

DENÍ VERB ENDINGS

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0. Introduction.

A huge chunk of Dení¹ communication is included in the verb complex. Verb roots have the obligatory prefix or suffix of subject person and number and directed versus undirected action, and an obligatory suffix, which includes gender and some other function or meaning. This obligatory suffix I refer to, in general, as a verb ending, because only one of this set can end, or close off, the verb complex. Thus a suffix of the verb-ending group of suffixes is distinct from the groups of optional verb suffixes which must precede the ending suffix, and which indicate things like manner, time, location, and direction of action, and the negative and benefactive qualifications.

Much of the general gist of conversation and of a story can be caught if one has a good idea of the meaning of the verb root and of the prefixes and suffixes other than the verb endings, and even more if one has an intuitive feeling for what the verb endings indicate. But anyone who wants to learn to communicate in a language must be able to do more than catch the general gist of a story. My uncertainties in this area provided the motivation for this study of Dení verb endings.

Many of my questions have been answered. Some still remain unanswered. This study is not exhaustive; there are more verb endings, or combinations of endings, which are not mentioned here due to lack of data, which I understand sufficiently to study. I have much more certainty about having 'hit the nail on the head' in the first parts of this paper, and this certainty diminishes somewhat in the last section on subjunctive/performative/inferential types of endings due to the infrequent use of those endings in text, and the more subtle types of information conveyed.

The tentative conclusions drawn in this paper will be revised as more checking clarifies the issues involved.

With certain verb endings which have a counterpart as a nominal suffix, I have digressed to describe and illustrate how the suffix functions on the nominal element, when I felt that the two were related in function, and that description of the nominal suffix could be helpful in understanding the verbal ending of like form.

Whenever endings are divided by a slash line, e.g. -ni/-vi, the feminine form of the ending precedes the slash, and the masculine form follows the slash.

1. Aspectual Endings.

There are six definite aspects marked on Dení verbs, and maybe more. They are simultaneous-competitive aspect, simultaneous-non-competitive aspect, progressive aspect, distributive aspect, perfective aspect, and a non-focus (or non-aspect) aspect. These all function on the verb phrase level. The last two, which I've included under aspect, prior span and subsequent span, may be as much tense as they are aspect. There is somewhat of the same kind of relating of time of one action to the timeline of the story, included in the meaning of the -ria and -ta parts of the -riava 'a and -tava 'a endings described in the last section of this paper.

1.1. -nipe'eni/-vipe'i, simultaneous-competitive (reactionary) aspect.

The -nipe'eni/-vipe'i ending indicates simultaneous actions by different actors which are intentionally or unintentionally competitive one with another. The actors are seen, by the narrator, as protagonists. The ending is suffixed to the verb which is a reaction to a past or present threat/competitive act, or an act of prevention to a present or future threat/competitive act. The reactionary verb may either follow or precede the verb to which it is a reaction.

- 1) kha-tu-ni-mura-nava Taphuruvi zai-ta-ri-
 (motn-3p=away-vb=cls-uphill-advers Taphuruvi jump-3p=away=dird-vb=cls-
 mita-vipe'i
 iter-simult=reacty=masc)
 "He (alligator) went uphill, but (in reaction) Taphuruvi jumped away."

- 2) sasaku-pa pu-ma-'a na-vipe'i niha
 (s=fish-rel=subj lie-on=surface-cl=seq say-simult=reacty=masc now
 isha-ti-kana
 shoot-2ps=reg-incl)
 "As the sasaku fish floated near the surface (of the water) (in competition), he said, 'Now!
 Shoot it!'"

- 3) pikahada nukhuni zu-'u-ni-'a ava matani-kha
 (shotgun shell insert-1ps=reg-vb=cls-cl=seq tree trunk-behind
 va'a-na-huna-vipe'i
 stop-vb=cls-towd-simult=reacty=masc)
 "As I loaded the shotgun, (the pigs) (in reaction) stopped behind a tree."

- 4) pua kuru-ta-ri-kusha-'a sura nukha-za zei-tu-
 (he dress-3p=away=dird-vb=cls-mid-cl=seq s=monkey eye-locv jump-3p=away-
 na-'a mede tuvi mede kuza-khiza-nipe'eni
 vb=cls-cl=seq they for=him they run-to=cent=pt-simult=reacty=fem)
 "He slipped (the jaguar skin) down over (his head), and jumped along in plain sight of the
 sura monkeys; (in reaction) they ran together to (scold) him."

- 5) shiba-ra mede kathuma-ri-kusha-puvi mede uri-tu-na-
 (rock-only they watch-vb=cls-mid-simult they paddle-3p=away-vb=cls-
 kusha-vipe'i phirani-za sumu
 mid-simult=reacty=masc not-locv 'splash')
 "Together they watched nothing but the (falling) rocks, (and) (to prevent injury) they
 paddled between them, (and) the rocks splashed (harmlessly) where they were not."

An interesting insight here is that the Dení often see the sun's journey across the sky as in competition with a journey they are making, so that arrival times are stated according to the sun's competitive journey.

- 6) mahi aha niha-vipe'i bakhu-'e-thima-ni Maraviza
 (sun over=there be-simult=reacty=masc arrive-1pp=dird-upstream-perf Maraviza)
 "When the sun had arrived over there, we arrived upstream at Maraviza."

1.2. -puni/-puvi, simultaneous non-competitive.

The -puni/-puvi ending indicates that the action of the verb root to which it is suffixed is simultaneous, non-competitive action. It is simultaneous in the sense that two or more "actors" (plural grammatical subject might be a better term, since both agent and patient roles in the subject slot are allowable) are "doing" the same action simultaneously, which is indicated by a plural subject noun, plural bound pronoun on the verb, or other affix on the verb which indicates a plural subject. Or, it may be simultaneous action in the sense that several different, non-competitive actions are being carried out simultaneously by one or more actors. In the latter case, one of the actions, the one on which the -puni/-puvi ending occurs, will be stated, while the other action may be stated in another phrase in the same clause, or merely implied in the context. The -puni/-puvi ending may occur on transitive or intransitive verbs which are progressive, punctiliar, complete, or repetitive in aspect.

- 7) uri-'e-thima-puni
 (paddle-1pp=dird-upstream-simult=fem)
 "We paddled upstream together."
- 8) masa teu-kana-mishiza-puvi
 (m=fruit plop-incl-many-simult=masc)
 "Many masa fruits fell (to the ground) simultaneously."
- 9) vahi-'i-na-puni
 (travel-1pp=reg-vb=cls-simult=fem)
 "We travelled along together."
- 10) akhana shimiri-tu-na-mita-puvi
 (over=there bubble-3p=away-vb=cls-iter-simult=masc)
 "He (alligator) bubbled (as he swam) away over there."
- 11) aku makha u-na-puni heu-tu-zima-puvi
 (where snake 1ps=reg-say-simult=fem go=into-3p=away-into-simult=masc)
 "As I said, 'Where is the snake?' he simultaneously slipped into the hole."
- 12) kapara api'e vapi-za u-ba-rizi u-ba-rizi
 (sap=catcher sorva=tree surface-locv 1ps=reg-set=down-upon 1ps=reg-set=down-upon
 u-na-maru-mita-puni
 1ps=reg-say/do-along-iter-simult=fem)
 "I set down the sap catchers at intervals on the sorva tree as I walked along it."

1.2.1. -puni/-puvi versus -hi/-ha

The -puni/-puvi simultaneous-non-competitive ending differs from -hi/-ha distributive in that in -puni/-puvi interdependence between the simultaneous acts is being stressed, whereas in -hi/-ha the acts, while possibly simultaneous as well as distributive, are not interdependent, i.e. one act does not necessarily cooperate with another act to accomplish some objective.

13) uri-'e-thima-puni
(paddle-1pp=dird-upstream-simult=non=compt=fem)
"We paddled upstream together."

14) shaputu mede kuva-ha
(basket they weave-distr=masc)
"They wove baskets." (each one individually)

While -hi/-ha distributive may or may not be simultaneous when a plural subject is involved, at times it definitely stresses the repetitive aspect in contrast to the simultaneity stressed by -puni/-puvi simultaneous-non-competitive.

15) masa teu-kana-mishiza-puvi naza
masa=fruit plop-incl-many-simult=non=compt=masc then)
"Then many masa fruits fell (to the ground) simultaneously."

16) makhi tei-na-ha amunehe tei-na-ha
(male shoot-vb=cls-distr=masc female shoot-vb=cls-distr=masc)
"He shot a male. (Then) he shot a female."

1.3. -nava

The -nava ending, which is always suffixed to the verb, has two unrelated functions at different levels. On the sentence level, -nava is an adversative, indicating expectancy reversal. On the verb phrase level, -nava marks progressive aspect.

The -nava ending does not have feminine and masculine forms, but gender is marked on the verb by the following rule: the usual vowel preceding -nava is a. For masculine gender a remains a. For feminine gender a becomes i. Very rarely e precedes -nava, but when it does, e remains e and gender remains unmarked.

1.3.1. -nava adversative.

17) shava-tu-na-mura-mita-nava amushi
(feel=around=for-3p-vb=cls-uphill-iter-advers nothing)
"He felt around up on (the bank) for it, but (found) nothing."

- 18) *tei-na-puna-ki u-ni-nava kube*
 (shoot-vb=cls-attempt-prob 1ps=reg-say/do-advers misfire)
 "I wonder if it will manage to shoot it?' I said, but (it) misfired."
- 19) *kha-tu-ni-mura-nava Taphuruvi zai-ta-ri-mita-*
 (motn-3p=away-vb=cls-uphill-advers Taphuruvi jump-3p=away=dird-vb=cls-iter-
vipe'i
 simult=reacty=masc)
 "He (alligator) went uphill (in attack) but Taphuruvi jumped away."
- 20) *huka-'i-ni-nava amushi*
 (angle-1pp=reg-vb=cls-advers nothing)
 "We angled (for fish) but (caught) nothing."
- 21) *akha dira-'u-kana-nava i u-vizehemani phudu*
 (to=side shake=off-1ps=reg-incl-advers oh 1ps-ahead=of 'plop'
 "I shook off the snake to the side, but oh, ahead of me (before 1 got it off) it fell 'plop'."

1.3.2. -nava progressive aspect.

In its second function, -nava marks the progressive aspect of the verb. It views the action as being in progress, without regard to any particular point during that progression. It excludes the ideas of habitual action or of a continuing state. One finds the progressive -nava most commonly on change-of-location verbs, but it also occurs on others.

- 22) *u-kha-thimi-nava*
 (1ps=reg-motn-upstream-progr)
 "I was going upstream."
- 23) *u-kharikusha-nava*
 (1ps=reg-motn=diag-progr)
 "I cut across (walking)."
- 24) *eza huka-'i-ni-nava*
 (here angle-1pp=reg-vb=cls-progr)
 "Here (at certain point in travel) we angled."
- 25) *u-kathuma-kana-nava taminu-pe'i tu-taburi-nava*
 (1ps=reg-look=at-incl-progr t=seed-relat=subj 3p-float-progr)
 "I was watching the taminu seeds floating (in the water)."
- 26) *zuruti tu-be-zipha-nava*
 (fish=trap 3p-set-in=water-progr)
 "He was setting the fish trap in the water."

