uses.

In Shiwilu, the participle, as it is termed in the literature (Bendor-Samuel, 1958:108), is marked by adding the participle marker *-a* to the verb, followed by the person markers. The participle in Shiwilu does not explicitly mark tense and is somewhat unspecific as to the tense of the verb expressed by the participle in relation to the verb of the main clause and, as such, the time of occurrence of both actions in relation to each other, although the action expressed by the participle is often interpreted as occurring either just before or just after the beginning of the action expressed by the main verb, which makes it similar to both the simultaneous and the sequential mood and, arguably, indicates that the participle in Shiwilu has the nonfuture tense as its inherent tense. An example of a Shiwilu sentence with a participle can be seen in (128) below.

(128) *nana te'ka'-a-n   anu'-l-i*

 3   run-PTCP-3 fall-NFUT-3

'Running, he fell.'

One feature that sets apart the participle from the simultaneous and sequential moods is the fact that the subject of the verb expressed by the participle appears to always refer to the same referent as the subject of the main verb, as all instances of participles found in sentences, both in the literature and in the corpus used here, have the same subject as the main verb of the respective sentence. Additionally, during several elicitations, speakers would occasionally use participles when asked to translate sentences with a main and subordinate clause with the same subject, but would then directly afterwards switch to using the simultaneous or sequential moods when asked

to translate a follow-up sentence that was similar, but instead had a main and subordinate clause with different subjects, which is evidence to analyze the participle as functioning as an adverb.

As was stated before, the tense of the participle, as well as its mood, cannot be alternated, similarly to complement clauses. One can, however, change the tense and mood of the main verb in order to have the participle lose its default nonfuture interpretation. Once again, participles with nonverbal predicates are expressed using the verb *ni-* as a copula. In (129), one can see this use with a nominal predicate, whereas (130) shows this use with an adjectival predicate.

(129) *nana enmu'pinen ni-a-n te'ka'-l-i*

3 man exist-PTCP-3 run-NFUT-3

'Being a man, he ran.'

(130) *nana adi' ni-a-n te'ka'-l-i*

3 awake exist-PTCP-3 run-NFUT-3

'Being awake, he ran.'

Another strategy besides nominalization that is used in various South American languages to form subordinate clauses is the use of conjunctions to link two finite sentences together. This strategy is mostly used in order to form adverbial clauses (van Gijn et al., 2011:13). This conjunction that is used to link clauses together can appear in several forms in different languages. In some South American languages, the conjunction is a bound morpheme attached to the verb of the subordinate clause, such as in Northern Emberá, where conjunctions, such as the conjunction *-pheda* 'after', are placed behind the verb stem as suffixes (Mortensen, 1999:117).

Some South American languages also use conjunctions that are separate words, although this phenomenon is not as frequent as it is in European languages. In Mosetén, for instance, the conjunction *khäki* 'because' is a separate word not suffixed or cliticized to any verb stem (Sakel, 2004:435). Additionally, there are also South American languages, such as Apuriña, where two clauses can be joined together through parataxis without the need of an overt conjunction (da Silva Facundes, 2000:600).

In Shiwilu, the simultaneous, sequential and subjunctive moods are three examples of moods that allow two clauses to be linked together. One can debate whether the mood and person markers of these moods are instances of morphemic conjunctions or whether these types of subordinate

clauses can be analyzed as not having an overt conjunction. It is clear, in any case, that there is no clear morpheme that exclusively serves as a conjunction to be identified among the markers of the three moods, which encode mood, person and number more than anything else.

The three moods, two of which only resemble moods in form but not in function, as was stated before, will be discussed in the following, starting off with the simultaneous mood. The simultaneous construction in Shiwilu is marked with *-a's* in all persons except for the third person singular, where it is marked simply with *-s*. Here, the simultaneous forms are segmented in accordance with the literature (Bendor-Samuel, 1958:112). However, as was discussed in the previous chapter, there is considerable evidence to analyze simultaneous constructions, as well as sequential and conditional/subjunctive constructions, as containing the same suffix *-s*. An example of a sentence with a sequential construction can be found in (131) below. As can be seen in (132), it is possible to have a different subject in the main and subordinate clause in this mood.