27) mazu-pa phuru-kani-nava
 (m=fruit-relat=subj fall-incl-progr)
 "The mazu fruit was falling."

28) varibu da-tu-kana-mita-nava
 (ear give-3p-incl-iter-progr)
 "He turned to listen." (Lit: He gave his ear to)

1.4. -hi/-ha.

The -hi/-ha ending functions on the sentence level, where it occurs only in quotations, and on the verb phrase level. On the sentence level it indicates interrogative mood. Interrogative sentences in Dení are treated in the section on Interrogative Mood.

1.4.1. -hi/-ha distributive aspect.

On the verb, the -hi/-ha ending indicates distributive action. Included in the distributive category for Dení is: 1) more than one actor individually doing the same type of thing (examples #29, 30, 31, 32), 2) one or more actors doing the same type of thing more than once (which could also be called repetitive) (examples #33, 34, 35), 3) coupling of customary patterns of collocations, i.e. actions that normally follow one another in Dení culture (examples #36, 37, 38), 4) numbering of items which are more than one unit in number (examples #39, 40), 5) giving instructions, much as a coach gives intructions to his players, or as a recipe gives intructions to a cook (examples #41, 42, 43).

The -hi/-ha ending may be suffixed to transitive or intransitive verbs in all categories.

29) sipi kushi-'u-na-ha punikha mari-ni-hi
 (wild=banana cut-1ps=reg-vb=cls-distr=masc her hold-vb=cls-distr=fem
 ukha mari-'u-na-ha
 my hold-1ps=reg-vb=cls-distr=masc)
 "I cut wild banana (leaves). She held hers. I held mine."

30) pukha zama bani zamarini shaputu mede kuva-ha mede
 (his thing game container basket they weave-distr=masc they
 kuva-ha tukhirari'a mede niha-ha
 weave-distr=masc everyone they do/be-distr=masc)
 "They each one wove a basket, containers for his (each one's) game. They each one wove.
 All of them did it (were doing it)."

31) makhi tei-na-ha amunehe tei-na-ha
 (male shoot-vb=cls-distr=masc female shoot-vb=cls-distr=masc)
 "He shot a male. He shot a female."

- 32) vabu tu-khi-maha-ha Jorge tu-khi-maha-ha abuni
 (brother=in=law 3p-motn-up-distr=masc Jorge 3p-motn-up-distr=masc friend
 Isheruha niha-ha
 Isheruha do/be-distr=masc)
 "Brother-in-law stepped up (into the plane). Jorge stepped up (into the plane). Friend
 Isheruha got (into the plane)."
- 33) kapara va-'u-na-khizi-hi
 (sap=catcher lie-1ps=reg-vb=cls-together-distr=fem)
 "I lay the sap catchers down one by one together."
- 34) kariva uva tima-na-ha tima-na-ha
 (non=Indian me treat-vb=cls-distr=masc treat-vb=cls-distr=masc
 tima-na-ha
 treat-vb=cls-distr=masc)
 "The non-Indian treated and treated and treated me."
- 35) u-nakuri ka-vehina-ha
 (my-buttocks noun=cls-pierce-distr=masc)
 "He gave me (repeated) injections in my buttocks."
- 36) niza-'a hapi-'i-ni-hi tutaputu kuru-'i-na-
 (later-info bathe-1pp=reg-vb=cls-distr=fem clothes dress-1pp=reg-vb=cls-
 miti-hi
 iter-distr=fem)
 "Later we bathed, and put on clothes again."
- 37) paza neri isha-'u-kana-ha kama-'u-na-ha
 (there n=fish shoot-1ps=reg-incl-distr=masc bury-1ps=reg-vb=cls-distr=masc)
 "There I shot some neri fish, and buried them."
- 38) amushini-za i-v-ahari-meza-meza-hi-hi
 (plaza-locv 1pp=reg-v-mouth-joke-joke-vb=cls-distr=fem
 kumi-kumi-'i-kani-hi
 satisfy-satisfy-1pp=reg-incl-distr=fem)
 "We will feast in the plaza, and be satisfied (with food)."
- 39) vada pami-hi uhari-hi ima'amushinaha
 (day two-distr=fem one-distr=fem feast
 ima-ta-mita-hi
 announce-2p+vb=cls-iter-distr=fem)
 "In three (two+one) day's time you announce a feast."

- 40) ukhabi-kha mamure mutha izepe tu-kana-pama-ha
 (my=father-poss m=fish just hand 3p-incl-two-distr=masc)
 "My father got two hands (ten) of just mamure fish."
- 41) ti-kha-miati-'a kashi'i nihi-hi
 (2pp=reg-motn-iter-cl=seq hot=pepper get-distr)
 "You all go back and get some hot peppers!" (I will mark the trails, then you follow the trails and smoke them out with hot pepper fires.)
- 42) maphanaha kunine iza-ta-ha na-ha punimutha u-vatuturi
 (maphanaha leaf pick-2p=reg+vb=cls-distr say-distr slowly my-shell
 daka-ta-maru-hi daka daka daka daka punimutha
 tap-2p=reg+vb=cls-along-distr tap tap tap tap slowly
 daka-ta-maru-ba
 tap-2p=reg+vb=cls-along-polite=imper)
 "Pick some maphanaha leaves," he said. "Tap slowly along (the lines) on my shell.
 Tap, tap, tap,tap, slowly tap along (the lines) on my shell." (turtle speaking)
- 43) Kira bani vada-'i-na-hi
 (Kira game extended=trip-1pp=reg-vb=cls-distr)
 "Kira, (now) let's go on a hunting trip for game."

1.4.2. -hi/-ha versus -mita, repetitive versus iterative.

While -hi/-ha distributive has a definite repetitive aspect, it is not to be confused with the verb suffix, -mita, iterative. Bernard Comrie, in his book Aspect (p.27) defines iterativity as "the repetition of a situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation." While he makes no distinction between iterative and repetitive, he does make a distinction between iterative and semelfactive, semelfactive referring "to a situation that takes place once and only once." (p.42) For Dení, I make the following distinction between repetitive and iterative. Repetitive is an act repeated an unspecified number of times. Iterative is an act that has already taken place once, and is being repeated once more. Thus it functions roughly like the adverb "again" in English, but with additional extended meanings.

1.5. -ni/-vi

1.5.1. -ni/-vi perfective aspect.

The -ni/-vi, ending indicates perfective action, that is, it looks at a particular situation as a complete whole, irrespective of whether it is within itself basically a progressive action such as "travel" (examples #44, 45), a repetitive action such as "chop" (example #46), a punctiliar action such as "pick (a cluster of fruit)" (example #47), the process of reaching a state such as "fill up" (examples #48, 49), or a phasal such as "arrive" or "finish" (examples #50, 51). The perfective in Dení does not distinguish the telic versus atelic opposition, the idea of a well defined completion point being irrelevant to its meaning.

A device commonly used with perfective to emphasize the durative aspect of the complete action is repetition of the verb phrase, as in example #46 below.

- 44) vahi-vahi-'u-kana-ni u-na-mita-puni
(travel-travel-1ps=reg-incl-perf 1ps=reg-do/say-iter-simult)
"I travelled steadily, going back."
- 45) tu-varibu ima-'ima-'u-kana-ni
(3p-ear speak-speak-1ps=reg-incl-perf)
"I repeatedly spoke to them."
- 46) ka-'u-ni-masha-ni ka-'u-ni-masha-ni
(chop-1ps=reg-vb=cls-forc-perf chop-1ps=reg-vb=cls-forc-perf)
"I chopped hard. I chopped hard."
- 47) maraka mede iza-na-vi
(m=fruit=cluster they pick-vb=cls-perf)
"They picked clusters of maraka fruit."
- 48) hika-phiri-za tiku-tu-kaha-ni
(finish-negative-when fill-3p-full-perf)
"When it was not finished (not all poured over), (the sack) was already filled right up."
- 49) pashu Porto Velho-za tada-tu-na-ni
(rain Porto Velho-locv dry=up-3p-vb=cls-perf)
"The rain in Porto Velho has dried up (stopped)."
- 50) ketebeherede bakhu-'i-ka-thima-ni
(fork=in=river arrive-1pp=reg-incl-upstream-perf)
"We arrived upstream at the fork in the river."
- 51) eneniza-pe ti-navautu-ni hika-ni
(now-relat=subj 2p-know-perf finish-perf)
"As of this moment you know everything about it (your education is complete)."

1.5.2. -ni/-vi as highlighting.

The -ni/-vi ending in narrative text is used to mark high points in the narrative. It occurs where a participant is entering or exiting, where a certain activity is terminated, where a location which is identified in the narrative is reached, and especially where exciting events lead to the climax of the narrative, such as the sighting of the game being tracked, the final running, jumping, or stalking to get near enough to shoot, and the shooting itself.

The -ni/-vi ending in narrative text is also used in quoted commentaries about a third party, such as the game the narrator is following.

- 52) aha tu-kha-vi tu-vana-vi aha
 (over=there 3p-motn-perf 3p-stop-perf over=there)
 "They have run over there! ...they have stopped over there!"

1.5.3. -ni/-vi as abbreviation.

It is also used to compress an extended interruption or delay in the actual time line of the story into a single utterance without digressing to describe non-pertinent actions or thoughts that take place during that time. Thus where a rainstorm comes up on a hunting trip, and the hunter sits for a while in a shelter, he says,

- 53) na'a uza-za u-vitha-ni u-vitha-ni
 (so house-locv 1ps=reg-sit=down-perf 1ps=reg-sit=down-perf)
 u-vitha-ni
 1ps=reg-sit=down-perf)
 "So I sat down in the house. I sat down. I sat down."

The repetition of the verb phrase indicates that the time spent in sitting was long. But in the next sentence, he says that when the storm had passed he proceeded with the next part of his hunting trip.

In another narrative the author and a friend have returned from an extended trip to find that their relatives have moved, and he describes their travels and conversations over a period of three days as they search for them. In mentioning their sleep, he simply says,

- 54) eza i-vadi-na i-ni-'a i-vada-ni uza-za
 (here 1pp=reg-sleep-hort 1pp=reg-say-cl=seq 1pp=reg-sleep-perf house-locv)
 shivahani
 next=day)
 " 'Let's sleep here,' we said. We slept in the house. The next day..."

1.5.4. -ni/-vi in warnings and refusals.

A special use of -ni/-vi is where it is used in a future prophetic sense. It is used thus to warn of an undesirable result of some present situation. Thus a young child crawling toward the edge of the house where there is no wall is told,

- 55) ahi ahi ti-shuna-ni
 (come=here come=here you-fall-perf)
 "Come here! Come here! You will fall!" (Literally, "You have fallen.")

It is also used in denial or refusal of someone else's desire or proposal. Thus a husband leaving on a trip whose wife begs to accompany him, says,

- 56) tia nihi-ti-phira-ni
 (you be/get-do-negative-perf)
 "(I) will not take you along."

And a boat captain proposing to leave his passenger at a town which is not his destination is told,

- 57) ni-ti-phira-ni aha Canutama-za nihi-tuvi
 (do-do-negv-perf over=there Canutama-locv be/get-resol)
 "(I) will not do it, I will get off over there in Canutama."