(131) *kwa te'ka'-a's-eku anu'-l-e'*
1   run-SIM-1   fall-NFUT-1
'While I ran, I fell.'

(132) *nana te'ka'-s-i' anu'-l-e'*
3   run-SIM-3 fall-NFUT-1
'While he ran, I fell.'

As is also the case for complement clauses and participles, the tense and mood of the verb in the subordinate clause cannot be alternated and the simultaneous marker and its corresponding person marker are obligatory in order for the clause to be interpreted as a subordinate clause. Also similar to complement clauses and participles, however, it is possible to alternate the tense and mood of the main clause, consequently also altering the interpretation of the subordinate clause.

Below, (133) shows a simultaneous subordinate clause and a future tense main clause, (134) a simultaneous subordinate clause and a conditional main clause, (135) a simultaneous subordinate clause and a hypothetical main clause and (136) a simultaneous subordinate clause and an obligative main clause. Once more, the verb *ni-* is used in simultaneous clauses in order to form nonverbal predicates. This can be seen in (137), which shows this mood with a nominal predicate, and (138), which shows this mood with an adjectival predicate.

54

(133) *nana te'ka'-s-i' anu'-ert-un*

      3   run-SIM-3 fall-FUT-3

      'While he will run, he will fall.'

(134) *nana te'ka'-s-i' anu'-s-u'*

      3   run-SIM-3 fall-COND-3

      'While he would run, he would fall.'

(135) *nana te'ka'-s-i' anu'-a'-a*

      3   run-SIM-3 fall-HYP-3

      'While he could have run, he could have fallen.'

(136) *nana te'ka'-s-i' anu'-pi'na'*

      3   run-SIM-3 fall-OBL

      'While he should have run, he should have fallen.'

(137) *kwa enmu'pinen ni-a's-eku te'ka'-l-e'*

      1   man   exist-SIM-1 run-NFUT-1

      'While I am a man, I run.'

(138) *kwa adi' ni-a's-eku te'ka'-l-e'*

      1   awake exist-SIM-1 run-NFUT-3

      'While I am awake, I run.'

The sequential mood is very similar to the simultaneous, not only in both form and meaning, but also in its usage. The sequential construction in Shiwilu is marked by the mood marker *-s*. The person markers of this mood are almost identical to those of the simultaneous, with the exception of the third person singular, which has *-u'* as its person marker. Bendor-Samuel (1958:112) analyzes it as a person marker, just like the rest of the paradigm, but it is also possible that this suffix is simply the nominalizer *-su'* used as a subordinator. Just like the simultaneous mood, the sequential mood can have a different subject in the main and subordinate clause. An example of a sequential clause that has the same subject as the main clause can be found in (139), whereas an example of a sequential clause with a different subject than the main clause can be seen in (140).

(139) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-l-i*

      3   run-SEQ-3 fall-NFUT-3

      'After he ran, he fell.'

(140) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-l-e'*

       3   run-SEQ-3 fall-NFUT-1

      'After he ran, I fell.'

Once again, the tense and mood of the sequential clause also cannot be alternated, but this can be done to the main clause in order to change the interpretation of the subordinate clause as well. Below, (141) shows a sequential subordinate clause and a future tense main clause, (142) a sequential subordinate clause and a conditional main clause, (143) a sequential subordinate clause and a hypothetical main clause and (144) a sequential subordinate clause and an obligative main clause. An example of a nominal predicate with the verb *ni-* in a sequential clause is seen in (145) and an example of an adjectival predicate with this verb in a sequential clause is shown in (146).

(141) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-ert-un*

       3   run-SEQ-3 fall-FUT-3

      'After he will run, he will fall.'