1.6. -ru/-ri non=focus aspect.

The -ru/-ri ending is marked for gender, and for aspect. It is glossed "non-focus". Whereas all other endings have a specific, describable aspect like perfectivity, progressiveness, distributiveness, simultaneousness, etc., -ru/-ri is unmarked for any such aspect. It is the non-aspect aspect, the one to use in cases where all the others don't fit.

Tense is not marked in Dení, but all the above mentioned aspects occur on verbs, which are understood to be in the past tense, i.e. they have already taken place. There are exceptions to this, especially with the perfective, which is restrictively used in a future perfect situation. The -ru/-ri ending is the only one commonly used in what in English we call a present tense situation, if for no other reason, simply because it is unmarked for aspect. Thus zedi-tu-na-ri (hunt-3p-vb=cls-non=focus=masc) if used in a narrative will mean, "he hunted", and be understood to be an action in past time. But if I ask someone, "Where is your father?" and he replies, "Zeditunari", I would understand it to mean, "he is hunting", i.e. it is an action presently in progress.

It is worthwhile to note that in narrative travel text the -ru/-ri ending occurs most often in clauses containing a geographical reference point. While -ru'a/-ri'a and -nava endings serve to describe the travel itself, they usually do not pause to indicate geographical location; -ru/-ri and -ni/-vi are almost always used for that purpose.

1.7. -rarube/-rariba prior span.

The -rarube/-rariba and -raruha/-rariha endings are related to one another semantically in that both refer to an identified point at which an event/era began or ended, -rarube/-rariba refers to an event/era that continued to and ended at an identified point. -raruha/-rariha refers to an event/era that began at and continued on from an identified point. The point, if not overtly identified, is understood to be the time of the speech act, or the point in the time line of the narrative at which the prior/subsequent span statement is inserted.

- 58) nemehene uva-pe u-vadi-rarube comandante vinuri-za
 (up I-relat=subj Ips=reg-sleep-prior=span commander by=side-locn)
 "Up to this point I had been sleeping up-stairs beside the commander."

- 59) mahi eza i-kha-thimi-rarube
 (sun here 1pp=reg-motn-upstream-prior=span)
 "Till the sun was here we had been going upstream."
- 60) na'a Kahuna uva pua-za e-kha-tha-miti-rarube naniza
 (so Kahuna I him-locn 1pp=dird-motn-upstream-iter-prior=span that=point
 eza i-vadi-na
 here 1pp=reg-sleep-hort)
 "So Kahuna (I had been travelling back upstream with him up to this point) said at that
 point, 'Let's sleep here'."
- 61) ari mede ka-kava-phira-'a mede kuzi-meri-miti-rariba
 (us they 3p=dird-wait=for-negv-cl=seq they run-downstream-iter-prior=span
 i-ni-meri-mita-puni
 1pp=reg-say-downstream-iter-simult)
 "'They aren't waiting for us; till now they've been running back downstream', we said as
 we went back downstream."

1.8. -raruha/-rariha subsequent span.

- 62) niza-'a kumi-kumi-'i-kana-raruha
 (then-cl=seq satiate-satiate-1pp=reg-incl-subseq=span)
 "From then on we will habitually satiate (ourselves)."
- 63) de'i-za i-khi-mura-miti-'a evene ahi
 (thus/that-when 1pp=reg-motn-uphill-iter-cl=seq this=side over=there
 i-vada-raruha
 1pp-dwell-subseq=span)
 "When that (happened) we went back up and since then have been living over there on
 this side.

It is interesting to note that the "point in time" concept is perfectly compatible in Dení with the "point in space" concept, and these endings are used in both ways.

- 64) aru havi-'a vahira-raruha
 (this=one trail-cl=seq short=distn-subseq=span)
 "(Using) this trail, the distance is short from here."

2. Derivational type endings.

There are six verb endings which function as derivational suffixes. -'a marks a subordinate clause in a close sequence of events, -za marks a subordinate clause in an open sequence of events, -de marks relative clauses and adjectives, -vehina marks a subordinate clause which indicates the purpose of an event/state, -zape/-zapa marks a hypothetical conditional clause, and -nizape/-nazapa marks a reason clause.

2.1. -'a

2.1.1. -'a as nominal suffix.

The -'a suffix is a nominal as well as verbal suffix. On nouns it marks close association between the nominal and information being volunteered or asked for concerning that nominal. It serves to focus attention on that subject in contrast with other possible subjects, and it takes for granted a basic mutual understanding of the relationship that the speaker and hearer have about the relevance of that subject to the circumstances of the speech act.

- 65) Luiza tikha makhi-'a
(Luiza your husband-cl=seq)
"Luiza, your husband...?" (Has he returned yet? or,
Where is he now? or, Is he ready? or, Is he still sick? etc.)

2.1.2. -'a close sequence clause subordinator.

On verbs, the -'a ending can co-occur with any of the aspectual or derivational verb endings, being suffixed to them, or simply be suffixed to the verb phrase without any other ending.

Though the -'a ending is not itself marked for gender, gender is marked on the verb by the co-occurrence of a gender marked aspectual ending, or, in the absence of such an ending, by the same rule described for -nava, i.e. the vowel which precedes -'a, if an a remains a for masculine gender, but becomes i for feminine gender. In the few cases that e occurs, gender remains unmarked and e remains e.

The -'a ending functions on the sentence level. It is always suffixed to the verb in the dependent clause or clauses of a sentence. These dependent clauses are antecedents of some consequent, which is some final, independent clause or clauses. These final, independent clauses are either a quote or clauses whose verbs are marked with one of the aspectual endings, or both. The quote may be followed by a verb describing the speech act, but it is the quote, which is considered the consequent, and the speech act, its antecedent. The relationship of the antecedent to the consequent may be either temporal or logical. Whether temporal or logical, the events are closely related, either as events that take place in rapid, close succession in a time span, or as events that are closely associated in an expectancy chain.

Events are more closely related to one another when the -'a ending is suffixed to the verb without a preceding aspectual or derivational ending (examples #66-70). When suffixed to an aspectual ending (examples #71-72), the -'a functions as a connector between chunks or

stretches along a continuum which is one continuous event, or along a spatial trajectory, which is seen as a continuing route. This continuum or trajectory structurally but not necessarily semantically ends with the independent clause which is the consequent. The aspectual ending has the effect of dividing into chunks or stretches, while at the same time, the - 'a has the effect of connecting the chunks or stretches into a contiguous whole. When suffixed to a derivational ending (examples #73-76), the - 'a functions as a connector of clauses which are already subordinated by the other derivational ending, connecting them closely as antecedents to a consequent.

- 66) naku hupha-hupha i-ha-'a va'a-va'a-'i-na-phiri-'a
 (then run-run 1pp=reg-be-cl=seq stop-stop-1pp=reg-vb=cls-negv-cl=seq
 i-na-puni
 1pp=reg-do-simult)
 "Being on the run, not stopping, we kept going."
- 67) kunaha-zipha-kusha-mita-'a adami ime'eni tu-khi-mura-nava
 (swim-in=water-across-iter-cl=seq hill big 3p-motn-uphill-progr)
 "Swimming back across, they went up a high hill,"
- 68) niza u-mahubishani mede hishi-tu-na-'a mede tu-kuza-'a
 (then my-scent they sniff-3p-vb=cls-cl=seq they 3p-run-cl=seq
 iha'i u-ni-'a
 oh=no 1ps=reg-say-cl=seq)
 "Then, they caught my scent, they fled, and I said, 'Oh no!'"
- 69) hadu zuku-ka-rizi-'a zai-tu-na-vizehe-mita-'a
 (arrow string-incl-upon-cl=seq jump-3p-vb=cls-accomp-iter-cl=seq
 kathuma-huna-puvi
 look-towd-simult)
 "Stringing the arrow, running back abreast of (the game), he watched (the game) intently."
- 70) cachaça mede mitha-na-'a ahari mede da-na-'a de'i
 (liquor they buy-vb=cls-cl=seq mouth they give-vb=cls-cl=seq thus
 cachaça kumani mede tei-kana-mina-ri
 liquor pain they shoot-incl-leaning=position-non=focus=masc)
 "They bought liquor, gave him drinks, and thus drunk, they shot him down."

- 71) i-kha-ru-'a i-kha-ru-'a
 (1pp=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-cl=seq 1pp=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-cl=seq
 i-kha-ru-'a i-kha-ru-'a
 1pp=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-cl=seq 1pp=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-cl=seq
 i-kha-ru-'a i-khi-nava
 1pp=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-cl=seq 1pp=reg-motn-progr)
 "We walked and walked and walked and walked and walked and kept going."
- 72) i-khi-meri-aru-'a naniza
 (1pp-motn-downstream-non=focus=fem-cl=seq at=that=point
 kunahi-zipha-kusha-ri-'a tu-kha-bakusha-nava
 swim-in=water-across-non=focus=fem-cl=seq 3p-motn-alongside-progr)
 "We walked downstream, and at that point they had swum across and continued on along
 side (the stream)."
- 73) na'a arikha eheve khina-za-'a arikha makhi-deni mede
 (so our baby exit-open=seq-cl=seq our men-plural they
 maki-na-ri
 pause-vb=cls-non=focus=masc)
 "So when our baby is born our husbands pause (don't go about their usual activities)."
- 74) niza pashu nukhuni zizi-tu-zi-'a bua pashu enetehe
 (then rain cloud dark-3p-open=seq-cl=seq oh=no rain terrible)
 "Then when it became dark with rain clouds, (I said), 'Oh no, this rain is terrible'."
- 75) nizamani pari madiha katuha-ri-kana-de-'a he he he hie
 (long=ago that=one Indian ugly-vb=cls-incl-adjr-cl=seq he he he hie)
 "Long ago that Indian who was ugly (said), 'He he he hie' (feasting and dancing
 yell)."
- 76) pua-'a paru zama tabakhuni hupha-hupha-na-mita-de-'a
 (he-open=seq that=one thing in=fear=of run-run-vb=cls-iter-adjr-cl=seq
 vabu-kha havi tu-kha-ri-'a
 brother=in=law-poss trail 3p-motn-non=focus=masc-cl=seq)
 "He, the one who had run back in fear of that thing, walked along his brother-in-law's
 trail..."

2.1.3. -'a close sequence plus reduplication.

The -'a ending seems to signal various changes on discourse level.

2.1.3.1. Back reference. (Aspectual ending replaced by -'a).

When the first occurrence of a verb has an aspectual ending, and the second occurrence in the dependent clause of the next sentence replaces the aspectual ending with the -'a ending, it seems to signal a change of direction that the story is taking. It connects given information with new information. It connects what has happened up to that point with what is about to take place. It seems to say, "Up to this point we've talked about this, now it's something else, but the two tie together to lead the whole to a conclusion; this is merely the next step and it is important." It does this by introducing, in the consequent clause of the back-referent sentence, the character/means that defeats the subject of the back-reference clause. It is noteworthy that this type of back reference has not so far been found in stories of successful hunting or fishing or in travel episodes, but only in legends and stories where some disaster eventually befalls the character to whom these verbs apply, a disaster like death, a permanently crippling fall, or snakebite. Lack of success in hunting or fishing, or a housefire, fire, does not seem to be a disaster of sufficient detrimental effect to merit the back-reference treatment.

- 77) katavakha-pua tupuni tuda-ri tupuni
(club-complete them annihilate-non=focus=masc them
tuda-'a nari mezebute-deni tupuni
annihilate-cl=seq then next orphan-plural them
ka-na-khari-masha-ri
noun=cls-caus-strong-forc-non=focus=masc)
"Clubbing them he annihilated them. Having annihilated them, then next he caused to
become strong (raised) the orphans."

Then the story goes on to relate how two of the orphans, when they are barely mature enough, outguess their guardian and do away with him, and escape before he is raised to life again by friends.

- 78) tu-khiza-vaha-nava tu-khiza-vaha-'a shiru nukhu
(3p-go=into-around-progr 3p-go=into-around-cl=seq s-fruit eye
na-vaha-puvi
do-around-simult)
"He went around into (the forest). Going around into (the forest) he saw shiru fruit all
around."

The actor here has angered a celestial jaguar, who has just created this new kind of delicious fruit and attracted the actor to it by having it fall as he is walking nearby. The actor turns aside to look at it. Thus begins the part the fruit plays in his eventual death by the jaguar. He picks up the fruit, tastes it, likes it, asks its identity, is told he shall get his people to gather it and prepare a feast, which the jaguar with his friends will attend. He complies. The jaguar attends, and during the night's dancing, kills the actor and his people.

2.1.3.2. Reduplication.

When the verb with the -'a ending in the dependent clause of the antecedent is reduplicated in the independent clause of the consequent, and the -'a ending is replaced by an aspectual ending, this signals that the moment of tragedy has arrived.

- 79) zana-'u-kana-miti-'a a-kha-miti-'a a-kha-miti-'a
(get=up-1ps=reg-incl-iter-cl=seq 1ps=dird-motn-iter-cl=seq 1ps=dird-motn-iter-cl=seq
a-kha-miti-nava anihi mutuhimashi-'a nauiza aru
1ps=dird-motn-iter-progr unglossed hillock-cl=seq at=that=point this=one
uvamuri navatunihenekha phenu-'u-kani-nava siu-'u-na-puni
my=foot right slip-1ps=reg-incl-progr fall-1ps=reg-vb=cls-simult)
"I got up again and carried (my load) on, and carried it on, and kept carrying it on. At that
point, as my right foot slipped on a hillock, I fell down." (This accident injured the
narrator's back so that he became permanently paralyzed in his legs).

- 80) naku hava baha-'u-kani-khi-'a hava
(then p=tree step=on-1ps=reg-incl-superl-cl=seq p=tree
baha-'u-kani-kha-ni
step=on-1ps=reg-incl-superl-perf)
"Having completely stepped onto the pataua tree, I completely stepped onto the pataua
tree."

The next sentences translate as: "Having completely stepped onto the pataua tree (close=sequence) and being there (close=sequence) then onto another tree, the taritari tree, the taritari tree, having completely stepped onto (close=sequence) it, and, 'Let me toss aside those leaves that are lying in the middle of the trail with my bow,' I said (non=focus). As I tossed aside the leaves with my bow, the snake was lying underneath those leaves. 'Oh, I didn't think of that (possibility)!' I said." The narrator came very close to death as a result of the snakebite. (See the -kha section for reasons for translation of 'completely'.)

2.1.3.3. Back-reference.

In another type of back-reference, the aspectual ending is not replaced by the -'a ending, but -'a is suffixed to the aspectual ending. This seems to be a device for introducing new information one step at a time. The one example found so far is from a quote in which one participant is telling the other what he will do and giving explicit instructions about how the other shall act and react. This needs further investigation.

- 81) taburuni anahi-hi taburuni anahi-hi-'a
(lying=place come=to-distr lying=place come=to-distr-cl=seq
Ukheve-beni-vaha ta-ni ta-nikha-ba
Ukheve-done=by-evidence 2ps=reg+vb=cls-say 2ps=reg+vb=cls-say=thus-perm)
"You will come to places where (game) has been lying. Each time you come to a place
where (game) has been lying, say thus, 'Ukheve must have done this (picked up my
game)'."

2.2. -za, open sequence temporal clause subordinator.

The -za suffix is a nominal as well as verbal suffix. On nouns it marks location in time or space, and marks instrument. On verbs it functions on the sentence level, always occurring on dependent clauses. The dependent clause marked by -za is an antecedent to a consequent, and the consequent is the final and independent clause. There may be an infinite number of antecedents, but only one consequent, which is either a quote, or a clause whose verb is marked with one of the aspectual endings. Whereas -'a, marks close relation in time or expectancy chain, -za marks open relation, that is, the actions marked by -za, though sequential, are not as close sequentially as are those marked by -'a. -za marks only temporal, not logical, relationships.

- 82) 'Timazuri ide tei-kana-bakhiza-za manaku Shenaha bakhu
 (Timazuri back shoot-incl-upright-open=seq next Shenaha chest
 tei-kana-bakhiza-za panari'a niha-miti-za Timazuri
 shoot-incl-upright-open=seq again get/be-iter-open=seq Timazuri
 tei-na-mita-za naza Shenaha tei-na-mita-za naza
 shoot-vb=cls-iter-open=seq then Shenaha shoot-vb=cls-iter-open=seq then
 bara-za ati'ahuna-ri
 slug-instru die-non=focus=masc)
 "When Timazuri shot him in the back while (he was) upright, when next Shenaha shot him
 in the chest while (he was) upright, when again they got (loaded) (their guns), when
 Timazuri shot him again, when then Shenaha shot him again, then, with the slug, he
 died."
- 83) uni-me nukhu mede vana'a-de-za
 (my=namesake-father=of eye they coast=to-adjr-open=seq (idiom 'to deceive')
 nani evene i-vada-ru
 that=point this=side 1pp=reg-reside-non=focus=fem)
 "Since (the time) that they deceived my namesake's father, we have resided on this side."
- 84) niza u-kumi-za u-khi-meri-mita-ru
 (then 1ps=reg-satiate-open=seq 1ps=reg-motn-downstream-iter-non=focus=fem)
 "Then when I was satiated, I continued walking downstream."
- 85) vada izepe ka-hari-za bakhu-'i-ka-tha-miti-kharuha
 (day hand noun=cls-one-open=seq arrive-1pp=reg-incl-upstream-iter-prom)
 "When five days had passed (in five day's time), we arrived back upstream."

- 86) na'a paza badu tei-'u-na-'a badu
 (so there deer shoot-1ps=reg-vb=cls-cl=seq deer
 huka-'u-na-mita-za bakhu-'u-na-miti-za niza aba
 drag-1ps=reg-vb=cls-iter-open=seq arrive-1ps=reg-vb=cls-iter-open=seq then fish
 ikhaza huka-'u-na-kha u-ni-'a
 over=there angle-1ps=reg-vb=cls-sugg 1ps=reg-say-cl=seq)
 "So there I shot a deer, and when I had dragged the deer and when I had arrived (back at
 the trail), then I said, 'I think I'll go angle for fish over there'."

2.3. **-de, adjectivizer (relative clause marker).**

The -de verb ending has a derivational function. It is an adjectivizer which changes an independent clause into a relative clause which modifies the head noun in a noun phrase. In Dení, most adjectives are state or process verbs with the -de ending. The -de ending thus has the same function as the relative pronouns in English. So in Dení, "the red barn" is expressed as "the barn which is red" which is derived from "the barn is red". The head noun, however, is not obligatory in Dení surface structure, but is, in some cases, implied by the context outside the sentence. In the narrative text, -de serves to mark setting and background information.

- 87) Pukheve ka-bubi-de pavi u-vatha-miti-hi
 (Pukheve noun=cls-make=pieces-adjr p=vine 1ps=reg-lay=down-iter-distr)
 "I lay down a pavi vine back to (the jaguars) who tore Pukheve into pieces."
- 88) ukha haba-za u-vatha-de u-kha-daphi-hi
 (my basket-locv 1ps=reg-lay=down-adjr 1ps=reg-noun=cls-eat-distr)
 "I ate (the bananas) which I had put in my basket."
- 89) kurumanu abuni Mishiha ka-kana-de u-taphizi-aru
 (k=tree friend Mishiha chop-incl-adjr 1ps=reg-pass-non=focus=fem)
 "I passed the kurumanu tree that friend Mishiha had chopped down."
- 90) ukhabi Baviri-me-kha centro ta-kha-thima-de tu-vizehe
 (my=father Baviri-father=of-poss center 3p=dird-motn-upstream-adjr 3p-accomp
ka-vada-de centro nani baha-tu-kana-vi
noun=cls-sleep/live-adjr center there arrive-3p-incl-perf=masc)
 "He arrived at my father's, father-of-Baviri's center which is upstream, where he lived
 with them, (his family)."
- 91) ukhabi imari amushi-de bedi u-ha-ru-za
 (my=father talk good-adjr little 1ps=reg-be-non=focus=fem-when)
 "When I was little my father had good talk (talk which was good)."

- 92) ava vapi zama makhu-de hupha-zipha-huna-ri
 (tree surface thing red-adjr run-downhill-towd-non=focus=masc)"
 "Something which was red ran down toward (the stream) along the surface of the tree."
- 93) ukhabi-kha havi Baviri-me-kha havi vahi-vahi-'i-
 (my=father-poss trail Baviri-father=of-poss trail travel-travel-1pp=reg-
ni-meri-de niha-ru-'a
vb=cls-downstream-adjr get/be-non=focus=fem-cl=seq)
 "We got to my father's trail, father-of-Baviri's trail, along which we had travelled
downstream."

2.4. -vehina purpose clause subordinator.

Vehina functions as a nominal postposition, or as a clause subordinator which is suffixed to the verb. As a postposition, it means "function" or "purpose" and functions much like the English preposition "for" in "this is for hard steel", where the surface structure has only the NP "hard steel", and the deep structure VP "welding/drilling/cutting" has to be dug up from the context. As a postposition vehina is suffixed to the NP. As a clause subordinator -vehina is a suffix on the VP as a verb ending. As a verb ending it means "in order to", which I call "purpose" here, and Longacre (1976) further defines as "final cause".

It is necessary to note here, that the nominal postposition vehina does not take any prefixes. But the purpose clause subordinator is always preceded by either -ti- or -tu-. It seems that the -ti- can be translated "do" and the -tu-, "become". This needs further checking. If this is true, then the English equivalents of the three forms would be vehina, "be for" (example #94, 95), -tivehina "in order to do" (examples #96, 97, 98), and -tuehina "in order to become" (example #99, 100). (The #-, ti-, and tu- also have this function with -phira "negative", i.e. "not be", "not do", and "not become".)

- 94) makina luz-vehina i-vizehe kathuma-vaha-za
 (machine light-purp 1pp=reg-accomp look=at-around-open=seq)
 "When he, with us had looked over the machine for (making) light..."
- 95) makina zamarini makina mede ima-'ima-na-mitiza-de-vehina
 (machine building machine they talk-talk-vb=cls-all=over-purp
 de'i i-vizehe tu-khiza-kusha-ri
 that 1pp=reg-accomp 3p=reg-enter-across-non=focus=masc)
 "The machine building, the machine which is for people to talk all over with (telephone),
 that (building) he, with us, entered into."