(142) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-s-u'*

       3   run-SEQ-3 fall-COND-3

      'After he would run, he would fall.'

(143) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-a'-a*

       3   run-SEQ-3 fall-HYP-3

      'After he could have run, he could have fallen.'

(144) *nana te'ka'-s-u' anu'-pi'na'*

       3   run-SEQ-3 fall-OBL

      'After he should have run, he should have fallen.'

(145) *nana enmu'pinen ni-s-u'   te'ka'-l-i*

       3   man   exist-SEQ-3 run-NFUT-3

      'After he is a man, he runs.'

(146) *nana adi'   ni-s-u'   te'ka'-l-i*

       3   awake exist-SEQ-3 run-NFUT-3

      'After he is awake, he runs.'

The last of the three moods that are used to form subordinate clauses, the subjunctive mood, an example of which can be seen in (147) below, is a lot more restricted in its use. This mood can

only be used if the main clause has a conditional verb. In some cases, the verb in the main clause does not necessarily need to be in the conditional mood for a subjunctive subordinate clause to be able to occur. As was seen before, this can happen, for instance, with complement clauses. Below, the conditional/subjunctive construction has, once again, been segmented in accordance with previous literature (Bendor-Samuel, 1958:112). However, as was discussed before, there is evidence to analyze the subjunctive marker as simply being *-t*.

(147) *nana   te'ka'-at-i   anu'-s-u'*

      3   run-SBJV-3   fall-COND-3

      'If he ran, he would fall.'

The final strategy used by South American languages to form complex clauses, besides nominalization and conjunction, is the integration of multiple verbs into one serial verb construction (van Gijn et al., 2011:15). Languages vary as to the degree to which they integrate the two verbs in a serial verb construction. In Yurakaré, for instance, the two verbs in a serial verb construction are simply placed behind each other and have very similar verbal morphology (van Gijn, 2006:298), whereas in Movima, the two verb stems are actually joined together to form one single word (Haude, 2006:454).

Shiwilu does not have productive serial verb constructions, but it is likely that the desiderative and cognoscitive are in fact grammaticalized serial verb constructions. As was stated in the previous chapter, this is in line with the analysis of the corresponding structures in Shawi, where they are also analyzed as serial verb constructions (Rojas-Berscia, 2019:89). This type of construction, namely serial verb constructions that are used to express a predicate meaning 'want' or a similar modality, can be found in more South American languages (Haspelmath, 2005:503).

Above, the various subordinating strategies of Shiwilu, namely nominalization and inflectional conjunction, have been described from a typological perspective. If one now directly compares Shiwilu to its sister language Shawi with respect to the subordinating strategies that both languages use, a lot of similarities can be observed. This comparison is made in the following. The various subordinating strategies found in Shawi are discussed one by one and they are compared to the structures that they correspond to in Shiwilu.

First of all, Shawi has a nominalizer *-su'* that is used for both relative clauses and complement clauses, just like Shiwilu. As for relative clauses, the nominalizer is simply added at the end of an inflected form of a verb, which can occur in any tense or mood, including simply the nonfuture and future tenses, in which they usually occur (Rojas-Berscia, Lehečka, Claassen, & van Schie, 2020:12). An example of a relative clause in Shawi can be seen in (148) below. As can be seen, relative clauses are formed very similarly in Shawi when compared to Shiwilu. A notable difference between the two languages is the fact that Shiwilu forms relative clauses by adding the nominalizer to a verb form in the hypothetical mood, whereas Shawi simply adds the nominalizer and does not need to change the mood of the verb form.

(148) *kankan-pa' anu-te-r-in-su'   ni'-sa-r-in*

     wasp-ALL   fall-VAL-NFUT-3-NMLZ see-PROG-NFUT-3

     'He saw the one who fell next to the wasps.' (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:12)

Complement clauses are formed a little differently from relative clauses in Shawi. They also contain the nominalizer *-su'*, but they also have to be marked by the purposive marker *-ka* and one of its relevant person markers (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:12). An example of a complement clause in Shawi is given in (149). As was seen before, Shiwilu does not have a distinct mood for complement clauses, like Shawi, but uses the hypothetical mood to form complement clauses.