- 96) dama-'u-ni-'a adami bedeni zai-'u-ni-mura-miti-tivehina
 (grab-1ps=reg-vb=cls-cl=seq hill little jump-1ps=reg-vb=cls-uphill-iter-purp
 anade'i ava va'a-de-za uva u-ka-tabite-mura-miti-tivehina
 one=like=that tree stand-adjr-open=seq me 1ps=reg-noun=cls-pull-uphill-iter-purp
 niha-nipe'eni de'i hamashi nukhuni-za uva niha-ri
 get/be-simult=reactn thus/that brush middle-locn me get/be-non=focus=masc)
 "I grabbed (the dead bird) and, in order to jump back up the little embankment, I, in order
to pull myself back up, grabbed a standing tree like that, and simultaneously, from the
 middle of that brush, he (snake) got me."
- 97) de'i kavana-bakusha-de mede de'i hapi-hapi-ni-tivehina
 (that/thus fastened-alongside-adjr they that /thus bathe-bathe-vb=cls-purp
 de'i ari nathume-kana-za
 that/thus us show-incl-open=seq)
 "That (thing) fastened onto (the wall) for them thus to bathe with, when that thing he
 explained to us..."
- 98) sirika viri-'i-ni-na arikha saku shuru-'i-tivehina
 (rubber=tree groove-1pp=reg-vb=cls-hort our sack rubberize-1pp=reg-purp)
 "Let's tap rubber trees in order to rubberize our sacks."
- 99) Maria-'a Jose vapi-ha-ru mahu-tu-ka-hi-tuvehina
 (Maria-cl=seq Jose be=near-vb=cls-non=focus=fem marry-3p=proc-incl-vb=cls-purp)
 "Maria was near to (spent time with) Jose in order to become married to him."
- 100) pahari i-ka-taphize-khi-na arikha
 (that=one=there 1pp=reg-noun=cls-pass-superl-hort our
 hashi-'i-kaza-va-hi-tuvehina
 recover-1pp=reg-inside-put-be-purp)
 "Let's make one last effort and pass on to that (stream) there to (catch) (the fish) that will
serve to give us renewed inner strength."
 (Literally: "Let's pass on ultimately to that one there for our setting down to become the
 recovery inside us.")

2.5. -zape/-zapa hypothetical conditional clause marker.

The -zape/-zapa verb ending operates on the sentence level. It is suffixed to the verb in a dependent clause, thus marking the dependent clause as an antecedent to a consequent. The antecedent marked with -zape/-zapa is a hypothetical condition, which if met, will result in the consequent also being met. The consequent does not follow unless the condition stated in the antecedent also holds. In examples #101 and 102 -zape is suffixed to the verb root in the antecedent clause, and the consequent is future, which is indicated by the endings -tivaha 'intention' and -tuvi 'resolution'. In example #103, -zape is suffixed to the -de adjectivizer ending in the antecedent clause, and the consequent is past hypothetical, which is indicated by the -ni 'perfective' ending.

- 101) zama phiri-zape bani tei-'u-na-phiri-zape
(thing negative-condit game shoot-1ps=reg-vb=cls-negv-condit
zei-'u-ni-meri-mita-tivaha
run-1ps=reg-vb=cls-downstream-iter-intention)
"If there is nothing, if I don't shoot any game, I'll run back downstream."
- 102) ukha pikhahada niha-zape u-zapiseri azape ukha niha-ka-tuvi
(my shotgun get/be-condit my-ammunition here=condit my get/be-incl-determ)
"If I had my shotgun, if my ammunition were here, I would get my (meat)."
- 103) u-na-de-zape maraka mede iza-na-vi
(1ps=reg-say-adjr-condit assai they pick-vb=cls-perf)
"If that was what I said, the people picked assai berries."

2.6. -nizape/-nazapa efficient cause - reason clause marker.

The nizape form is most common as a connective, connecting sentences in an efficient cause relationship. As a verb ending, -nizape/-nazapa functions on the sentence level. The hypothetical conditional says, "if A then B", and efficient cause-reason says "B because A", where A and B are obligatorily both either negative or positive. In hypothetical conditional there is no given, both the antecedent and the consequent are hypothetical, but in causation both: the antecedent and the consequent are given. Longacre (1976) refers to this as a reason sentence where the efficient cause is encoded as the second base. The -nizape ending is suffixed to the verb in the reason clause.

- 104) ninava paru-'a u-navatu-niza Ka'u tei-na-vi
(but that-cl=seq 1ps=reg-know-negv=exper Ka'u shoot-vb=cls-perf
mede de'i ima u-mitha-nizape
they thus talk 1ps=reg-hear-reason)
"But I didn't know that they had shot Ka'u because I hadn't heard that talk."

3. Verb endings in the Interrogative Mood.

There are four kinds of questions in Dení. They are: 1. Content questions, 2. Yes/No questions, 3. Either/Or questions, 4. Request questions.

3.1. -hi/-ha Content questions.

Content questions use some form of the Dení question words, which are basically aku 'what', and aka 'who'. These are further categorized as akuna 'what', akuza 'where', akuvene 'which direction/ which side', akunanaru/ri 'why/what reason', akunaka(na) 'how many', akunani 'how much time/goods'. 'How?' is expressed in a question like 'what instrument?' or 'what vehicle?' Content questions also have the -hi/-ha interrogative verb ending.

- 105) aku akhaza ra-ri-ha
(what over=there negative-masc-interr=masc)
"What is that over there?"
- 106) ukhazu uni Kusuvi-'a aku-ha
(my=older=brother called Kusuvi-cl=seq what-interr=masc)
"What about my older brother called Kusuvi? (i.e. give me information about him)"
- 107) azu aku-na-ha uva-'a e avi
(older=brother what-do/say-interr=masc me-info yes tapir)
"Older brother, what about it?' I (said), 'Yes (it is) a tapir'."
- 108) aku-na-ha ni-nava e aha tu-kha-vi
(what-do/say-interr=masc say-progr yes over=there 3p=away-motn-perf=masc)
" 'What is it?' (or, 'What did they do?') (He) said, 'Yes, they went over there'."
- 109) aku-na-ti-tuvi-hi
(what-do/say-2p=reg-resol-interr=fem)
"What will you do?"
- 110) aku-na-mede-na-ha
(what-do/say-they-do/say-interr=masc)
"What are they doing?"
- 111) aku-na-ta-ru-hi
(what-do/say-2ps=reg+vb=cls-non=focus=fem-interr=fem)
"What happened to you?"
- 112) aku-za-ha na-nava
(what-locn-interr=masc do/say-progr)
" 'Where is it?' he asked."

- 113) aku-za-hi ukha bari-'a
(what-locn-interr=fem my ax-cl=seq)
"Where is my ax?"
- 114) aku-vene ti-kha-ru-hi
(what-side/direction 2p=reg-motn-non=focus=fem-interr=fem)
"Which way did you go?"
- 115) aku-na-na-ri kuku ta-ri-ha
(what-say/do-vb=cls-non=focus=masc uncle 2ps=dird-non=focus=masc-interr=masc)
"What for (why) do you call (him) 'uncle'?"
- 116) na'a aku-na-na-ru-hi
(so what-say/do-verb=class-non=focus=fem-interr=fem
mahu-ti-ka-ha-phiri-tuvi-hi
marry-2p=reg-incl-vb=cls-negv-resol-interr=fem)
"Why (for what reasons) will you not marry (her)?"
- 117) aku-na ti-tivehina-hi
(what-do/say 2p=reg-purp-interr=fem)
"Why (for what purpose) are you doing/going?"
- 118) prego aku-na-ka-tuvi-hi
(nail what-do/say-incl-future-interr=fem)
"How many nails do you want/ will it be?"
- 119) tikha da'u-'a aku-na-kana-ri-ha
(your son-cl=seq what-do/say-incl-non=focus=masc-interr=masc)
"Your sons, how-many are they?"
- 120) aku-nani-za mitha-ta-de-ha
(what-point-locv buy-2p=dird-adjr-interr=masc)
"When (at what point) was it that you bought (it)?"
- 121) aku-nani-the
(what-point-past)
"How much (at what point (in payment)) did you (pay)?"
- 122) aru-'a aku-zama-hi
(this=one-info what-thing-interr=fem)
"What is this thing?"
- 123) ari eza tu-vitha-de akari-tuvi-ha i-ni-nava
(us here 3p-sit=down-adjr who=masc-resol-interr=masc 1pp=reg-say-progr)
" 'Who of us will it be that will sit down here?' we asked."

- 124) kiza-na-de-pa akari-ha
 (sick-vb=cls-adjr-ident who=masc-interr=masc)
 "Who is it that is sick?"
- 125) akari anade'i zama navatua-ri-ha
 (who like=this thing make-non=focus=masc-interr=masc)
 "Who makes things like this?"
- 126) aru akaru-kha-hi
 (this=one who-poss-interr=fem)
 "Whose is this?"

3.2. Yes/No questions.

Yes/No questions in Dení have no special verb endings or question words. They are formed with the declarative sentence, but the last two syllables which normally have a level to low falling pitch, are raised in pitch so they have a high to level falling pitch.

3.3. -ki/-ku either/or question.

The -ki/-ku ending expresses the speaker's question about the ability, probability, advisability, etc. of a situation. It is not weighted toward the negative or toward the positive. It is a neutral question: "be" versus "not be".

The question is rhetorical. No reply is ever given.

- 127) tei-na-puna-ki u-ni-nava kube
 (shoot-vb=cls-abil-prob=fem 1ps=reg-say-advers no=sound)
 " I wonder if it will be able to shoot it? I said, but it misfired."
- 128) Jorge hiba peza nihi-ti-ki
 (Jorge almost there get/be-unglossed-prob=fem)
 "Jorge (it is) almost (ripe). I wonder if we should leave (it) there."
- 129) mede hikha-na-ri-ku
 (they reject/refuse-vb=cls-non=focus=masc-prob=masc)
 "I wonder if they don't want (the pig)?"
- 130) meza-ri-ku na-ri
 (joke/lie-non=focus=masc-prob=masc say-non=focus=masc)
 " I wonder if he is lying? he said."
- 131) aku ene-te-he du-du-ti-ki u-ni-kha-ni-ha
 (what till=here-you-interr noise-noise-you-prob=fem 1ps=reg-say-superl-vb=cls-distr)
 "What is wrong with you! Won't you explode? I repeatedly have to ask."

- 132) nanava-pe vahi-vahi-'u-na-misiza-'a na-puna-ki
 (but-relat=subj travel-travel-1ps=reg-vb=cls-much-cl=seq do-abil-prob=fem)
 "But, I wonder if I shall be able to travel a long way?"
- 133) uva tei-ni-tivaha na-tha-ku
 (me shoot-vb=cls say-unglossed-prob=masc)
 "He probably thought, 'He wants to shoot me'."
- 134) ima'amushinaha mede ima-ni-ti-ku
 (feast they announce-vb=cls-unglossed-prob=masc)

3.4. -tivaha Request questions.

The -tivaha verb ending is at the same time, a revelation of what the speaker has determined shall be done, and a polite request for leave to do it. Such a request is formal only; the addressee, if he replies, always replies in the positive. It is commonly used as a device for taking leave of someone. The standard reply is to use the same verb form as that which was used to request leave, and suffix to it the polite imperative. Or, the reply may be only a "yes". -tivaha is not marked for gender.