(149) *sana-wi-u'sa   ku nuwan-tu-pi-u   estutia-ka-i-su'*

     woman-CL.ANIM-PL NEG want-VAL-3PL-NEG study-PURP-3PL-NMLZ

     'The women don't want to study.' (Claassen, 2020:9)

Additionally, in Shawi, the benefactive marker *-mare* can be added at the end of a complement clause, which then creates a clause that starts with 'in order to' or 'so that' when translated (Claassen, 2020:9). An example of such a clause is shown in (150). Interestingly, in Shiwilu, it is also possible to add the causal suffix *-male'*, which is a cognate of *-mare*, at the end of a complement clause. As this suffix means something different in Shiwilu, however, the clause receives a different interpretation and is instead translated with 'because' at the beginning. An example of this can be seen in (151).

(150) ku   manta   nimiriu ya'u-r-i-un   ni-nunen-ka-su'-mare
      NEG nothing remedy exist-NFUT-3-NEG REFL-cure-PURP-NMLZ-BEN
      'There is no remedy to cure oneself.' (Claassen, 2020:9)

(151) nana iker a'ni-l-i   anu'-a'-a-su'-male'
      3   pain have-NFUT-3 fall-HYP-3-NMLZ-CAUS
      'He had pain because he fell.'

Shawi also has a simultaneous mood. As was seen before, this mood is marked with specific person markers preceded by the suffix -se, which can change its vowel according to these person markers and which might be a cognate of the -s found in the markers of the simultaneous, sequential and conditional moods in Shiwilu, although the simultaneous is in fact not very common in Shawi and is slowly being superseded by the sequential (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:13). An example of a simultaneous construction in Shawi is shown in (152) below. Both in form and function, the simultaneous is very similar in Shawi and Shiwilu.

(152) ka yunka-tu-su-ku   wenu   u'u-ra-we
      1   swim-VAL-SIM-1 masato drink-NFUT-1
      'I drink masato while swimming.' (Rojas-Berscia, 2013:70)

Next, Shawi also has a sequential mood. Sequential constructions in Shawi are marked by -watu, followed by their own set of person markers (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:12). An example of such a construction can be found in (153). Although very similar to the sequential in Shiwilu in function, the sequential in Shawi has quite a different form. A cognate of the sequential marker in Shawi has not been found yet in Shiwilu, neither in the literature nor in the corpus used here.

(153) yu   amite-mu'tuka-watu-n wa'wa-sha pa'-sa-r-in
      deer put-head-SEQ-3   child-DIM   go-PROG-NFUT-3
      'After putting the child on his head, the deer goes.' (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:13)

Finally, Shawi has the suffix -tun and the conjunction nitun 'because', which are both identical in meaning. Both are added at the end of the clause that they belong to and both indicate that this clause is the reason or cause for some other event to happen (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:13). An example of the former can be seen in (154), whereas (155) shows an example of the latter. Although no corresponding forms of either this suffix or this conjunction have been attested in

59

Shiwilu so far, Shiwilu can express similar notions using the construction with the causal suffix, which was discussed above.

(154) *isu' ni'ni' nu'wi-t-a-r-in-tun*   *wa'an-ne-n-ri*   *a'pani-sa-r-in*

       DEM dog   bark-VAL-PROG-NFUT-3-because   owner-ALIEN-3-ERG   answer-PROG-NFUT-3

       'Its owner was scolding it, because the dog was barking.' (Rojas-Berscia et al., 2020:14)

(155) *aruse nani kaya-r-in*   *nitun*   *sena-ra-we*

       rice   already be.ripe-NFUT-3 because harvest-NFUT-1

       'Since the rice is mature, I harvest it.' (Hart, 1988:205)

As can be seen, Shawi has largely the same subordinating strategies as Shiwilu, although a few differences can be observed if one takes a closer look. First of all, in Shiwilu, both relative and complement clauses display hypothetical mood markers, whereas relative clauses in Shawi can occur in any tense or mood, including simply the nonfuture and future tenses, in which they usually occur, as long as the nominalizer is added behind the tense, mood and person markers. Complement clauses, on the other hand, have a separate mood marker, namely the purposive marker *-ka*, and separate person markers.

Another minor difference concerns the fact that the sequential marker *-watu* is not etymologically related to the sequential marker *-s* of Shiwilu. Finally, Shiwilu does not have an equivalent to the suffix *-tun* and the conjunction *nitun*. An overview of the similarities and differences of the strategies used in Shawi and Shiwilu in order to form subordinate clauses can be seen in Table 32 below.

Table 32: comparison of subordinate clauses of the Kawapanan languages

type of subordinate clause	Shawi	Shiwilu
relative clause	*-su'*	*-a' + -su'*
complement clause	*-ka + -su'*	*-a' + -su'*
benefactive clause	*-ka + -su'mare*	-
causal clause	*nitun/-tun*	*-a' + -su'male'*
participial clause	-	*-a*
simultaneous clause	*-se*	*-(a')s*
sequential clause	*-watu*	*-s*
subjunctive clause	*-te*	*-(a)t*

Conclusion

The previous chapter has provided an overview of the structure and form of main and subordinate clauses in Shiwilu. To this end, the structure of the various types of main and subordinate clauses that can be found in Shiwilu have been described. Moreover, these structures and the strategies that are used to form them have been compared to the structures and strategies found in other languages.

In Shiwilu, main clauses can have either a verbal or a nonverbal predicate. A nonverbal predicate can be a nominal, adjectival or locational predicate. As for verbal predicates, a verb in Shiwilu can have a minimum of zero arguments and a maximum of four arguments, namely in a causative ditransitive, and Shiwilu has impersonal, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs, as well as ambitransitive verbs. Impersonal verbs in Shiwilu can under no circumstances have an overt argument. Shiwilu does not have extended intransitives or different marking strategies for different intransitive subjects. As for ambitransitive verbs, Shiwilu uses a special suffix in order to transitivize or intransitivize a verb and the language seems to almost exclusively have agentive ambitransitive verbs and no patientive or reflexive ambitransitive verbs.

Shiwilu uses a copular verb or copular suffixes in order to express nominal predicates and, to a certain degree, adjectival predicates. Equational constructions are not distinguished from nominal predicates. Some adjectives in Shiwilu are true adjectives, whereas others are verbs that display full verbal morphology, which means that Shiwilu has a split-A system. Locational predicates, including existential constructions, use a separate verb in Shiwilu and can feature either a postpositional phrase or a noun with an oblique case marker.

In Shiwilu, in order to form a compound clause, two main clauses can be linked together without a conjunction or with a conjunction. As for subordinate clauses, Shiwilu has relative clauses, complement clauses, several types of adverbial clauses and a participle. Relative and complement clauses can be formed by nominalizing a verb form in the hypothetical mood, whereas the three types of adverbial clauses found in the language correspond to three separate moods that mark the clause as being subordinate, namely the subjunctive mood, the simultaneous mood and the

sequential mood. The participle is similar in use and meaning to these last two moods, but instead functions similarly to an adverb and cannot have the same subject as the main clause.

All in all, the strategies used in Shiwilu in order to form these different types of clauses can all be found in other languages across the world as well. Some strategies are a bit rarer than others and are less frequently attested cross-linguistically, such as the use of a suffix to both transitivize and intransitivize verbs at the same time, the occurrence of copular suffixes that are distinct from ordinary verbal suffixes and do not require any verbalizer, as well as the availability of multiple types of copula in general, and the occurrence of distinct moods that are able to form subordinate clauses without the need of a conjunction of any kind. All of these features are shared between the sister languages Shawi and Shiwilu.