- 135) kariva-'a ahi-ahi-'u-tivaha uva-'a i
 (non=Indian-cl=seq over=there-over=there-1ps=reg-request I-cl=seq yes
 u-na-ru-'a
 1ps=reg-say-non=focus=fem-cl=seq)
 "The non-Indian said, 'I'll go over there, OK?' (and) I said, 'yes', I said."
- 136) ukha uza u-kha-bina-miti-tivaha i ti-kha-bina-mita-ba
 (my house 1ps=reg-motn-into-iter-request yes you-motn-into-iter-polite=imper)
 " 'I'll go back to my house (now) OK?' 'Yes, you go back.' "
- 137) arikha api'e hupha-'i-tivaha eza tu-vizehe
 (our sorva bring=together-1pp=reg-request here 3p-accomp
 niha-na-ba
 get/be-vb=cls-polite=imper)
 "We'll go bring together our sorva, OK? You stay here with it (our stuff)."

The -tivaha is used something like a hortative as well, when a person addresses a request to a group, to which the group responds positively. Such a group may be addressed as 1st person plural or 2nd person plural. Or the 3rd person plural may be used when speaking to a representative of that group.

- 138) saku phura-'i-tivaha bere-'i-tivaha
 (sack smoke-1pp=reg-request brush-1pp=reg-request)
 "Let's brush (rubber) on our sacks and smoke them, OK?"

- 139) kashi'i vapiharu ba-ka-na-ba de'i-za tupuni
 (hot=pepper many pick-2pp=reg-vb=cls-polite=imper that-instru them
 phututi-phututi-tivaha a mede na-'a
 smoke=out-smoke=out-request oh=alright they say-cl=seq)
 " 'You all pick lots of hot peppers. With them you'll smoke them out, OK?' 'Oh, alright,'
 they said.
- 140) bani eteruni mede ka-ki-di-tivaha amushini-za
 (game=animals skin they 3p=dird-noun=cls-lift-request plaza-locv
 ka-ki-di-tivaha eteruni
 3p=dird-noun=cls-lift-request skin)
 "Let them skin the game animals, OK? Let them skin them in the village plaza, OK?"
 (This was a chief advising his wife on how the women should get ready for the feast.)

4. Verb endings which mark Imperative Mood.

Sentences in the imperative mood in Dení, unlike many Indo-European languages are marked for both person and number. Some are marked for gender, others not. There are four distinct imperative/jussive types in Dení, which are represented by final suffixes on the verb.

4.1. -# Strong imperative.

This is the form used only by parents to children, or older siblings to younger siblings, where there is no question about seniority, and therefore no options given but compliance. It is always immediate, i.e. "right now" is understood as the time of compliance. It is addressed to 2nd persons only. It may be negative or positive. No gender is marked.

- 141) hupha-ta-#
 (run-2ps=reg+vb=cls-strong=imper)
 "Run!"
- 142) hupha-ta-phira-#
 (run-2ps=reg+vb=cls-negv-strong=imper)
 "Don't run!"
- 143) haba ti-kuva-#
 (basket 2ps=reg-weave-strong=imper)
 "Weave a basket!"

4.2. -ba Polite imperative.

This is the most common form used, adult to adult, adult to child, and even child to adult. It is the standard reply to the polite request for leave to do something, e.g. "I will now return to my house, OK?" which is marked by -tivaha, and the reply, "Yes, go back to your house", is marked by -ba. But it is also used in stronger tones of imperative without any previous request for permission. It can be addressed to 1st, 2nd, or 3rd persons, though 3rd person is not common. It may be immediate or remote. It may be positive or negative. No gender is marked.

- 144) akhaza ti-vitha-ba
(over=there 2ps=reg-sit=down-polite=imper)
"Sit down over there!"
- 145) niza hashi-ti-za te-kha-ta-mita-ba
(then recover-2p=reg-open=seq 2p=dird-motn-upstream-iter-polite=imper)
"Later, when you have recovered, come back upstream."
- 146) havi ti-kathuama-ba
(trail 2pp=reg-look=at-polite=imper)
"You (pl) look at the trail."
- 147) tia mede tima-na-ba
(you they treat-vb=cls-polite=imper)
"Let them treat you."
(It is not clear in a case like this whether the obligation is being laid on the person addressed to allow or request the treatment, or on the absent 3rd person party to do the treating.)
- 148) pene-'i-na-ba
(good/right-1pp=reg-vb=cls-polite=imper)
"Let us behave correctly!"
- 149) ava-kha-mani tei-'u-ka-ri-masha-ba
(tree-motn-accomp shoot-1ps=reg-incl-vb=cls-forc-polite=imper)
"Shoot it (the pig) with the tree! (I said to myself)."
- 150) ahi ti-kha-ra-ba
(over=there 2ps=reg-motn-negv-polite=imper)
"Don't go over there!"
- 151) baka-ti-ra-ba
(break-2ps=reg-negv-polite=imper)
"Don't break it!"

- 159) he'e tupuni kumi-kumi-'a-kani-na
 (OK them satiate-satiate-1ps=dird-incl-hort)
 "Okay, I shall (as chief) habitually make them satiated!"
- 160) bua na'a tia hupha-ti-ka-ti-nuku-na
 (oh (dismay) so you run-2ps=reg-incl-upstream-dubitive-hort)
 "Oh, so, I kind of think you should run back upstream." (said to someone just after he'd been bitten by a poisonous snake)
- 161) amushini-za kutani-za haphu-ta-vaha-miata-na
 (plaza-locv edge=of-locv light-2pp=reg+vb=cls-around-iter-hort)
 "You (pl) should light (fires) around the edge of the plaza."
- 162) avi e'eheubu-ti-ra-na
 (tapir eat-habitual-2ps=reg-negv-hort)
 "You should not eat tapir meat!" (when you've been bitten by a snake)
- 163) neri vada-'e-thima-hu
 (neri=fish extended=trip-1pp=dird-upstream-group=hort)
 "Let us go on an extended fishing trip for neri fish."
- 164) tuvi ti-kha-thiama-hu
 (for=it 2pp=reg-motn-upstream-group=hort)
 "You (pl) go upstream to get it." (deer)

5. Verb endings of the performative, inferential, experience vs. non-experience types.

There is a group of endings found in quotations which are something like performatives, a statement of inference, or a statement or denial of knowledge or of personal experience/accountability. Of some of these I have found only a few examples in texts, but I know they are relatively frequent in the daily verbal exchanges among the Dení. These need further checking and study.

Dení marks no tense in the indicative mood, but it occasionally marks a kind of past and future in some endings that fall in the interrogative mood category and in the endings I have grouped under the above tentative heading. Present remains unmarked in the categories where -ti- precedes the ending to mark future (-ziva #174), and -tha- precedes the ending (-zama #184, 187), or -the (content questions #121) forms the ending to the question, to mark past. These need further investigation.

5.1. -tuvi resolution performative.

The -tuvi verb ending expresses resolution or certainty of a forth-coming event. It is used mostly in 1st and 2nd person statements, i.e. "I will..." or "you will...", but it is also said of a 3rd party. It patterns much like the English future tense in its use. But while English future

tense can be used of inanimate objects (e.g. "the tree will fall"), Dení resolution is used only of people.

Another Dení verb ending that patterns something like English future is -tivaha 'request', which is treated in the interrogative section. While -tuvi says "I will...", -tivaha says "I will... OK?"

No gender is marked on the verb with -tuvi.

- 165) shivaza i-khi-meri-miti-tuvi
(tomorrow 1pp=reg-motn-downstream-iter-resol)
"Tomorrow we will go back downstream."
- 166) Hataruni eza tu-vithi-tuvi
(Hataruni here 3p-sit=down-resol)
"Hataruni will sit down here."
- 167) ari eza tu-vitha-de aka-ri-tuvi-ha
(us here 3p-sit=down-adjr who-non=focus=masc-resol-interr=masc)
"Who of us will it be that sits down here?"
- 168) mahu-ti-hi-tuvi
(marry-2ps=reg-vb=cls-resol)
"Will you get married?"
- 169) shivaza u-panadi bakhu-kana-miti-tuvi
(tomorrow my-wife arrive-incl-iter-resol)
"My wife will arrive tomorrow."
- 170) Makakari Sivrivi naza aza uva mede ima-ni-tuvi
(Makakari Sivrivi later here me they talk-vb=cls-resol)
"Later Makakari and Sivrivi will talk to me here."

5.2. -ziva assertion.

The -ziva ending says, "I swear/assert to you that..." As such it fits in the performative category. No gender is marked on the verb when -ziva is the ending.

- 171) he'e ahi-ahi-ziva ahi i-kha-kusha-miti-tuvi
(yes over=there-over=there-assert over=there 1pp=reg-motn-across-iter-resol)
"Yes, I assert that (the sound) is over there. We will cut back across over there."
- 172) mahuhu-'u-ziva nihapuni uva nihe-re-ni-'a
(very=much-1ps=reg-assert at=beginning me get/be-negv-perf-cl=seq)
"I assert that (the pain) is very much. If only it (the snake) hadn't got me!"

173) uva-'a tia-deni u-ka-hamia-ziva u-na-ni
 (I-close=seq you-plural 1ps=reg-noun=cls-angry-assert 1ps=reg-say-perf)
 "I replied, 'I assert that I'm angry at you people', I said!"

174) shivaza eza aru havi i-kha-kusha-miti-ti-ziva
 (tomorrow here this trail 1pp=reg-motn-across-iter-future-assert)
 "I assert that tomorrow we shall cut back across from here along this trail."

5.3. -vaha declaration performative.

The -vaha ending is another performative. The -vaha ending says, "I conclude that..." and/or "I declare to you that..." This conclusion/declaration is based on experiential evidence, i.e. what he has (or has failed, to) see, hear, smell, etc. Since equative and identification clauses do not need a verb form in the surface structure, -vaha may be suffixed directly to a noun or adjective. On verb phrases, -vaha is suffixed to another verb ending.

175) ha ha ha ha iau au au au hizama-vaha
 (ha ha ha ha iau au au au wild=pig-declar)
 "'Ha ha ha ha iau au au au' (they said) 'Wild pigs!' I tell you."

176) zama tu-ha-ni naza mede hikha-na-ri-vaha
 (thing 3p-be-perf later they reject/refuse-vb=cls-non=focus=masc-declar)
 "There was no answer, so (I said), 'They don't want (meat), I tell you.'"

177) aru-pe tahu-ka-ra-ba aru imadipe'i-vaha
 (this=one-relat=subj touch-2pp-negv-polite=imper this=one dangerous-declarv)
 "This here, don't you all touch it! This one is dangerous, I tell you."

178) nanipe'eni kiza-'u-na-ru-vaha
 (meanwhile sick-1ps=reg-vb=cls-non=focus=fem-declar)
 "Meanwhile I am sick, I tell you."

5.4. -zima uncertainty performative.

The -zima ending seemingly is used only in question sentences. While it is a rhetorical interrogative in structure, it serves as an expression of uncertainty always regarding a problem situation. In English we can use either the declarative or the interrogative, e.g. "There must be some problem here." or "What could be the problem here?" The Dení use the -zima ending with the 'what?' question phrase to express this uncertainty.