This paper has attempted to describe the different types of main and subordinate clauses found in Shiwilu from a typological perspective. This paper therefore contributes to research on the Shiwilu language by giving a clear overview of these sentence types, which constitute a basic and central aspect of the language. Despite the centrality of this topic, it is not very common to combine descriptions of the many different sentence types of a language into one paper and descriptions of these different types are usually dispersed throughout the literature on a certain language. Future studies of other languages could also choose to combine these descriptions into one clear overview. This way, this paper does not only contribute to research on Shiwilu, but also, hopefully, to research on the world's great linguistic diversity.

Glossing abbreviations

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

ABL = ablative case

ALIEN = alienable

ALL = allative case

ANIM = animate

APUD = apudessive case

BEN = benefactive case

CAUS = causative case/voice

CL = classifier

COGNOSC = cognoscitive

COM = comitative case

COND = conditional mood

COP = copula

DEM = demonstrative

DESID = desiderative

DIM = diminutive

DISTR = distributive aspect

ERG = ergative case

EXCL = exclusive

FOC = focus marker

FRUST = frustrative aspect

FUT = future tense

GEN = genitive case

HYP = hypothetical mood

IMP = imperative mood

INCL = inclusive

INE = inessive case

ITER = iterative aspect

ITRT = intrative case

LOC = locative case

M = masculine

NEG = negative

NFUT = nonfuture tense

NMLZ = nominalizer

OBL = obligative mood

OPT = optative mood

PL = plural number

PROG = progressive aspect

PROH = prohibitive

PST = past tense

PTCP = participle

PURP = purposive mood

REAL = realis mood

REFL = reflexive voice

SBJV = subjunctive mood

SEQ = sequential mood

SIM = simultaneous mood

SOC = sociative voice

TERM = terminative case

VAL = valenciator

References

Adelaar, W. F. H., & Muysken, P. C. (2004). *The Languages of the Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adger, D., & Ramchand, G. (2003). Predication and equation. *Linguistic inquiry*, *34*(3), 325-359.

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2006). *Serial verb constructions: A cross-linguistic typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alexander-Bakkerus, A. (2013). Vocabulario enla lengua castellano, la del ynga y xebera. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals*, *66*(3), 229-256.

Asher, R. E., & Kumari, T. C. (1997). *Malayalam*. London: Routledge.

Bauer, B. (2000). *Archaic syntax in Indo-European: the Spread of Transitivity in Latin and French*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Beck, D. (2000). Unitariness of participant and event in the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) middle voice. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *66*(2), 218-256.

Bendor-Samuel, J. T. (1958). *The structure and function of the verbal piece in the Jebero language* (Doctoral dissertation, University of London).

Borgman, D. M. (1990). Sanuma. In D. C. Derbyshire & G. K. Pullum (Eds.), *Handbook of Amazonian Languages 2* (pp. 15-248). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. (1994). *Quechumara: estructuras paralelas de las lenguas quechua y aimara*. La Paz: Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado.

Cerrón-Palomino, R. (2000). *Lingüística aimara*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.

Claassen, S. A. (2018). *De relatie tussen persoonlijke en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden in de talen van de wereld* (Unpublished manuscript, Radboud University Nijmegen).

Claassen, S. A. (2019). Typology of grammatical relations: Explanations in the typology of grammatical relations and alignment systems. *RU:ts Student Linguistics Journal*, *1*(1), 12-22.

Claassen, S. A. (2020). *Portfolio lab rotation I* (Unpublished manuscript, University of Queensland).

Comrie, B., & Thompson, S. A. (1985). Lexical nominalization. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description 3* (pp. 349-398). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coombs, D., Coombs, H., & Weber, R. (1976). *Gramática quechua: San Martín*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.

Dixon, R. M. W. (1988). *A grammar of Boumaa Fijian*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. (2004). Adjective classes in typological perspective. In R. M. W. Dixon & A. Y. Aikhenvald (Eds.), *Adjective classes: A cross-linguistic typology* (pp. 1-49). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W., & Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2000). *Changing valency: Case studies in transitivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dobrushina, N., van der Auwera, J., & Goussev, V. (2005). The Optative. In M. Haspelmath, M. S. Dryer, D. Gil & B. Comrie (Eds.), *World Atlas of Language Structures* (pp. 298-301). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dobrushina, N., & Goussev, V. (2005). Inclusive imperative. In E. Filimonova (Ed.), *Clusivity: Typology and case studies of the inclusive-exclusive distinction* (pp. 179-211). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Dryer, M. S. (2007). Clause types. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description 1* (pp. 224-275). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Enk, G. J., & de Vries, L. (1997). *The Korowai of Irian Jaya: Their Language in its Cultural Context*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fordyce-Ruff, T. (2015). *Beyond the Basics: Transitive, Intransitive, Ditransitive and Ambitransitive Verbs*. Portland: Concordia University Libraries.

Fortescue, M. (1984). *West Greenlandic*. Dover: Croom Helm.

van Gijn, E. (2006). *A Grammar of Yurakaré* (Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen).

van Gijn, E., Haude, K., & Muysken, P. C. (2011). Subordination in South America: An overview. In *Subordination in Native South American Languages* (pp. 1-24). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Givón, T. (1994). Irrealis and the subjunctive. *Studies in Language*, *18*(2), 265-337.

Greenberg, J. H. (1988). The first person inclusive dual as an ambiguous category. *Studies in Language*, *12*(1), 1-18.

Gudai, D. (1988). *A Grammar of Maanyan, A Language of Central Kalimantan* (Doctoral dissertation, Australian National University).

Guirardello, R. (1992). *Aspectos da morfossintaxe da lingua Trumai (isolada) e de seu sistema de marcação de caso* (MA thesis, University of Campinas).

Hart, H. (1988). *Diccionario Chayahuita-Castellano*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación.

Haspelmath, M. (1994). Passive participles across languages. In B. A. Fox & P. J. Hopper (Eds.), *Voice: Form and Function* (pp. 151-178). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Haspelmath, M. (2005). Want-complement subjects. In M. Haspelmath, M. S. Dryer, D. Gil & B. Comrie (Eds.), *World Atlas of Language Structures* (pp. 502-505). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haude, K. (2006). *A Grammar of Movima* (Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen).

Heine, B., & Song, K. A. (2011). On the grammaticalization of personal pronouns. *Journal of Linguistics*, *47*(3), 587-630.

de Hoop, H., & de Swart, P. (2009). *Differential Subject Marking*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Hoskison, J. T. (1983). *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Gude Language* (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University).

Jelinek, E. (1995). Quantification in Straits Salish. In E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer & B. Partee (Eds.), *Quantification in natural languages* (pp. 487-540). Dordrecht: Springer.

Krasnoukhova, O. (2011). Attributive possession in the languages of South America. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, *28*(1), 86-98.

Ladefoged, P. (1990). The revised international phonetic alphabet. *Language*, *66*(3), 550-552.

Lee, K. D. (1975). *Kusaiean Reference Grammar*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Madalengoitia Barúa, M. G. (2013). *Bosquejo fonológico de la lengua jebero (shiwilu)* (BA thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru).

Mazaudon, M. (1976). *Typological sketch of Tamang*. Presented paper.

McGregor, W. B. (2010). Optional ergative case marking systems in a typological-semiotic perspective. *Lingua*, *120*(7), 1610-1636.

McLendon, S. (1975). *A Grammar of Eastern Pomo*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McShane, M., Nirenburg, S., & Zacharski, R. (2004). Mood and modality: out of theory and into the fray. *Natural Language Engineering*, *10*(1), 57-89.

Meinunger, A. (2017). Desires, wishes and hopes–Desiderative predicates and presuppositions. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals*, *70*(4), 611-635.

Meira, S. (1999). *A Grammar of Tiriyó* (Doctoral dissertation, Rice University).