179) kube-'a-kana-ha paza akuni-zima u-na-ru
 (misfire-1ps=dird-incl-distr there what-uncert 1ps=reg-say-non=focus=fem)
 "I misfired the gun repeatedly. There I said, 'I wonder what the problem is?' (that my gun always misfires)."

- 180) u akuna ni-tuvehina-zima
 (oh what do-purp-uncert)
 "Oh (in pain), I wonder what problem will this (pain) develop into?"
- 181) ukhadi akuni-zima ahi mede niha-ra-ru
 (my=older=sister what-uncert over=there they be-negv-non=focus=fem)
 "I wonder what's the problem with my sister? (that she doesn't answer my call)
 Are they still way over there?"
- 182) eza u-shuni-meri-aru akuna-'u-na-zima
 (here 1ps=reg-fall-downstream-non=focus=fem what-1ps=reg-vb=cls-uncert)
 "I fell (in the direction of) downstream here. I wonder what is the matter with me? (that I
 can't keep my balance anymore)"

5.5. -zama probable performative.

The -zama ending is used mostly in the interrogative mood, in which it functions as a rhetorical question of what is most probable. In a declarative sentence, -zama asserts the probability that the event indicated by the verb root has happened.

- 183) ukha da'u muna-zama
 (my son die-prob)
 "My son probably died."
- 184) akuna mede ni-tha-zama havi-pe aru-'aru-ha
 (what they do-past-prob trail-relat=subj this=one-this=one-interr=masc)
 "What have they probably been doing? Is the trail this one or this one?"
- 185) akuna-na-ru-zama mede dukha-na-bina-zama u-ni-'a
 (why-non=focus=fem-prob they set=fire-vb=cls-inside-prob 1ps=reg-say-cl=seq)
 " 'Why (for what most probable reason) did they set fire to the insides (of the houses)?' I
 asked."
- 186) akuza mede nihi-zama
 (where they get/be-prob)
 "Where did they most probably take (him) to?"
- 187) makha kumene-pa akuvene tu-khi-tha-zama
 (snake pain-relat=subj which=direction 3p=away-motn-past-prob)
 "The snakebite pain, which side has it probably gone to?"

5.6. -re negation + adverse situation inferential.

The normal negation of an event is indicated by the -ra- verb suffix immediately preceding the verb ending. At times the -re ending is used for negation, without any other ending. The choice of -re seems to be restricted to situations where there is an emphasis on an adverse situation or, more specifically, on a regrettable reversal of expectation.

- 188) tima-na-ha ninava hashi-'u-na-re
(treat-vb=cls-distr advers recover-1ps=reg-vb=cls-negn)
"He repeatedly treated (me medically), but I didn't recover.
- 189) havini-za nihi-nava hupha-tu-kane-re
(airstrip-locv be/get-advers run-3p-incl-negn)
"It (airplane) landed on the airstrip, but it didn't roll along."
(It ground to a stop on its belly.)
- 190) pahi zama kube-re u-ni-meri-mita-puni
(there thing silence-negn 1ps=reg-do-downstream-iter-simult)
"With my noisy (no silence) load, I walked back downstream."
- 191) i bani nihe-re
(oh game get/be-negn)
"Oh (regretfully), he didn't get any game."
- 192) ima tuvini kume-re ni-kha-ni
(talk to=them satiate-negn do-superl-perf
hikha-'u-na-ru
reject/refuse-1ps=reg-vb=cls-non=focus=fem)
"Talk which gives (causes) absolutely no satiation, I don't want."

5.7. -va'a denial of awareness at this point.

-va'a 'unaware', event which was unknown to narrator/participant at this point of time in this story.

-ria 'prior event', event which had taken place prior to events of this story.

-ta 'subsequent event', event which would take place subsequent to the events of this story.

These endings are suffixed to the verb as a verb ending, -riava'a indicates that the event of the verb root had already taken place without the speaker's knowledge. -tava'a indicates that the event of the verb root would take place at a future date, but at the time of the story was unknown to the speaker (or anyone else).

-riava'a is also used as a connective or introducer, possibly on the paragraph level.

- 193) na-ria-va'a de'i Amaharu-me mede tei-na-ria-va'a
 (do-prior-unaware thus/that Amaharu-father=of they shoot-vb=cls-prior-unaware
 Ka'u mede tei-na-ria-va'a
 Ka'u they shoot-vb=class-prior-unaware)
 "Unknown to me at that time they had thus shot, unknown to me, Amaharu's father; they
 had shot, unknown to me, Ka'u."
- 194) nanipe'eni ukhabi Khamitiza nani himete tu-ha-ria-va'a
 (meanwhile my=father Khamitiza that=point grave 3p=reg-be-prior-unaware)
 "Meanwhile, my father Khamitiza was, unknown to me, there in the grave."
- 195) Zahavi-me tu-hi-ta-va'a de'i-'a sasara
 (Zahavi-father=of 3p=proc-be-subseq-unaware that/thus-cl=seq machete
 mari-tu-ka-hiza-ri
 hold-3p-incl-firmly-non=focus=masc)
 "The one who would later become, unknown to us, Zahavi's father, held the machete
 firmly."

5.8. -va denial of awareness prior to this point.

-va 'become aware' at time of event or time word to which it is suffixed, but not previous to that point.

-va says that the topic of the sentence, which can be grammatical subject or object, actor or patient, is unaware and unsuspecting of the event described in the verb of the sentence, and becomes aware more or less simultaneously with its occurrence.

- 196) Hata-me hibutu-ni-meri-miti-'a niza-va
 (Hata-father=of carry-3p=reg-vb=cls-downstream-iter-cl=seq later-become=aware)
 "Hata's father will later know/become aware (when he sees the deer) and will carry it
 back downstream,"

The hunter who says the above words decides to leave the dead deer in a stream on the trail so that Hata's father, whom he hears felling sorva trees in the distance, will see it on his way home and will pick it up. At present Hata's father, who is the topic, is unaware of the action he will later take.

- 197) nakuri ime isha-tu-kana-va nakuri 'taphu'
 (buttock flesh spear-3p-incl-become=aware buttock pierce)
 "He speared the flesh of his (Kira - topic) buttocks. It pierced 'taphu' the buttocks."

Kira, the topic and patient in the above sentence in which -va occurs, was unaware that Tamaku had a small spear in his hand when he asked Kira to look the other way while he examined a huge boil on his buttocks. Kira became aware of the spear when Tamaku used it on him.

5.9. -niza denial of personal experience in factual event.

The -niza ending is an acknowledgement of the experience of others and at the same time a denial of such experience for the speaker. The emphasis is on I; I didn't see it (others did), I didn't know (others did). It serves as a device for the speaker to absolve himself of any responsibility which would have been his, had he been involved.

- 198) ninava paru-'a u-navatu-niza Ka'u mede tei-na-vi mede
(but that-cl=seq 1ps=reg-know-negv=exper Ka'u they shoot-vb=cls-perf they
de'i ima u-mitha-nizape
thus talk 1ps=reg-hear-causation)
"But I didn't know that they had shot Ka'u because I hadn't heard that talk."

- 199) nari mede nariha uva-pe u-navatu-ra-ru
(this they report I-relat=subj 1ps=reg-know-negv-non=focus=fem
u-nukhu-za-niza
1ps=reg-eye-locv-negv=exper)
"This is what they reported (to me), I personally don't know, (don't take responsibility for
the facts in the report), I didn't see it."

5.10. -ta'i/-ta'u factual contra-desiderative.

(-ra'i/-ra'u contra-factual desiderative) The partner ending to -ta'i/-ta'u is -ra'i/-ra'a. (I have only one example of the latter ending in Dení text, which I can't gloss without consulting with a Dení, so I've not included it here). -ta'i/-ta'u says, "This happened, contrary to my wish". -ra'i/-ra'u seems to say, "This didn't happen, contrary to my wish", i.e. "I wish it had happened". It is the speaker whose wishes are in focus, not the actor's, if the two are different people.

- 200) Vaha-'a u Shunavi Aburu na-zukhe-ta'u
(Vaha-cl=seq oh=no Shunavi Aburu caus-kill-factual=contra=desidv=masc)
"Vaha said, 'Oh no! Shunavi has caused Aburu to be killed!'"
- 201) ka-khara-de bakhu-'i-ka-thia-miti-ta'i
(noun=cls-swift-adjr arrive-1pp=reg-incl-upstream-iter-factual=contra=desidv=fem)
"We arrived up at the place where (the water) flowed swiftly!"
- 202) ukha da'u ukha tu kanani ati-ni-deni-ahu-keri-
(my son my daughter also liver-fem-plural-faint-together-
ta'i
factual=contra=desidv=fem)
"My son and my daughter died!"

- 203) makha uva nihi-ta'u
 (snake me get/be-factual=contra=desidv=masc)
 "The snake got me!"

5.11. -kata'i negative assertion.

The -kata'i ending is a negation with emphasis on the speaker's certainty that the negative is true. Its use seems to include, quite often, a denial or contradiction of what someone else erroneously held to be true. At this point I am not certain whether contradiction or denial is obligatorily or optionally present in the use of -kata'i.

-kata'i is suffixed to an existing ending on the verb.

- 204) bua pashu enetehe ehebu'e khi-tu-ka-tuvi-kata'i
 (oh=no rain terrible food see-3p-incl-resol-negv=assert)
 "Oh no! This rain is terrible! He certainly won't see any food (game) (in this)!"

6. Verb endings which mark Prominence.

There is a whole group of endings which include some form of the kha or khi syllable, which seem to function as highlighting devices. Some observations about their occurrence are made here, and some tentative conclusions drawn.

6.1. -kha superlative.

The -kha ending gives a type of focus prominence to the verb in a clause, which could be described as a superlative or ultimate degree prominence. Superlative, not in a comparative sense as it is used in English grammar (good, better, best), but superlative in the sense of "completely", "exactly", "fully", or "ultimately".

There is a further distinction to be drawn between the endings -kha and -khani/-khavi (next section). With -kha the end of a process or event is significant, whereas with -khani/-khavi the whole state or event is significant, i.e. there is no reference to its beginning, middle, or end, and therefore, not to its ultimateness in quite the same sense as -kha.

- 205) ninava havine phira-tu-ni-kha
 (but trail negv-3p=proc-vb=cls-superl)
 "But the trail has disappeared completely."

- 206) zama zupi-'u-kana-mitiza-ni hika-tu-ni-kha
 (thing show-1ps=reg-incl-many-perf finish-3p=proc-vb=cls-superl)
 "I have completely finished showing you many things."
 (Literally: "The many things I showed you have become completely finished.")