Merlan, F. (1983). *Ngalakan Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies.

Mosel, U. (1984). *Tolai Syntax and its Historical Development*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies.

Mortensen, C. A. (1999). *A Reference Grammar of Northern Emberá Languages*. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Nedjalkov, I. (1996). *Evenki*. London: Routledge.

Nichols, J. (1993). Ergativity and linguistic geography. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, *13*(1), 39-89.

Noonan, M. P. (1992). *Lango*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nordlinger, R. (1998). *A Grammar of Wambaya, Northern Territory (Australia)*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies.

Oates, L. F. (1988). *The Muruwari Langauge*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies.

Radkevich, N. V. (2010). *On location: The structure of case and adpositions* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut).

Rice, K. (1989). *A Grammar of Slave*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rios, A. (2015). *A basic language technology toolkit for Quechua* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Zurich).

Rojas-Berscia, L. M. (2012). Desmitificando la categoría de co-verbo en chino mandarín, el caso de 在 zài. *Sorda y Sonora*, *2*(1), 77-100.

Rojas-Berscia, L. M. (2013). *La sintaxis y semántica de las construcciones causativas en el chayahuita de Balsapuerto* (BA thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru).

Rojas-Berscia, L. M. (2019). *From Kawapanan to Shawi: Topics in language variation and change* (Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen).

Rojas-Berscia, L. M., Lehečka, T., Claassen, S. A., & van Schie, A. A. K. (2020). Embedding in Shawi narrations: A quantitative analysis of embedding in a post-colonial Amazonian indigenous society. *Language and Society*.

de Santo Tomás, D. (1560). *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Peru*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova.

Sakel, J. (2004). *A Grammar of Mosetén*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schaub, W. (1985). *Babungo*. Dover: Croom Helm.

da Silva Facundes, S. (2000). *The language of the Apuriña people of Brazil (Maipure/Arawak)* (Doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo).

Smeets, I. (2007). *A Grammar of Mapuche*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Song, J. J. (2014). *Linguistic typology: Morphology and syntax*. London: Routledge.

Tessmann, G. (1930). *Los indígenas del Perú nororiental: Investigaciones fundamentales para el estudio sistemático de la cultura*. Quito: Abya Yala.

Valenzuela, P. M. (2011). Argument encoding and pragmatic marking of the transitive subject in Shiwilu (Kawapanan). *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *77*(1), 91-120.

Valenzuela, P. M. (2015). ¿Qué tan "amazónicas" son las lenguas kawapana?: contacto con las lenguas centro-andinas y elementos para un área lingüística intermedia. *Lexis*, *39*(1), 5-56.

Valenzuela, P. M. (2016). "Simple" and "double" applicatives in Shiwilu (Kawapanan). *Studies in Language*, *40*(3), 513-550.

Valenzuela, P. M., & Butler, L. K. (2009). *Argument encoding and valence changing in Kawapanan*. Presented paper.

Valenzuela, P. M., Careajano Chota, M., Guerra Acho, E., Inuma Inuma, J., & Lachuma Laulate, F. (2013). *Diccionario shiwilu-castellano, castellano-shiwilu*. Lima: Federación de Comunidades Nativas de Jeberos.

Valenzuela, P. M., & Gussenhoven, C. (2013). Shiwilu (Jebero). *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, *43*(1), 97-106.

Vidal, A. (2001). *Pilagá grammar (Guaykuruan family, Argentina)* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon).

Walsh, M. (1976). *The Murinypata Language* (Doctoral dissertation, Australian National University).

Weber, D. J. (1989). *A grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wetzer, H. M. (1995). *Nouniness and Verbiness: A Typological study of Adjectival Predication* (Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen).

Zwarts, J. (1997). Lexical and functional properties of prepositions. In D. Haumann & S. J. Schierholz (Eds.), *Lexikalische und grammatische Eigenschaften präpositionaler Elemente* (pp. 1-18). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.