- 207) Maraviza aharini ka-va-ri-kha
 (Maraviza=river mouth 3ps=dird-set-non=focus=masc-superl)
 "He is completely set (stuck) at the mouth of the Maraviza River." (His boat was hung up on rocks.)
- 208) patarahu u-ha-kha
 (chief 1ps=reg-be-superl)
 "I am fully chief." (I am in every respect qualified to be chief.)
- 209) ukhabi pua ka-pu-riza-vi-kha nani
 (my=father him 3p=dird-lie-upon-perf=masc-superl that=point
 diva-'i-tivaha
 turn=around-1pp=reg-request)
 "By your leave, we'll turn around at the point (on the trail) where my father laid himself down for the last time." (before he died)
- 210) ti-vinu u-kathumi-tivaha ni-kha
 (your-tooth 1ps=reg-look=at-request say-superl)
 " 'By your leave, I'll look at your tooth', is exactly what he said."
- 211) ni-khe-re ni-kha-vi-za de'i kariva
 (do-superl-still do-superl-perf=masc-open=seq thus non-Indian
 na-'u-na-ru-kha
 do-1ps=reg-vb=cls-non=focus=fem-superl)
 "(They) still customarily do exactly like that and I shall do exactly like those non-Indians."

6.1.1. -khani/-khavi superlative + perfective.

As has been mentioned, the -khani/-khavi ending looks at the state or event as a whole. Therefore this ending collocates differently than -kha. For instance, if example #213 below were to take the -kha ending rather than -khani, the verb would have to be changed from the state "thick", which has no end, to the process "become thick" which has an end, and then the -kha suffixed to make it shiba-tu-na-kha "became completely/fully/ultimately thick". This possibility needs checking. I suspect that it would not be natural Dení at all, while to use the process forms "disappear", i.e. "become nothing", or "finish", i.e. "become completed" (as in examples #205, 206 under -kha) is natural because they have a meaningful end.

- 212) katama-'a amushi-kha-ni
 (taste-cl=seq good-superl-perf=fem)
 "He tasted it, and (said), 'It's delicious (very good)!'"

- 213) amuri shiba-ru-na-de-za amuri shiba-kha-ni
 (track thick-3p=proc-vb=cls-adjr-open=seq track thick-superl-perf=fem)
 "Where the tracks became thick (I said) 'The tracks are as thick as can be!' "
- 214) zama vati-'u-kani-kha-ni
 (thing think-1ps=reg-incl-superl-perf=fem)
 "I thoroughly thought things over."
- 215) ukha takana eza-kha-ni-ha
 (my suit here-superl-perf=fem-interr)
 "(Wasn't) my suit somewhere here?"
- 216) Aburu-'a mezi-kha-vi e'ehe uva-pe
 (Aburu-cl=seq lie/joke-superl-perf=masc look=here me-relat=subj)
 "Aburu said, 'He really lies. Look here, it's me!'" (He had just reported that Aburu had been killed, when she appeared and spoke the above.)

6.1.2. -kha-ni → -khi-'a superlative with reduplication + close sequence.

In the following example, also described on page 20 under reduplication, the -khani ending is used in a special sense, where -kha is used in combination with reduplication to heighten vividness, much as an English author switches to present tense to produce that effect for the reader, e.g. "The wind is rushing after us and the clouds are flying after us, and the moon is plunging after us, and the whole wild night is in pursuit of us, but so far we are pursued by nothing else." (from The Tale of Two Cities as quoted in Longacre p.221.)

- 217) naku hava baha-'u-kani-khi-'a hava
 (then pataua=tree step=on-1ps=reg-incl-superl-cl=seq pataua=tree
 baha-'u-kani-kha-ni
 step=on-1ps=reg-incl-superl-perf=fem)
 "Having completely stepped onto the pataua tree, I completely stepped onto the pataua tree."

The next sentence translates as "Having completely stepped onto the pataua tree, and being there, then on to another tree, a taritari tree, and having completely stepped onto it, and 'Let me toss aside with my bow, those leaves that are lying in the middle of the path', I said. As (simultaneous) I tossed aside the leaves with my bow, the snake was lying underneath those leaves."

6.2. -kharu/-khari contrastive focus.

While -kha and -khani/-khavi give prominence to the comment part of the topic-comment dichotomy, -kharu/-khari and -kharuha/-khariha give prominence to the natural topic. The first of these, -kharu/-khari seem to fit the function labelled "contrastive focus" by Beekman and Callow in The Semantic Structure of Written Communication, where they say, "Contrastive focus is given to a concept when it is distinguished from other Things or Abstractions, usually by phonological devices in English. It occurs on 'he' in "He did it, Sir!" when 'he' has strong stress and a sharp pitch fall." (p.30) It can also be observed that the contrastive focus seems to substitute for the statement of what the Thing is being contrasted with, which in their example might be: "It wasn't I, it was He who did it, Sir."

While -kharu/-khari is sometimes suffixed to the verb, it may also be suffixed to nouns or pronouns in identification clauses, where no verb exists in the surface structure in Dení, as in example # 220.

218) naku i zumahi phira-ri-khari
(then oh jaguar negv-non=focus=masc-contras=focus)
"Then (she said), 'Oh, it's not a jaguar!' " (It's my husband in disguise!)

219) patarahu u-ha-ru-kharu
(chief Ips=reg-be-non=focus=fem-contras=focus)
"I am chief!" (not anyone else)

220) Purus-pe aru-kharu
(Purus=river-ident this=one-contras=focus)
"The Purus river is this one." (and none other)

6.3. -kharuha/-khariha participant and location prominence in travelogue text.

It seems that Dení has a genre of 1st person travelogue discourse as distinct from 1st person narrative discourse in which there are one or more peaks. Narrative discourse which has a peak describes the actual shooting of the pigs, or "A Snake Bit Me", where the peak describes the actual striking of the snake, or "My Airplane Trip to Porto Velho", where the peak is a rather extended time in the air. In travelogue text, which is travel from beginning to end, the narrator describes which participants join and leave the main party, which participants interact with, but do not join the party, and which locations are reached and departed from.

The -kharuha/-khariha ending is suffixed to verbs in the travelogue text at definite intervals. They are as follows:

1. To mark, in the first sentence, the initial participants and location. (#1)
2. To mark the arrival of each participant who joins the party. (#2, 5)
3. To mark departure of part of the party from narrator's party. (#3)
4. To mark the first event in which the new party is part of the group. (#4, 6)

5. To mark temporary interaction with a particular person who does not join the group. (#7, 9)
6. To mark certain places arrived at. (#8) (Not all places are so marked, the reason is not clear, but it is possible that some have more significance to the narrator than others).

Examples of how this takes place in one first person travelogue text are given below, with numbers of sentence examples corresponding to numbers in brackets above.

1. We arrived -kharuha at Boca do Tapauá in the early morning.
2. Then P.M. came down toward -kharuha (the boat).
3. The boat (part of we in #1) left, going upstream -kharuha.
4. Then we (we of #1 + P.M.) slept -kharuha.
5. The next day his wife arrived -kharuha.
6. We (we, of #4 + wife) travelled back downstream -kharuha.
7. There Abido conversed -kharuha with us. (Abido does not join the group, so when "we travel on" is stated, 'we' is not marked.)
8. We arrived -kharuha at Canaça.
9. There I listened -kharuha to Adiva's conversation. etc.

6.4. -khia topicalization prominence.

-khia may be suffixed to verbs, connectives, and locatives. All examples found so far occur where conclusions are being drawn or summary-type statements given as to the number and/or location of game, which was shot and left at a certain place on a hunting trip. The summary statement or statement of location is made the topic of the sentence.

In one story, as hunters regroup after shooting as many pigs as possible in a running herd of wild pigs, they count what each hunter has shot. Then one member concludes:

221) eneniza i-na-pama-ha i-na-hari-ha nari-khia
 (now 1pp=reg-do-two-distr=masc 1pp=reg-do-one-distr=masc thus=masc-prom
 aza-khia ninava havine phira-tu-na-kha
 here=masc-prom but trail negative-3p=proc-vb=cls-superl)
 "Thus it is, that here it is, that we got three (2+1) (pigs) now, but (their) trail has
 disappeared completely."

When a returned hunter tells friends to get a deer he has left in the woods, they ask where exactly he left it, and he replies:

- 222) e de'i nani zumahi bunu-na-vi-kha paru pashu
 (yes thus at=that=point jaguar roll-vb=cls-perf=masc-superl that=one stream
 ta-kha-thima-de-za paru u-ba-ziphi-khia
 3p=dird-motn-upstream-adjr-open=seq that=one 1ps=reg-put=down=in=water-prom)
 "Yes thus: at the spot where the jaguars have rolled around so much, at that stream which
 is upstream from there, that is where I put it down."

In another story a hunter on his way home with a pig he has shot, has to put it down to run back for his knife which he forgot. When he returns to the pig, he wonders whether it will still be there or whether his friends, who he thinks are coming to meet him, will have found it and carried it on home. As he gets to the place where he left the pig, he says to himself:

- 223) aku-na-ha hizama-pa aza-khia u-ni-nava hikha
 (what-do-interr=masc pig-ident here-prom 1ps=reg-say-advers leave/refuse
 mede kha-huna-vi
 they motn-towd-perf=masc)
 " 'What about (the pig)? This is where the pig is,' I said, but, "They refused to come!."

FOOTNOTES

1. Dení (Daní) is classified as a member of the Arua family of the Arawakan stock, according to Rodrigues (1967). Dení is spoken by small groups on the upper Cunhuá River (Tapauá on some maps), the Xiruã, the Mamoriá, and the Inauiní. These rivers are located between the Purus and Juruá Rivers in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. Language data used in this study is from a group of about 100 speakers living on the upper Cunhuá River. The author, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has been engaged in language research on Dení since April 1975, under agreement with the Fundação Nacional do Índio (FUNAI) of the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior. The author is grateful to Eunice Burgess, for her helpful suggestions and criticisms during the writing of this paper.

Paul and Dorothy Moran ms, 1966 and 1975, have described the phonological system of Dení as including voiceless stops /p, ph(aspirated), t, th, k, kh, ?/ voiced implosive stops /b d/ voiceless affricates /ts, tsh/ voiced affricate /dz/ fricatives /b h/ nasals /m n/ and flap /r/. Vowels are /i, e, u, a/. The orthography used in this paper has s, and sh for /ts tsh/, b d z, for /b d dz/, ' for /?/, and r for /ř/. The regularities of stress are of such a complicated nature that a short statement cannot be made to cover the data.

ABBREVIATIONS

1ps	first person singular subject	instru	instrument
1pp	first person plural subject	iter	iterative
2ps	second person singular subject	interr	interrogative
2pp	second person plural subject	locv	locative
3p	third person subject (number unspecific)	locn	location
abil	ability	masc	masculine
accomp	accompaniment	mid	middle
adjr	adjectivizer	motn	motion
advers	adversative	negn	negation
assert	assertion	negv	negative
caus	causative	perf	perfective
cls	class	perm	permissive
cl=seq	close=sequence	poss	possessive
compt	competitive	prob	probability
condit	conditional	proc	process
contras	contrastive	progr	progressive
declar	declaration	prom	prominence
declarv	declarative	purp	purpose
desidv	desiderative	reactn	reaction
determ	determinative	reacty	reactionary
diag	diagonal	reg	regular
dird	directed	relat	relational
distn	distance	resol	resolution
distr	distributive	seq	sequence
exper	experience	simult	simultaneous
fem	feminine	subj	subject
forc	forcefully	subseq	subsequent
hort	hortatory	sugg	suggestive
ident	identification	superle	superlative
imper	imperative	towd	toward
incl	inclusive	vb	verb
info	information	uncert	uncertainty

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